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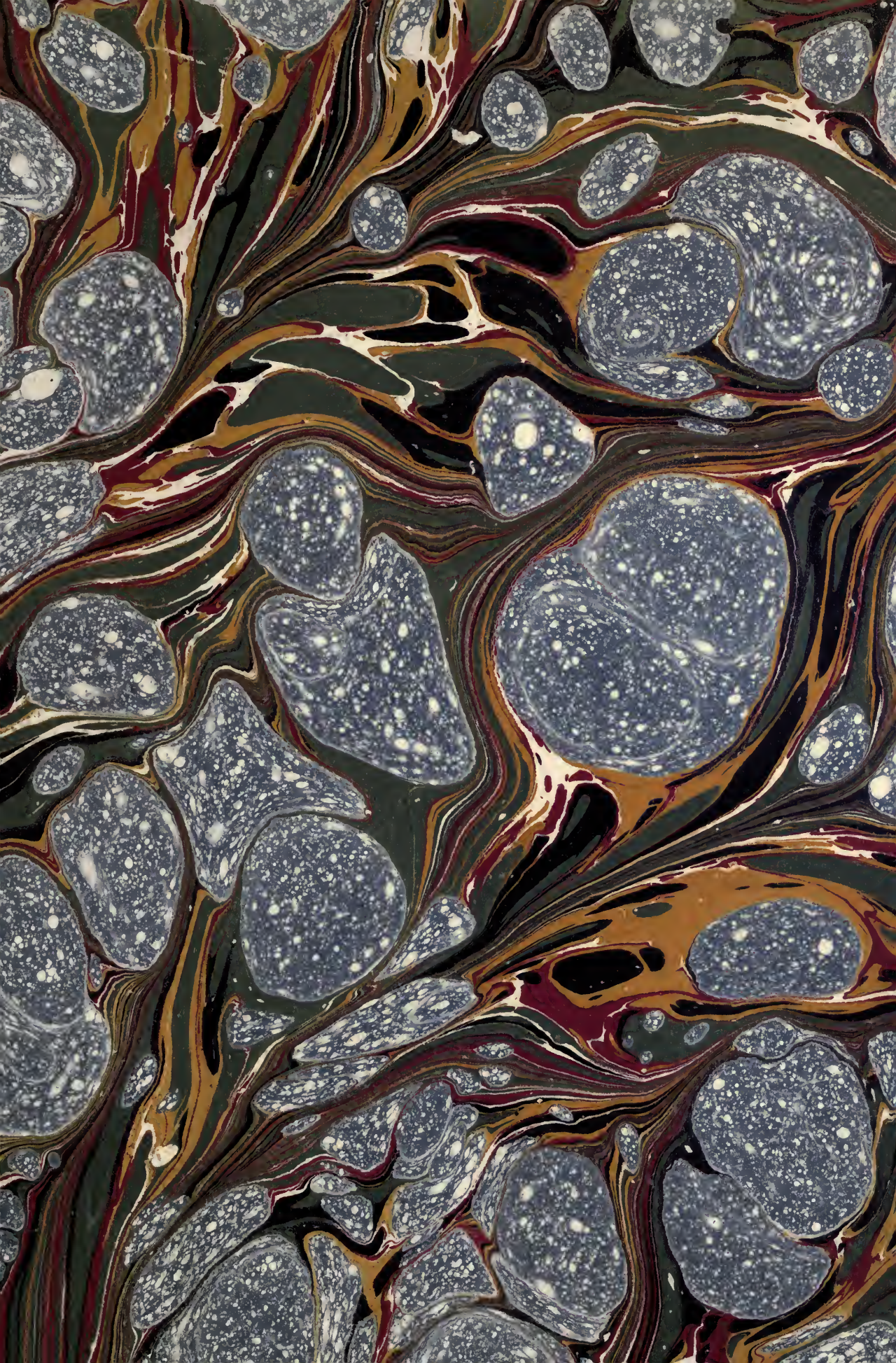

Engraved by R. Dudensing

Geo B McClellan

GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THE

WAR WITH THE SOUTH.

Mobile Bay

VIRTUE & YORSTON, NEW YORK.

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THE

WAR WITH THE SOUTH

A HISTORY OF

THE LATE REBELLION

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LEADING STATESMEN

AND

DISTINGUISHED NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMANDERS, ETC.

By ROBERT TOMES, M.D.

CONTINUED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1864 TO THE END OF THE WAR

By BENJAMIN G. SMITH, Esq.

VOLUME II.

NEW YORK:
VIRTUE & YORSTON, PUBLISHERS, 12 DEY STREET.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-two,

BY ROBERT TOMES,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

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THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH:

A HISTORY OF THE

GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION.

CHAPTER I.

Position of Kentucky.—A great Battle-field.—Expectations of both Antagonists.—The Secessionists balked by a Loyal Legislature.—The Secessionists form an independent Government.—Meeting of Secessionists at Russellville.—Declaration of Grievances.—A Convention called.—Meeting of Convention.—Declaration of Independence and Ordinance of Secession.—Provisional Government.—Commissioners to Southern Confederacy.—Kentucky admitted as a Confederate State.—The only solution through Civil War.—The United States prepared.—Position of its Forces.—Don Carlos Buell.—Life of Buell.—Military Education and Services.—Gallantry and Promotion.—A Brigadier-General.—Noticed by McClellan.—In command of the Department of the Cumberland.—Buell busy in organizing.—The Position of the Enemy.—Invasion of Kentucky.—Zollicoffer at Cumberland Gap.—General Buckner at Bowling Green.—General Johnston.—Life of A. Sydney Johnston.—Military Education and Services.—Resigns his Commission.—A Private in the Texan War.—Secretary of War in Texas.—In the Mexican War.—Retirement.—Paymaster in the United States Army.—Appointed Colonel of Cavalry by Pierce on the recommendation of Jefferson Davis.—Chief of the Expedition to Utah.—Johnston exciting to Rebellion in California.—Escape.—In command under the Confederacy.—Character of Johnston.—The Struggle begun in Kentucky.—Zollicoffer's attack on Camp Wild Cat.—His Defeat.—The hopes of the Unionists of East Tennessee.—Flight of Zollicoffer.—Difficulties of pursuit.—Disappointment.—General Position in Kentucky of opposing Forces.—Engagement at Ivy Mountain.—The Enemy driven from Eastern Kentucky.—Position of Buell and Johnston.—Advance of Forces by Buell.—Retirement of the Enemy.—The Engagement at Green River.—The Results.—Feeble attempt of Humphrey Marshall.—Success of Colonel Garfield.—A forced Retreat acknowledged, but a success claimed by the Enemy.—Comparative Losses.

KENTUCKY was destined to become the chief battle-field from its position as a border State—bounded on the north by the loyal States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and on the east, south, and west by Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri, more or less within the power of the enemy—from the conflict of opinion among its own citizens and its relation geographically to the Mississippi, the great channel of intercourse between the northern lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. Both antagonists, conscious of the importance of holding the supremacy in a State thus situated, made great efforts to secure it.

1861.

The secessionists, balked in their attempts at disunion by the firm loyalty of the Legislature, resolved upon the expedient of substituting for the legal authorities of the State an independent government. The insurrectionary lead-

ers accordingly met at Russellville, a small town in the southern part of Kentucky, and after drawing up a declaration of grievances, and denouncing the loyal action of the Legislature, called a convention, "to be chosen, elected, or appointed in any manner by the people of the several counties of the State," to meet at the same place.

Oct. 29.

This hybrid convention, composed of some 200 persons, accordingly met at Russellville at the time appointed. They immediately proceeded to pass a "Declaration of Independence and an Ordinance of Secession," to establish a provisional government consisting of a governor with a legislative council of ten, and to appoint three commissioners to the Southern Confederacy.*

Nov. 18.

The Congress of the Confederate States eagerly welcomed the arrival of the representatives of Kentucky secession, and without delay passed an act by which that State was admitted a member "on an equal footing with the other States of the Confederacy."

The great question, however, was not to be settled in Kentucky by conventions and political manifestoes. The only solution was through war, and both parties now prepared to wage it with the utmost vigor.

The Federal Government had not only, by the possession of Cairo, in Illinois, Bird's Point, in Missouri, and Paducah, secured important bases of operations upon the Mississippi and Ohio from which to command these rivers and the western part of Kentucky, but had concentrated a large army at Louisville, to operate within the interior of the State. The command was given to General Don Carlos Buell, who succeeded, as will be recollected, General Sherman, the successor of General Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame.

Don Carlos Buell was born in Ohio in 1819. He was admitted into the West Point Military Academy as a cadet in 1837, and in graduating in 1841 was appointed a second lieutenant of the Third Infantry. In June, 1846, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and on the 23d of September, 1846, was brevetted a captain for his services at Monterey. During 1847 and 1848 he acted as adjutant of his regiment, and bore a distinguished part in the battle of Cerro Gordo. His gallant conduct subsequently at Contreras and Churubusco won for him the brevet rank of major. In 1848 he was appointed assistant adjutant-general. In 1851 he relinquished his rank in line, but continued to act as assistant adjutant-general until the commencement of the war, when he was at once promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy. Congress soon after created him a brigadier-general of volunteers. His first service in the present conflict was as the commander of a division under General McClellan, who was so impressed by his soldierly qualities that he induced the

* The following were the officers of this new State government:

GOVERNOR. – George W. Johnson.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—William B. Machen, John W. Crockett, James P. Bates, James S. Critman, Philander R. Thompson, I. P. Burnside, H. W. Bruce, I. W. Moore, E. M. Bruce, and George B. Hodge.

From an Ambrotype by Brady

Expressly for this work.

BATTLE OF PITTSBURG LANDING.

D. C. Buell.

Government to bestow upon him the important command of the Department of the Cumberland, in Kentucky.

General Buell, on reaching Louisville —his headquarters—was for a long time, like most of our military leaders, occupied in organizing the rude material which the generous patriotism of the country had so profusely supplied.

The enemy, already in possession of Columbus, which they continued to fortify, and of Hickman, on the Mississippi, both in Kentucky, had invaded the State from Tennessee. This was by means of a force under the command of General Zollicoffer, through Cumberland Gap. General Buckner, a Kentuckian, had also mustered a considerable number of his fellow-citizens and raised the standard of revolt at Bowling Green. The chief command, however, of the enemy's force with which they hoped to wrest Kentucky from the Union was subsequently given to General Albert Sydney Johnston.

Sept. 16.

Albert Sydney Johnston was born in Macon County, Kentucky, in 1803. Admitted a cadet at the West Point Military Academy, he was, on the completion of his studies, commissioned a lieutenant of infantry, and soon after ordered on duty to the West. During the Black Hawk War he acted as adjutant-general, and on its termination resigned his commission. He now settled in Missouri as a planter, but soon after removed to Texas, where, on the breaking out of the war of independence, he entered the Texan army as a private, but soon rose, by his gallantry and ability, to a high position. He subsequently, when Texas had succeeded in securing a separate government from Mexico, became the secretary of war of the new State.

In the war with Mexico, which ensued upon the annexation of Texas to the United States, Johnston raised a partisan troop and accompanied General Taylor to Monterey. At the close of the war he retired to his plantation, but becoming embarrassed in circumstances he accepted the office of paymaster in the United States army. Through the influence of Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, President Pierce was prevailed upon to make Johnston colonel of the Second Cavalry, and give him the command of the South-Western Military District. During the rebellion of the Mormons of Utah, he was appointed chief of the expedition sent across the plains to quell it by arms. He acted with great promptitude and vigor, and continued to exercise a rigid severity of military rule as long as he retained his command, which only ceased when, in consequence of his well-known co-operation with the enemies of the Government, he was forced to relinquish it. After striving in vain to excite a movement in California and Oregon in favor of the Southern rebellion, he only escaped capture by the Federal authorities by hastening to join his fellow-conspirators at Richmond.

Johnston had the resolute temper of the frontiersmen of the West, with a body and spirit hardened by the rude trials of border life. He was a man of unquestionable energy and determination, and his admirers claimed for

him consummate ability as a military leader.

Before the great struggle between the two opposing forces in Kentucky began, some comparatively unimportant actions had been fought. The first occurred at Camp Wild Cat, Rock Castle County. This post had been occupied by the Unionists to oppose the invasion of Kentucky from Tennessee through Cumberland Gap, where Zollicoffer was stationed with a large force.

Zollicoffer having heard of the meagre means of resistance at Camp Wild Cat, where there was a single regiment reduced by sickness to only 700 men, under the command of Colonel Garrard, advanced with a large force, consisting, as was rumored, of six regiments of infantry and 900 cavalry with nine pieces of artillery. On his march he sacked the towns of Barboursville and London, and boldly approached Camp Wild Cat, confident of an easy victory over the little force encamped there. In the mean time, however, the Seventeenth Ohio and a regiment of Kentucky Cavalry had reinforced the Wild Cat camp, and General Schoepf had arrived and assumed the command. Additional troops, moreover, were rapidly marching to the same point. The battle which ensued, and the victory won by the Unionists, is thus described by a spectator :*

" About eight o'clock on Monday morning, the 21st, the rebels advanced upon our lines, shouting and yelling like savages, secure, apparently, of an easy victory. Our men received them coolly, pouring into their ranks a deadly fire. For a time they withstood it gallantly, possibly believing what had often been told them, that they were each a match for five times their number. Gradually their confidence gave way, and they retired, sullenly at first, but soon their retreat became flight. To understand the movements of the day more clearly, I find it will be necessary to give a sketch of the position. Colonel Garrard was encamped at the junction of three roads —the Mount Vernon road, leading to Camp Dick Robinson, along which the reinforcements came ; the London road, by which the rebels approached ; and the ' Winding Blades' road, leading to Richmond. Between the last two roads, and commanding Colonel Garrard's position, is a high, conical hill. The whole face of the country is covered with a heavy growth of timber, except where it has been felled by the soldiers since they were stationed here. The first attack had been made in a hollow extending from the London road to the ' Winding Blades' road.

" After the repulse, the rebels formed again, and attempted to come along the London road. By this time an Indiana regiment, the Thirty-third, had come upon the ground, and a portion of them led to the top of the conical hill. A battery of artillery, too, arrived at this critical juncture. The rebels advanced, shouting as before, supported by their artillery, at every discharge of which they screamed like fiends. A shell from the first of our guns silenced both their shouts and their cannonade, and sent them flying again

* Boston *Courier*.

with astonishment and consternation. Retreating out of sight they deliberated a third attack, this time selecting the conical hill as the point of approach. With much labor they opened a road through the woods along the side of a high ridge on the other side of the London road, and planted a piece of their artillery. On our side, the Fourteenth Ohio Regiment, under Colonel Steadman, came into the field by a forced march and took position. One piece of cannon was taken on the shoulders of the men to the top of the hill, and every preparation made to give the rebels a handsome reception. As they approached on the rear of the hill, they came in the guise of friends, bearing their hats on the points of their guns, and calling out as they approached, 'We are Union men.' 'Then,' said our men, 'lay down your arms and come along.' Approached now within twenty yards of our lines, they cried, 'Now, d—n you, we've got you.' 'Give 'em the lead,' was the fierce reply. The conflict was obstinate and the carnage terrible. Volley after volley was delivered into the tottering ranks of rebellion, until, throwing aside their muskets still loaded, they fled the third time. The first fire of their cannon, planted with such infinite pains, drew forth a reply from our piece on the hill, which disabled and silenced it. The battle was now over and the victory won. A fourth attack during the early night was obviously a feint to cover their terror-stricken retreat. Our loss in killed is less than ten, and by all casualties, even to slight scratches, not exceeding fifty; theirs is estimated at 1,000—it is known to be very severe."

This Federal success at Camp Wild Cat greatly encouraged the Unionists of East Tennessee, as it seemed to open a way through Cumberland Gap for the rescue of those loyal men from the thraldom of secession. Zollicoffer and his force thoroughly disheartened, fled in confusion through Barboursville to the Gap, within the confines of Tennessee. The advantage of our troops, however, was not improved, General Schoepf being compelled to remain inactive for want of supplies. In the mean time, Zollicoffer, presuming upon the inertness of his antagonist, recovered courage, and, retracing his steps, ravaged the whole country to within ten miles of the Federal encampment. Proceeding up the Cumberland Valley, the enemy gathered everywhere herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, droves of pigs, and as much maize and grain as their wagons could carry. When at last General Schoepf was prepared to move, the enemy had retired beyond the Cumberland, whither it was impossible to follow them, the heavy rains having swollen the stream. Zollicoffer, moreover, had obstructed all the by-roads, and having reached the Gap, found a large number of troops to reinforce him. General Schoepf accordingly prepared to winter at Camp Calvert, in Loudon County, whither he had advanced. General Thomas, posted in his rear at Camp Dick Robinson, remained equally inactive for awhile.

Nov. 5.

The general position of the opposing forces at this time in Kentucky was as

follows: General Buckner had advanced to Bowling Green, whence the enemy's line extended through their centre in Barron County to their right at Burkesville. The Union forces, with General Crittenden commanding the western division, General McCook the centre, and General Schoepf the eastern, were advancing slowly with the view of converging upon this line of the enemy. The western had advanced as far as Woodbury, at the confluence of the Big Barron with the Green River, about fifteen miles from the left flank of Buckner's position at Bowling Green. The centre had moved to a position on Barron Creek, about six miles from Munfordsville, on the Green River, and the eastern under Schoepf had marched, as we have seen, a little in advance of Wild Cat camp after the repulse of Zollicoffer. General Buell had not at this time assumed the command, and the disheartened Sherman was still at the head of the army.

Nov. 6.

The various operations continued for some time to be rather skirmishes between detached parties than regular movements in accordance with a uniform plan. Occasional successes, however, occurred; such was the affair at Ivy Mountain, near Pikeville, on the borders of Virginia, where the enemy had encamped in considerable force.

General Nelson, having moved to Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy River, in Eastern Kentucky, determined to advance upon the enemy and to surround and capture or drive them back into Virginia. He accordingly first sent out Colonel Sill with his own regiment, the Ohio Thirty-third, and a battalion under Colonel Hart, composed of a company from each of the three regiments—the Second, Thirty-third, and Fifty-ninth Ohio Volunteers, and two Kentucky companies. To this force was added a troop of 142 mounted men, made up of teamsters, and thirty-six volunteers under Colonel Apperson, with a section of artillery. Colonel Sill was ordered to march by the way of John's Creek and pass to the left of the encampment of the enemy near Pikeville, and thus turn it with the view of cutting off their retreat. General Nelson, having allowed a day to pass, in order that Colonel Sill might be able to advance sufficiently on his circuitous march of forty miles before he himself should make the attack in front, did not set out until the next morning, when he moved forward with the Second Regiment Ohio Volunteers, Colonel Harris; Twenty-first Regiment Ohio Volunteers, Colonel Norton; Fifty-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteers, Colonel Fyffe; the battalion of Kentucky Volunteers, under Colonel Charles A. Marshall, and two sections of artillery, Captain Konkle, taking the direct road to Pikesville, twenty-eight miles distant. When about eight miles beyond Prestonburg, the mounted picket guards of the enemy were discovered and put to flight. The road along which our forces now advanced was but seven feet wide, and cut in the side of a high mountain. This mountain, covered with brushwood, ended in a steep ridge at Ivy Creek, which

Nov. 7.

Nov. 8.

bends around it in the form of an elbow.

"Behind this ridge, and all along the mountain side, the enemy, 700 strong, lay in ambush, and did not fire until the head of Colonel Marshall's battalion, himself leading, was up to the elbow. The skirmish was very sharp. The mountain side was blue with puffs of smoke, and not an enemy to be seen. The first discharge killed four and wounded thirteen of Marshall's men. General Nelson ordered the Kentuckians to charge. Colonel Harris, whose regiment was immediately behind the General, led his men up the mountain side most gallantly, and deployed them along the face of it. Colonel Norton, whose regiment had just reached the defile, anticipating an order from the General, led his men up the northern ridge of the mountain, deployed them along the creek, and went at the rebels. Two pieces of artillery were got in position in the road and opened upon them. Owing to the steepness of the mountain, all this required time. On the opposite side of the river, which at that point is narrow, deep, and swift, there were also rebels who annoyed our men. In an hour and twenty minutes the rebels were dispersed and fled, leaving a number of killed and wounded on the ground, and six prisoners unhurt. As General Nelson marched immediately in pursuit, the rebel loss was not ascertained accurately, but thirty were found dead on the field. Among the wounded prisoners was H. M. Rust, late State senator from Greenup County. Our loss in killed was six, and twenty-four wounded. If General Nelson had had with him any cavalry, he feels confident he would have taken or slain the whole of them. As it was, the enemy retreated, cutting down trees across the narrow road and burning or cutting all the bridges, which are numerous. General Nelson bivouacked four miles beyond the Ivy Creek. It rained, and the men had to wade through mud and in a heavy rain all the day of the 9th, the march being heavy and slow on account of the felled trees obstructing the road, and the necessary repairing of bridges. At night the army again bivouacked in the November rain, and the next morning they reached Pikeville, where Colonel Sill had arrived the previous night. Captain Berryhill, of the Second Ohio, was wounded severely at Ivy Creek, while leading the column up the mountain side.

"During these operations, the command of Colonel Sill executed General Nelson's orders, and occupied Pikeville by a circuitous route on the 9th, at four P.M. Colonel Metcalf's mounted men in advance exchanged shots with a reconnoitring party which had just crossed the river, but immediately retreated. Metcalf and Hart's forces were then thrown out, deployed as skirmishers on the hill-side, flanking the road which debouches at the ford. They found the enemy's camp deserted, and the main street of the village occupied by mounted men, who were making off by the Shelby road. A few rounds of shell were sent after them, and Metcalf's men

took possession of the town, fording the river on horseback. The rest of the force crossed on a raft-bridge. The enemy were occupied all the previous day in evacuating the place. General Williams was there when the skirmishers opened fire, but he retreated, and Colonel Sill subsequently occupied his headquarters. On the route, Colonel Sill twice encountered a body of mounted men: the first fire killed a horse and wounded two of the rebels, On the night of the 8th, a party of ten, sent out by Colonel Metcalf, encountered Captain Shawhan's rebel cavalry, about 150 strong, and it was reported that Captain Shawhan was wounded. His party fell back in great haste. The troops in Pikeville were not well off for provisions. All they could get was beef, but there is a mill in the vicinity, which they intended to set in motion and supply themselves with corn meal. It was impossible to obtain any accurate account of the numbers of the dispersed rebels, but they were most effectually cleared out."*

The enemy were thus temporarily routed from that portion of Eastern Kentucky, and General Nelson could gratefully and proudly proclaim to his troops:

"In a campaign of twenty days you
Nov. 10. have driven the rebels from Eastern Kentucky and given repose to that portion of the State. You have made continual forced marches over wretched roads, deep in mud. Badly clad, you have bivouacked on the wet ground in the November rain without a murmur. With scarcely half rations, you have pressed forward with unfailing perseverance. The only place at which the enemy made a stand, though ambushed and very strong, you drove him from in the most brilliant style. For your constancy and courage I thank you, and with the qualities which you have shown that you possess, I expect great things from you in the future."

Such had been the various conflicts of more or less importance between the opposing parties in Kentucky when General Buell assumed the command of the Union army, and General Johnston that of the enemy. The former had his headquarters at Louisville, and the latter was commanding a greatly increased force at Bowling Green, where Buckner had first taken his position.

Buell, after assembling and organizing a large army in Louisville, was enabled to reinforce the various advanced posts of the Unionists, and to push forward some 40,000 men of his centre, under General McCook, toward the enemy's at Bowling Green. The Confederates withdrew their advance guard under the command of General Hindman, as McCook approached, and after retreating to the southern bank of the Green River, partially destroyed the stately iron bridge of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which crosses that stream. When the Unionists, however, reached Green River, they constructed a temporary bridge. and began to throw across eight companies of the Thirty-second Indiana Regiment, mostly Germans, under Colonel Willich, to act as an advance guard.

* Louisville *Journal.*

This little force proceeded to occupy for their encampment an area of cleared ground near Munfordsville, of about a mile in breadth, surrounded by woods. An attempt was now made by a portion Dec. 17. of the enemy's advance guard, consisting of infantry, and the Texan Rangers under Colonel Terry, to take them by surprise. The camp, however, was on the alert. The enemy's scouts had been observed in the woods, and two companies were ordered to dislodge them. The scouts retreated as the Unionists advanced, who continued to push on cautiously as skirmishers. Soon after a troop of cavalry came dashing over the hill to meet our men still in pursuit. Finding that the enemy were thus in force on their front, the two companies, after firing a volley in response to the shots of their mounted antagonists, retired to a level field, in order to draw the enemy from the cover of the woods. Having thus chosen their ground, the Unionists sounded their bugles to bring up the companies from the camp and those on the other side of the river, which had not yet crossed. The enemy, finding themselves greatly superior in numbers, did not hesitate to make an attack. But before they were able to shake the steady little band of some 200 hundred Germans, their comrades came to the rescue.

"They came on right gallantly," wrote one who was present, "part of them having to cross Green River, and fell in upon the right and left flank with as much coolness as if this had been their hundredth battle instead of their first. Then followed an almost hand-to-hand conflict, lasting fully an hour. The enemy strove in vain to draw the Germans up the hill by feigned retreats, and a masked battery was so planted as to have swept our brave fellows fore and aft, had they for a moment permitted their valor to get the better of their discretion; but, knowing the fearful odds arrayed against them, they were content to hold their ground. Finally, when the enemy despaired of getting them into the ambush, they unmasked their battery and opened fire. The first ball passed between the adjutant and major of the regiment, who occupied positions not many feet apart. This was the signal for another onset by the Texas Cavalry, and right well did they perform the work. Captain Wellschbellich, Company G, formed his men in hollow square, and the cavalry boldly charged their front, their right, and their left, but they were as adamant; the square remained unbroken, while many of the Texans, equally brave, but less successful because they were the attacking party, bit the dust. The cavalry retired, discomfited, and then an entire regiment of rebel infantry darkened the hill and came marching down toward the brave men composing Company G, but a galling fire from our front and right scattered their forces and gave them something else to think of. Colonel Willich had been ordered on duty at headquarters, and consequently did not get to his regiment until the heat of the battle was over. The regiment was forced to fall back a short distance, not being able to make a stand against the

artillery. The rebels did not pursue. They carried off their wounded, and then beat a hasty retreat. It is known that the rebel force consisted of Terry's regiment of cavalry, two regiments of infantry, and three pieces of cannon. The rebels lost sixty-two killed. * * *

"Willich's entire forces only numbered 414, including commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.*

After General Nelson had congratulated his troops upon restoring Eastern Kentucky to the Federal authority, another feeble attempt at invasion was made by the enemy. Humphrey Marshall, formerly a member of the United States Congress from Kentucky, now a general in the Confederate service, had mustered a force of 2,000 or 3,000 men among the mountains on the borders of Virginia, and penetrated the eastern part of the State as far as Paintville, on the Big Sandy River, where he had intrenched himself. Colonel Garfield advanced with the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, Fourteenth Kentucky Regiment, and 300 of the Second Virginia Cavalry.

"On hearing of my approach," says the Colonel in his report, "the main

* This was the enemy's official account of the affair:

"HEADQUARTERS ADVANCE GUARD, C. A., KY.,
CAVE CITY, *December* 19, 1861.

"SIR: At eight o'clock A.M., on the 17th inst., I moved toward Woodsonville for the purpose of breaking up the railroad from the vicinity of that place southward. My force consisted of 1,100 infantry and four pieces of artillery. When within two and a half miles of Woodsonville, concealed from the enemy's view, I halted the column and ordered forward Colonel Terry's Rangers, to occupy the heights of my right, left, and front; and Major Phifer's Cavalry to watch the crossings of Green River, still farther to my left. These orders having been executed, and no force of the enemy or pickets seen, I advanced the column till the right reached the railroad. This brought me within three-quarters of a mile of the river and the enemy, but still concealed, except a small body of cavalry upon the extreme left. Here a company of rangers was detached to observe the enemy from Rowlett's Knob, which was to my right, across the railroad. A strip of timber bordered the river parallel to the line held by the cavalry. Fields were between a body of the enemy's infantry, as skirmishers moved through the timber, by their right, on my left. They were fired upon by a small body of my cavalry, and retired. The firing ceased for about half an hour, and I went in person to select a suitable place for camp, leaving Colonel Terry in command, with instructions to decoy the enemy up the hill, where I could use my infantry and artillery with effect, and be out of the range of the enemy's batteries.

"Before returning to the column, the fire from the skirmishers re-commenced. The enemy appeared in force upon my right and centre. Colonel Terry, at the head of 75 rangers, charged about 300, routed and drove them back, but fell mortally wounded. A body of the enemy of about the same size attacked the rangers under Captain Ferrell, upon the right of the turnpike, and were repulsed with heavy loss. The enemy now began crossing by regiments, and moving about on my right and left flanks. Three companies of Colonel Marmaduke's (First Arkansas) battalion were thrown out as skirmishers on my left, engaged the enemy's right, and drove them to the river. I now ordered Captain Swift's battery and the Second Arkansas Regiment to support it, holding the Sixth Arkansas Regiment in reserve. The artillery opened fire upon the enemy in the field adjacent to the railroad, and drove them back of the river. Firing now ceased on both sides. The enemy made no further attempt to advance, but knowing that he had already crossed the river in force more than double my own, and had the means of crossing additional forces, I withdrew my command by way of the turnpike, two miles and a half, and took position to meet the enemy, if disposed to advance. There being no indications of such an intention, I returned to my camp here, reaching this place at eight o'clock P.M.

"My loss in this affair was as follows: *Killed*—Colonel Terry and three men of his regiment. *Dangerously Wounded*—Lieutenant Morris and three men (Texas Rangers). *Slightly Wounded*—Captain Walker and three men (Texas Rangers), and two men of the First Arkansas Battalion.

"I estimated the enemy's loss at 75 killed and left on the ground; wounded, unknown. I have eight prisoners; others taken were too badly wounded to be moved, and were left at citizens' houses. The troops under my command, who were engaged, displayed courage in excess. The others were as steady as veterans.

"Respectfully, T. C. HINDMAN, Brigadier-General.

"To Lieutenant D. C. WHITE, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, First Division Central Army of Kentucky."

rebel force left their strongly intrenched
Jan. 7, 1862. camp and fled. I sent my cavalry to the mouth of Jennis Creek, where they attacked and drove the rebel cavalry, which had been left as a vanguard, a distance of five miles, killing three and wounding a considerable number. Marshall's whole army is now flying in utter confusion. He had abandoned and burned a large quantity of stores. We have taken fifteen prisoners. Our loss was two killed and one wounded."

Next day Colonel Garfield set out in pursuit of the retreating enemy with 1,100 men. Having come up with their advance guard two miles below Prestonburg, he drove them in and pushed on toward their main body, posted at the forks of Middle Creek, under Marshall.

"Skirmishing with his outposts began
Jan. 10. at eight o'clock, and at one o'clock P.M.," wrote Colonel Garfield in his report, "we engaged his force of 2,500, with three cannon posted on the hill. We fought them until dark, having been reinforced by about 700 men from Paintville, and drove the enemy from all his positions. He carried off the majority of his dead and all his wounded. This morning we found twenty-seven of his dead on the field. His killed cannot be less than sixty. We have taken twenty-five prisoners, ten horses, and a quantity of stores. The enemy burned most of his stores, and fled precipitately in the night. To-day I have crossed the river, and am now occupying Prestonburg. Our loss is two killed and twenty-five wounded."

The enemy confessed to a retreat, but notwithstanding claimed a success, declaring that their loss was but nine killed and nine wounded, while that of their antagonists was "from 400 to 500 killed, and about the same number wounded."*

* Richmond *Dispatch*.

CHAPTER II.

General Buell in command in Kentucky.—The character of the Army in Kentucky.—A respectable mob.—Organization and discipline.—Delay in operations.—Impatience of Unionists.—Ready for a campaign.—Composition of Troops.—Division of Buell's Army.—Position of the Army.—Division of General McCook.—Position of the Enemy.—Division of General Nelson.—Division of General Mitchell.—Division of Thomas.—Position of the Enemy under Zollicoffer.—General Schoepf.—Opening of the Campaign.—Plan of Thomas.—Attack by Zollicoffer.—His motives explained.—The Battle of Webb's Cross Roads or Mill Spring.—The Enemy beaten.—Death of Zollicoffer.—Retreat and pursuit.—Comparative losses.—Occupation of the Enemy's intrenched Camp.—Difficulty of pursuit.—Extent of the Enemy's Flight.—Effect of the victory at Mill Spring.—The panic at Richmond.—Beauregard sent to the West.—Sketch of General Zollicoffer.—Life of General Thomas.—Life of General Schoepf.

WHEN General Buell succeeded to the command in Kentucky, he found there a very large number of troops, which had been hastily mustered and thrown into the State; but these were merely fresh recruits—a "respectable mob," as the General himself termed them—a mass of raw material, which it was necessary to mould into the form and order of an army. The time required to effect this caused a great delay in active operations, which sorely vexed the patience of those who, in the eagerness of their patriotic desires, had fixed an early day for the restoration of the Union. At the opening of the new year, however, General Buell had so far succeeded in his work of organization and discipline, that—possessing a force which, if not up to the military ideal of a perfect army, was sufficiently effective for all practicable purposes—he ventured upon the hazards of an active campaign.

1862.

His troops were chiefly composed of the hardy men of the West, gathered from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and the loyal districts of Kentucky and Tennessee. Well armed, thoroughly equipped, and devoted to the cause of the Union, they were prepared and eager for active service.

General Buell had divided his large force, computed at from a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men, into five grand divisions or *corps d'armée.* His own staff was thus composed:

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Brigadier-General Don Carlos Buell, acting Major-General.

STAFF.

Captain James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General, chief of staff.

Captain N. H. McLean, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Captain Oliver D. Greene, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Captain James M. Wright, Assistant Adjutant-General and Aide-de-Camp.

Lieutenant Frank G. Smith, Assistant Adjutant-General and Aide-de-Camp.

Lieutenant A. W. Rockwell, Aide-de-Camp.

Colonel Thomas Swords, Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Captain H. C. Lymend, Commissary of Subsistence.

Surgeon Robert Murray, Medical Director.

Major Charles T. Larned, Assistant Paymaster-General.

Captain F. E. Prime, Corps of Engineers.

Captain Nathaniel Mechler, Corps of Topographical Engineers.

The various divisions, with their commanders, who ranked as brigadier-generals, but acted as major-generals, were as follows :

First Division—Brigadier-General Alexander McDowell McCook, of Ohio, headquarters at Munfordsville.

Second Division—Brigadier-General T. Nelson, of Kentucky, headquarters near Summerville, Ky.

Third Division (Reserve)—Brigadier-General O. H. Mitchell, of Ohio, headquarters at Bacon Creek, Ky.

Fourth Division—Brigadier-General George W. Thomas, of Kentucky, headquarters at Columbia, Ky.

Fifth Division—Brigadier-General T. L. Crittenden, of Kentucky, headquarters at Calhoun, Ky.

Four of these divisions had been ad-
Jan. 14. vanced to a line across the State, parallel to that occupied by the enemy. The first division, forming the advance of the centre, under General McCook, whose march to Munfordsville has already been related, remained there, engaged in throwing up intrenchments and repairing the railway and bridge which cross the Green River. Opposed to McCook's division was an advanced column of the enemy, under General Hindman, posted at Cave City, ten miles to the southwest of Munfordsville. The picket guards of the opposing forces were extended in sight of each other. The second division, under Brigadier-General T. Nelson, was marching south on the road from Louisville, *via* Glasgow, to Nashville, in order to co-operate with the first division, with which it completed the centre. These two, moving on parallel lines, were to combine at the proper time in an attack upon the enemy's intrenched position at Bowling Green. The road taken by General Nelson crosses the Green River about ten miles east from Munfordsville, where McCook had crossed. Glasgow was the enemy's position which first presented itself to the advance of Nelson, and it was proposed that he should attack this place simultaneously with the movement of McCook against Cave City, immediately in his front.

The third division, commanded by the popular astronomer, General Mitchell, being composed generally of fresh recruits, was held as a reserve, to be moved forward to Munfordsville whenever McCook should advance against the enemy.

The main body of the fourth division, under General Thomas, forming the left wing of General Buell's army, was posted at Columbia, midway between Bowling

Green on the west and Somerset on the east. The enemy, under Zollicoffer, however, having moved from Cumberland Gap to the neighborhood of Somerset, General Thomas had divided his force with the view of thwarting their designs. General Schoepf, with a portion of the division, had been left ten miles west of Somerset, in order to watch the enemy in front, while Thomas himself, with the larger portion of his troops, prepared to make a flank movement from Columbia.

The fifth division, under General Crittenden, forming the right wing of Buell's army, was far to the east, toward the Cumberland Gap, prepared to co-operate with the contemplated movements against the enemy's fortifications on that river, and to interrupt the communication between the left of the Confederates at Columbus and their centre at Bowling Green.

The campaign in Kentucky was opened on the extreme left of Buell's army, by the movement of General Thomas, which resulted in a brilliant success near Somerset.

A plan had been formed to attack the enemy's encampment on the Cumberland River, by a combined movement of General Thomas with the main body of his division—the fourth—and General Schoepf with the rest of the forces. General Thomas was to move on the enemy's flank, from Jamestown, whither he had advanced from Columbia, and General Schoepf to the front, from his position at Somerset, with the view of making the assaults simultaneously from the west and north. Before, however, this design could be accomplished, the enemy became aware of it, and, leaving their intrenchments, advanced to meet General Thomas. The motives for this movement of the enemy are thus stated by one of their own writers :*

"Our position at Beech Grove, on the north side of the Cumberland River, is said to have been, in a military point of view, untenable. We had intrenchments, it is true ; but they are said to have been utterly indefensible against an attack by a superior force. We had twelve pieces of artillery, but against the long-range guns of the enemy they were useless. A deep and rapid river was behind our army, and the means of crossing it were a small steamer and three ferry flats, only sufficient in all to transport at one carrying three hundred men. The country around was utterly devoid of provisions. The most untiring efforts of commissaries had been only availing to drain the country for twenty miles southward of every article for purchase ; while on the immediate road to Knoxville, enough provisions could not be bought, from day to day, to subsist a single team. A more indefensible position than Beech Grove, it is said, could hardly be imagined as long as an enemy was in front. Mill Spring could have been better defended ; but even there, the entire absence of facilities for supplies from the rear, and the stoppage of communication with Nashville by the river, would have compelled an advance at a very early date, or a

* Richmond *Examiner.*

retrograde movement, even had no enemy been threatening. A movement of one kind or the other was a military necessity.

"Amid these unpleasant facts, word was brought to General Crittenden of an advance by the enemy—say of eight to ten thousand men—from Columbia, and of a large force from Somerset, evidently with a view to storm our intrenchments. The result may be imagined had this been attempted; for we were without suitable means of transportation across the river, and all avenues of retreat could have been effectually cut off by the enemy crossing above and below Mill Spring. General Crittenden is stated to have had but three courses to pursue: to at once fall back ingloriously and retreat without a blow; to stay still and be stormed out, and surrender whenever an enemy approached—or be starved out, and surrender within a week; or else to make an advanced movement into Kentucky. The entire army at Mill Spring had been reduced to a simple ration of beef and a half ration of corn, the latter eaten as parched corn, and not issued as meal.

"Under these circumstances, and with the report of the advance movement of the enemy, both from Columbia and from Somerset, a council of war was held on Saturday evening, January 18. With five thousand brave men behind them, the council of war thought that they could drive before them twice that number of Northern hirelings. The council is positively said to have been unanimous in its decision. Both brigadier-generals, all the colonels, and the captains of artillery and independent companies viewed the matter in the same light. The alternatives presented were an inglorious retreat without a blow; an impracticable defence of intrenchments, ending in a surrender; or an eventual starving out, with a similar result."

If their intrenched camp was thus untenable, it was doubtless expedient either to attack or retreat. The enemy chose the bolder alternative, and hoped by fighting the separate forces of their antagonists in detail, first to beat General Thomas and then General Schoepf.

The enemy, variously estimated at from six to eight thousand men, under the command of Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, accordingly marched out at midnight on Saturday, January 18th, and had proceeded ten miles before the break of day.

General Thomas was in the meantime halting in his contemplated advance against the enemy's intrenchments. With him was a force composed of the Ninth Ohio Regiment Volunteers, Tenth Indiana Regiment Volunteers, Second Minnesota Regiment Volunteers, Fourth Kentucky Regiment Volunteers, Tenth Kentucky Regiment Volunteers, Eighteenth Regiment United States regulars, and two full batteries of artillery.

The place known as Webb's Cross Roads, Thomas' encampment on Saturday night (January 18), which became the field of battle of the next day, Sunday (January 19), was about six miles

east of Jamestown and ten miles west of the enemy's fortified camp of Beech Grove, situated between White Oak Creek and the Cumberland River.

The enemy having reached within striking distance of General Thomas' camp at four o'clock in the morning, began the attack at once with great spirit. They had hoped to have taken their antagonists by surprise, but the Union troops, though not expecting the assault, were watchful, and prepared to defend themselves.

Jan. 18.

After a severe skirmishing between the pickets, the main bodies advanced to meet each other, and the conflict became general, with a fire of cannon and muskets. The troops fought well on both sides, but at last, after an irregular struggle, or bush fight, of nearly three hours, the enemy were driven back, and by a spirited charge of bayonets forced to a total rout. The brunt of the battle was borne by the Fourth Kentucky, Second Minnesota, Ninth Ohio, and Tenth Indiana. Shortly after eleven o'clock Colonel Haskin succeeded in flanking the enemy on the extreme right, when the Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota charged with the bayonet, with loud cries, which broke the rebel ranks, and the rout began. They fled pell-mell to their camp, strewing the road with muskets, blankets, overcoats, and knapsacks, and abandoning two guns and caissons.

The panic of the enemy was increased by the arrival of Federal reinforcements, consisting of a Tennessee brigade and the Tenth Kentucky Regiment, and the death of their favorite commander, General Zollicoffer, who was shot through the heart at the head of his staff, by Colonel Fry, of the Fourth Kentucky Regiment. General Zollicoffer having lost his way in the bushes, came out suddenly in face of Colonel Fry, who was accompanied by some staff officers. The two parties mistook each other for friends, and approached within a few yards, when, finding their mutual mistake, both halted and prepared for a hand-to-hand conflict. One of General Zollicoffer's aids shot at Colonel Fry, but only brought his horse down. The Union Colonel immediately drew his revolver, and brought General Zollicoffer from his saddle at the first fire.

The loss on the part of the enemy was reported to be two hundred and seventy-five, while that of the Unionists was hardly less. The soldiers of the Tenth Indiana Regiment being in advance, were the greatest sufferers, losing seventy-five killed and wounded. When they charged with their bayonets, they were brought so close to the enemy, that a Mississippi regiment turned upon them with their long bowie-knives, which they thrust through a fence that separated them from their assailants. The bayonets, however, by their greater length, gave the advantage to the Indiana men, and their opponents, unable to use their knives with effect, were forced to fly.

The enemy were pursued to their intrenched camp, when night falling, the Unionists ceased the pursuit, although

F.O.C Darley

R. Dudensing

BATTLE NEAR MILL SPRINGS, KY.

DEATH OF GEN. ZOLLICOFFER.

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they continued to throw a few shells at the camp of the fugitives, where they had sought refuge. The pursuers now resting on their arms, bivouacked on the ground for the night. Early next morning the Tenth Indiana, Tenth Kentucky, Fourteenth Ohio, and Fourth Kentucky regiments were ordered to take possession of the enemy's intrenched camp, which was found entirely abandoned. The Tenth Kentucky was the first to enter, followed by the other regiments. "We found everything left," says one of the Indiana men.* "Horses stood saddled and bridled; teams were hitched up; the horses were standing attached to the cannon; officers' trunks were found strewn on the bank of the river. We took about 2,000 head of horses and mules, 250 wagons, 14 cannons—two of which were captured by them at Bull Run—some 4,000 or 5,000 stand of arms, and any number of flags."

General Schoepf's force had in the mean time arrived, and joining General Thomas' troops, pursued, in company with the victors, the flying enemy. A steamboat was seen moving on the river, and being fired at with shells was soon in a blaze. The combined force, having seized several boats which the fugitives had used, but in their haste failed to destroy, crossed the Cumberland at Mill Spring, but the enemy scattering in every direction, made no attempt at resistance. From the condition of the roads, however, and for fear of being at too great a distance in a hostile and poor country from the basis of operations, General Thomas was compelled to check the rapidity of his advance and wait for his train of supply-wagons. He subsequently withdrew his main force and posted it within the intrenchments on the north side of the Cumberland, abandoned by the enemy, while General Schoepf continued to advance on the south until he reached Monticello, near the borders of Tennessee, where a great number of the enemy's wounded were found abandoned by their comrades, who continued to scatter in flight over the country.

General Crittenden, with the small force he was able to keep together, retreated until he reached Gainesborough, where he arrived on Sunday, January 28th, one week after the battle.

"The retreat," reports one of the enemy, "was made in good order, and by three o'clock in the afternoon our army was inside its intrenchments. Immediately a severe cannonading was commenced by the enemy, making it evident that their superiority in guns could eventually drive our forces from their camp.

"Between dusk and dawn our entire army was taken across the river, with the loss merely of the artillery and worn-out tents and camp equipage. Long before the enemy dreamed of the evacuation, our forces had gained an

* The same writer gives the account of the death of Zollicoffer: "You have seen it reported in the papers that Colonel Fry and Zollicoffer had some conversation, and that Fry shot Zollicoffer. This is a great hoax. Zollicoffer was shot three times; the ball that killed him was from an Enfield rifle, and entered his heart. The shot was fired by Corporal James Swan, of Company H, who is a dead shot."

available point to resist any onward movement of theirs. The abandonment of the artillery was a necessity. The approaches to the river on both sides were very high and precipitous; the roads almost belly deep in mud to a horse, and the conveyance of the guns across would have exhausted hours and means imperatively demanded for the men.

"The army camped on Monday night two miles beyond Monticello, the sick and wounded having been sent on before. From Monticello it marched by easy stages to Livingston, where it spent Saturday, the 25th [January], and reached Gainesborough on Sunday evening."

The victory of the Unionists at Mill Spring* was a heavy blow to the enemy, and caused them great discouragement. They had been not only driven from the disputed ground of Kentucky, but so broken and scattered as to be hardly capable of making a stand on the borders of Tennessee, a State they especially claimed as their own. Great inquietude was now felt for the safety of their other positions in Kentucky, of which inquietude the government of Jefferson Davis at Richmond gave proof by transferring
Jan. 27. General Beauregard to Kentucky from his important position at Manassas, where he was succeeded by General Gustavus W. Smith.

The death of General Zollicoffer was felt to be a great loss to the cause of the secessionists. Not educated as a soldier, he had exhibited perhaps little military skill, but daring and unscrupulous, he had shown great enterprise in the kind of irregular warfare he had adopted.

Felix K. Zollicoffer, as his name—that of a distinguished family in Switzerland—indicates, was of Swiss origin. He was born in North Carolina in 1812, and at an early age emigrated to Tennessee, where he for a time worked as a printer, and subsequently became the editor of a newspaper. In 1834 he edited and published the *Columbian Observer*, and from 1835 to 1837 held the profitable place of State printer of Tennessee. In 1842 he became the editor of the Nashville *Banner*, and through the partisan influence of this Whig journal obtained various political offices.

He was thrice elected controller of the State from 1843 to 1847, and in 1849 was chosen a State senator. In 1850 he received the contract for building the imposing suspension bridge across the Cumberland at Nashville. In the meantime he had given up the editorship of the *Banner*, which, however, he resumed as a means of aiding him in attaining the position of member of Congress. In this he succeeded, and acquired a fair position as a debater. The Democratic party having the political control of Tennessee, Zollicoffer was thwarted in his aspirations to the governorship. He now abandoned the Whig party, and became a conspicuous leader of the "Know Nothings," or Native Americans.

At the beginning of the secession

* The battle has been variously called the battle of Somerset and the battle of Mill Spring, but it occurred at neither place; both being several miles distant from the field of battle, which was on the road to Mill Spring.

movement in Tennessee, Zollicoffer opposed it, but was finally induced to risk his fortunes upon the cause of the Southern confederacy, by which he was appointed brigadier-general. He was a man of great energy and courage, but without military knowledge or experience, and devoid of prudence. The attack at Mill Spring—supposed to have been suggested by Zollicoffer—which resulted so disastrously to him, was a movement alike characteristic of the enterprise and audacity of the man.

Zollicoffer had only joined the secession force at Mill Spring a few hours before the movement, and served in the battle under General Crittenden, to whom belonged the chief command. Crittenden, formerly an officer in the United States army, is the son of Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, and the brother of General Crittenden, in command of a division of General Buell's army, both devoted to the Union.

General George H. Thomas, the chief in command of the tenth division of the Federal army in Kentucky, and who led in the battle of Mill Spring, was born in Virginia. He entered West Point in 1836, and in 1840 was appointed a second lieutenant of artillery. In the campaign against the Indians in Florida he earned the brevet of first lieutenant, and during the war with Mexico so distinguished himself that he was successively rewarded with various brevet ranks to that of major. In 1850 he was appointed a teacher of artillery and cavalry at the West Point Academy.

In December, 1853, he was made a full captain of artillery; and on the 12th of May, 1855, was appointed major of the Second Cavalry. At the beginning of the civil war, General Thomas was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, and on the 3d of May, 1861, was made colonel of the Second Cavalry. As colonel he had charge of the United States regular forces under General Patterson, in the Department of the Shenandoah, and led the troops across the Potomac. He was next appointed an acting brigadier-general in the same department, in which capacity he served under General Banks. On the 17th of August, 1861, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and was ordered to Kentucky, where, after serving under Generals Anderson and Sherman, he was appointed by their successor, General Buell, to the command of the tenth division, designed to operate in the south-eastern part of Kentucky.

General Alvin Schoepf is a Hungarian, who came to this country as a political refugee, and was employed for some time as a draughtsman and clerk in the Patent Office at Washington. He subsequently was transferred to the War Department; here, giving proof of his capacity as an engineer, he was sent into Virginia to conduct a military survey. He was soon after appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and ordered to Kentucky, where he gave, by his spirited defence at Wild Cat, a signal proof of his spirit and skill.

CHAPTER III.

The breaking of the Enemy's Line in Kentucky.—The combined Expeditions in Kentucky and Tennessee.—The Fortifications of the Enemy on the Mississippi, Cumberland, and Tennessee.—Fort Henry described.—Its Commander.—Sketch of Tilghman.—Great Preparations at Cairo and Paducah.—General Grant—His life and character.—Life of Commodore Foote.—A combined Naval and Military Expedition against Fort Henry designed.—Delay of the land force.—Plan of co-operation.—The Naval Expedition.—Its composition.—Sailing of the Fleet.—The attack on Fort Henry.—The Essex disabled.—Capitulation of the Fort.—Arrival of General Grant.—Occupation of Fort Henry.—Vigorous defence of the Enemy.—Their losses.—Losses of the Unionists.—The Tennessee River opened.—Expedition up the Tennessee.—The result.—Welcome from the Enemy.

THE breaking of the enemy's line in Kentucky by their rout at Mill Spring was the signal for the commencement of those combined expeditions by land and water which had been so long maturing at St. Louis, Cairo, and Paducah. These posts were within the department of General Halleck, and upon him devolved the preparation for and the direction of the important movements contemplated in Kentucky and Tennessee.

1862.

The enemy had striven to secure the command of the Mississippi, Tennessee, and the Cumberland, by the construction of fortifications on these rivers. At Columbus, in Kentucky, on the left bank of the Mississippi, were the most formidable of these works; at Dover, on the left of the Cumberland, in a southeasterly direction from Columbus, was Fort Donelson with its extensive intrenchments; the next in importance, and on the right of the Tennessee, which flows in a parallel line with the latter river, and between it and the former, was Fort Henry, the least considerable of the three works.

Forts Donelson and Henry were just within the boundary line of Tennessee, the former being somewhat more to the south, and consequently farther removed from the border of Kentucky than the latter, which almost touched it.

After repeated reconnoissances in force from Cairo down the Mississippi and from Paducah and Smithland*—which had been lately occupied by the Unionists—up the Tennessee and Cumberland, and a vigilant reconnoitring by land of the enemy's strength and position, it was determined to begin operations by an attack upon Fort Henry.

This work stands on the east bank of the Tennessee River, upon low ground, about the height of the high-water mark. A bend just above prevents any command up the stream; but the Tennessee below, being straight for two miles, the guns of the fort have an effective range for that distance in the direction of the flow of the river. On the opposite side of the Tennessee are three hills which com-

* Smithland is situated to the east of Paducah, on the Ohio, near the mouth of the Cumberland.

mand the fort; but although the enemy had commenced raising fortifications upon them, they had never been completed. Fort Henry was an earth-work scientifically constructed, and mounted with seventeen cannon, most of which were of heavy calibre, there being one one hundred and twenty-eight pounder, eight or ten thirty-two pounders, four twelve pounders, and other powerful guns. To the fort were attached barracks and an encampment capable of accommodating fifteen thousand men. Brigadier-General Tilghman was the Confederate chief in command.

Lloyd Tilghman was born in Maryland, and was educated at the Military Academy of West Point, where he completed his studies in 1836. After receiving the commission of second lieutenant of dragoons in July of the same year, he resigned in the following September, and adopted the profession of a civil engineer. He was employed in this capacity on various railroads until the war with Mexico, when he proceeded to the Rio Grande and served as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Twiggs in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. He subsequently became the chief of a small partisan band, superintended the erection of the defensive works at Matamoras, and finally closed his career in Mexico as the captain of a company of light artillery in a regiment of volunteers from Maryland and the District of Columbia. After the war Tilghman resumed his profession as a civil engineer and became one of the assistants of the engineer corps employed by the Panama Railroad Company. At the beginning of the civil troubles he was residing at Paducah, in Kentucky, and being an ardent advocate for secession, was one of the first to take up arms in behalf of that cause. Obtaining the command of a regiment of the first Kentucky brigade, he remained for awhile at Clarksville, in Tennessee, engaged in drilling his men. When the Confederate troops invaded Kentucky, he accompanied them to Bowling Green. Soon after he was promoted from a colonelcy to a brigadier-generalship, and having been placed in command of the works on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, established his headquarters at Fort Donelson, but was in Fort Henry conducting its defence at the moment of its attack by the Federal forces.

The preparations had been very extensive and elaborate at Cairo and Paducah as well as at St. Louis, for the combined naval and military expeditions, from which so much was expected in carrying out the plans of campaign in the West. Cairo, in Illinois, situated at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio, and Paducah, in Kentucky, on the latter, just at the mouth of the Tennessee, and commanding that of the Cumberland, served admirably as bases of operations upon these rivers, which penetrated the interior of the vast territory held by the enemy. It was accordingly at these places that large land forces had been concentrated, and an immense fleet of gun-boats built.

General Grant was in immediate com-

mand of the troops at Cairo and Paducah, under General Halleck, the chief of the Department of the West. Ulysses S. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, 27th of April, 1822. Entering the West Point Military Academy as a cadet in 1839, he completed his studies in 1843, and was immediately brevetted second lieutenant of the Tenth Infantry. In September, 1845, he was promoted to the full rank, and served during the war with Mexico, both under Generals Taylor and Scott. His gallantry and good services won him promotion. In April, 1847, he was serving as regimental quartermaster, and on the 31st of July, 1854, when he resigned, was captain of the Tenth Infantry. On leaving the army he resided for awhile in Missouri, but subsequently removed to Galena, in Illinois, where he was living at the commencement of the present war. He immediately offered his services to the Governor of the State, and was appointed colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. After serving for awhile in Missouri, where he took part in several engagements, he was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and placed in command at Cairo. His enterprise and spirit as a leader were shown in the severe struggle at Belmont. There will soon be occasion to follow him to more important and triumphant fields of battle.

The commander-in-chief of the naval force at Cairo was Captain Foote, a name which will be found gloriously associated with the movements into Kentucky and Tennessee, soon to be related. Andrew H. Foote was born in Connecticut. His father was the Senator Foote from that State, in answer to whom Daniel Webster made one of his most memorable speeches. Young Foote entered the navy as a midshipman on the 4th of December, 1822. On the 19th of the same month, of the year 1852, after a long period of active service, he was appointed a commander. In the attack made by the Americans, in the year 1856, upon the Chinese forts, he was in command, and showed his spirit and enterprise by laying his vessel, bow foremost, immediately under the guns of the enemy, and by the success of the manœuvre proved its advantage over the system of his British allies, who fought at long range.

After a service of more than a score of years on sea, and some ten on land, in various employments connected with the naval department, Commander Foote was placed in command of the Navy Yard at Brooklyn, New York. At the beginning of the present war he was promoted to a captaincy, and charged with organizing the flotilla of gun-boats at St. Louis and Cairo, to operate on the Western rivers. In the performance of this duty, which was beset with great difficulties, he showed an unconquerable energy, and the successful result is a triumph, the honor of which is conceded chiefly to him. Captain Foote is now nearly sixty years of age, but though he has grown grey in the tranquil service of his country during peace, still shows a vigor and cour-

Photograph by Brady

Engraved by G Stodart

A. H. Foote

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age equal to the trying duties of a leader in war.

It was the design to make a combined naval and military attack upon Fort Henry, but in consequence of the state of the roads, the land force was delayed in its march, and the work devolved entirely upon Captain Foote with his flotilla of gun-boats.

General Grant, however, had marched out a considerable body of troops, consisting of the first division under General McClernand, and three brigades of the second division under General C. F. Smith, with the view of their co-operating in the attack. This force was so disposed* as to act simultaneously with the fleet, but before the troops were able to reach their respective positions, Captain Foote had completed the work.

The flotilla sailed from Cairo on the morning of the 6th of February. It consisted of seven gun-boats, of which four were new and iron-clad, and three old. The former, the Cincinnati, Commander Stembel, upon which was Captain Foote as flag-officer; the Essex, Commander Porter; the Carondelet, Commander Walker; and the St. Louis, Lieutenant-Commanding Paulding, constituted the first division: the latter, the Conestoga, Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps; the Tyler, Lieutenant-Commanding Gavin, and the Lexington, Lieutenant-Commanding Shirk, formed the second division, under the general command of Lieutenant Phelps.

The first division, commanded by Captain Foote in person, moved up the Tennessee River in advance, with the view of making a direct attack upon Fort Henry, while the second division was kept astern and nearer shore, to be ready to co-operate. Captain Foote having formed his division in a parallel line, moved his vessels with their bows pointed directly at the fort, and on reaching within 1,700 yards of the enemy's works, opened from his flag-ship a fire

* The following order gives the proposed plan of co-operation:

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAMP IN FIELD, NEAR FORT HENRY, *Feb.* 5, 1862.

"The first division, General McClernand commanding, will move at eleven o'clock A.M. to-morrow, under the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson, and take a position on the roads from Fort Henry to Donelson and Dover.

"It will be the special duty of this command to prevent all reinforcement to Fort Henry, or escape from it. Also to be held in readiness to charge and take Fort Henry by storm, promptly on the receipt of orders.

"Two brigades of the second division, General C. F. Smith commanding, will start at the same hour from the west bank of the river, and take and occupy the heights commanding Fort Henry. This point will be held by so much artillery as can be made available, and such other troops as, in the opinion of the general commanding the second division, may be necessary for its protection.

"The third brigade, second division, will advance up the east bank of the Tennessee River, as fast as it can be securely done, and be in readiness to charge upon the fort or move to the support of the first division, as may be necessary.

"All the forces on the west bank of the river, not required to hold the heights commanding Fort Henry, will return to their transports, cross to the east bank, and follow the first brigade as fast as possible.

"The west bank of the Tennessee River not having been reconnoitred, the commanding officer intrusted with taking possession of the enemy's works there, will proceed with great caution, and such information as can be gathered, and such guides as can be found in the time intervening, before eleven o'clock to-morrow.

"The troops will receive two days' rations of bread and meat in their haversacks.

"One company of the second division, armed with rifles, will be ordered to report to Flag-Officer Foote, as sharp-shooters on board the gun-boats. By order,

"U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding."

which was immediately followed by that of the other gun-boats. The enemy at the same time responded, and thus began at half-past twelve o'clock the conflict at Fort Henry, which resulted so triumphantly to the Unionists.

Feb. 6.

Foote continued to approach closer and closer with his parallel line of gun-boats until he reached within 600 yards of the fort. The fire now on both sides increased greatly in rapidity and accuracy of range.

After the firing had continued about an hour, the Essex received a shot in her boiler, which entirely disabled the vessel, so that she was forced to drop astern out of the action. The escape of steam which followed killed five and scalded some forty or fifty others, among whom was the commander.

The firing, however, between the fort and the three gun-boats left, continued with unabated vigor, until the "rebel flag," says Captain Foote in his report, "was hauled down, after a very severe and closely contested action of one hour and fifteen minutes."

As soon as the enemy's flag was lowered, an adjutant-general and captain of engineers came off in a boat and reported that General Tilghman, the commander of the fort, wished to communicate with the flag-officer. Captain Foote accordingly dispatched Commander Stembel and Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, with orders to hoist the American flag where the "rebel ensign had been flying," and to inform General Tilghman that the flag-officer would see him on his ship. The defeated commander soon after arrived, and delivering up his sword to Captain Foote, said, "Captain, I am glad to surrender to so gallant an officer," whereupon he received the reply: "You do perfectly right, sir, in surrendering; but you should have blown my boats out of the water before I would have surrendered to you."*

General Grant arrived with his force toward the close of the engagement, in time to take possession of the fort, but too late to prevent the escape of the several thousand men encamped on the outside, who fled before the attack. The prisoners taken amounted to about sixty, including General Tilghman and his staff. Captain Foote paid this tribute to his conquered enemy: "Fort Henry was defended with the most determined gallantry by General Tilghman, worthy of a better cause, who, from his own account, went into the action with eleven guns of heavy calibre, bearing upon our boats, which he fought until seven of the number were dismantled or otherwise rendered useless."

The enemy certainly worked their guns with great energy and accuracy. The Cincinnati, the flag-ship, received thirty-one shots; the Essex, fifteen; the St. Louis, seven, and the Carondelet, six. Such, however, was the efficacy of the iron-plating of these boats, that not one, with the exception of the Essex, was seriously damaged. The men, moreover, considering the closeness and severity of the engagement, suffered little.

* It is hoped that there is some mistake in this reported answer of Captain Foote, who it would be satisfactory to think is as courteous as he is brave.

One was killed and nine were wounded on the Cincinnati; one killed by gun-shot on the Essex, though some forty were killed or injured by steam, and the Carondelet and St. Louis escaped without damage to a man. The enemy had five killed and eight or ten wounded.

The capture of Fort Henry having wrested the command of the Tennessee from the secessionists, opened to the Federal gun-boats the passage up the river through the State of Tennessee and within the borders of Alabama.

Accordingly a flotilla, consisting of the three gun-boats—Conestoga, Taylor, and Lexington—under the command of Lieutenant S. Phelps, was sent up the Tennes-

Feb. 6. see on a reconnoitring expedition. On reaching the railroad bridge which crosses the river about twenty-five miles above Fort Henry, a number of transport steamers belonging to the enemy were discovered beyond. These could not be immediately reached, as the "draw" of the bridge was closed and the machinery disordered. This, however, was soon remedied, and the flotilla passed on in rapid pursuit of the retreating vessels, which, after a chase of five hours, were abandoned and burned by those on board.

Feb. 7. On reaching Cerro Gordo, in Hardin County, Tennessee, an unfinished gun-boat, the Eastport, with a quantity of timber and other material belonging to the enemy, was captured. On the next day, at Chickasaw, two other steamers, loaded with supplies, were taken, and on entering the State of Alabama and ascending the river toward Florence, the enemy, as they caught sight of the Federal gun-boats, set fire to three steamers lying at this place. At Florence, Lieutenant Phelps landed with a force, and was met by a deputation of the citizens. A few tranquilizing words served to quiet their fears. "I told them," says Lieutenant Phelps, "that we were neither ruffians nor savages, and that we were there to protect from violence and to enforce the law." After thus sailing up the river to Florence, Lieutenant Phelps turned back. At Eastport, twenty-five Tennesseeans enlisted in the Federal service, and gave information of an encampment of a regiment of the enemy at Savannah. Lieutenant Phelps accordingly proceeded to attack it, but on reaching the place found the camp deserted. He now continued his route down the river to Fort Henry, where he arrived after an absence of four days.

Lieutenant Phelps, in his official report, gave a glowing account of the welcome he received from the "enemy."

"We have met," he wrote, "with the most gratifying proofs of loyalty everywhere across Tennessee and in the portions of Mississippi and Alabama we visited. Most affecting instances greeted us almost hourly. Men, women, and children several times gathered in crowds of hundreds, shouted their welcome, and hailed their national flag with an enthusiasm there was no mistaking; it was genuine and heartfelt. These people braved everything to go to the river bank where a sight of their flag might once more be enjoyed, and they

have experienced, as they related, every possible form of persecution. Tears flowed freely down the cheeks of men as well as of women, and there were those who had fought under the Stars and Stripes at Moultrie, who in this manner testified to their joy.

"This display of feeling and sense of gladness at our success, and the hopes it created in the breasts of so many people in the heart of the Confederacy, astonished us not a little, and I assure you, sir, I would not have failed to witness it for any consideration; I trust it has given us all a higher sense of the sacred character of our present duties. I was assured at Savannah that of the several hundred troops there, more than one-half, had we gone to the attack in time, would have hailed us as deliverers, and gladly enlisted with the national force.

"In Tennessee, the people generally, in their enthusiasm, braved secessionists and spoke their views freely, but in Mississippi and Alabama what was said was guarded. 'If we dared express ourselves freely, you would hear such a shout greeting your coming as you never heard.' 'We know there are many Unionists among us, but a reign of terror makes us afraid of our shadows.' We were told, too, 'Bring us a small, organized force, with arms and ammunition for us, and we can maintain our position and put down rebellion in our midst.' There were, it is true, whole communities who, on our approach, fled to the woods, but these were where there was less of the loyal element, and where the fleeing steamers in advance had spread tales of our coming with firebrands burning, destroying, ravishing, and plundering."

CHAPTER IV.

Striking for the command of the Cumberland.—Description of Fort Donelson.—Great efforts of the Enemy for its defence.—Expedition against Fort Donelson.—General Grant's march.—The Fort invested.—Attack by Commodore Foote.—Foote repulsed.—A sortie of the Enemy.—Temporary success of the Enemy.—An imprudent Pursuit.—McClernand's division rescued.—The Enemy driven back into their Intrenchments.—Successful charge of the Unionists.—The Enemy's position described.—A proposition from the Enemy.—Negotiations for a Capitulation.—No terms but Unconditional Surrender.—The Enemy surrender.—How General Buckner came to be in command of the Enemy.—A shifting of responsibility.—Pillow's account of the affair.—What was captured in the Fort.—Comparative losses.—Escape of Pillow and Floyd.—Result of the capture of Fort Donelson.—March of General Mitchell.—Evacuation of Bowling Green.—Occupation of Clarksville.—Occupation of Nashville.—Conduct of the Enemy.—Destruction of bridges.—Reception of the United States Troops by the Citizens of Nashville.—A visit to Mrs. Polk.—Abandonment by the Enemy of Columbus.—Occupation of Columbus described.—Retreat of the Enemy to New Madrid and Island No. 10.—The Enemy making a stand.

After opening the Tennessee River, by the capture of Fort Henry, the next operation of the Union forces at Cairo was to strike for the command of the Cumberland, by an attack on Fort Donelson. This was an extensive earth-work at Dover, in Tennessee, situated on the left bank of the Cumberland River. It was scientifically constructed, consisting of a large central bastioned fort, surrounded by extensive intrenchments and outlying batteries. The main fortification stood upon high ground, which commanded the river and the neighboring land, with the exception of an elevated portion, where rifle pits had been dug. Within the intrenchments, about the fort, and on the other side of the river had been mustered a large force of the enemy, variously estimated at from thirteen to fifteen thousand men. Anticipating an attack after the fall of Fort Henry, great efforts had been made to reinforce the threatened position. All the troops which had deserted General Tilghman at Fort Henry hastened to the place; General Sydney Johnston sent a considerable number from Bowling Green. Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner were at the head of their several divisions, and the first, from seniority in rank, assumed the chief command at the fort.

1862.

The Union expedition was formed of a combined naval and military force. General Ulysses Grant, in command at Cairo, having first sent by the Ohio and Cumberland rivers six regiments, followed on the next day, by land, with fifteen thousand men, in two divisions, respectively commanded by Generals McClernand and Smith. A fleet, consisting of four iron-clad and two wooden gun-boats, under the command of Captain Foote, started up the Cumberland about the same time, in order to make a simultaneous

Feb. 11.

Feb. 12.

attack with the land forces upon the fort.

General Grant, on the first day's march, arrived with his main body within two miles of the fort, where the pickets of the enemy were met and driven in. On the next day he ap- proached gradually, and continued until night to surround the position, forcing his way here and there by successful skirmishes with the enemy's advanced guards. No serious attack, however, was attempted, as the troops sent by water and the fleet of gun-boats had not yet arrived. These finally came in during the evening, and it was determined to begin the assault next day.

Feb. 13.

It was not until three o'clock in the afternoon that Captain Foote was enabled to open fire. "I made an attack," he says, in his own clear and concise account of the affair, "on Fort Donelson with four iron-clad gun-boats and two wooden ones, and after one hour and a quarter severe fighting, the latter part of the day within less than one hundred yards of the fort, the wheel of this vessel and the tiller of the Louisville were shot away, rendering the two boats unmanageable. They then drifted down the river. The two remaining boats were also greatly damaged between wind and water. This vessel alone received fifty-nine shots, and the others about half that number each.

Feb. 14.

"There were fifty-four killed and wounded in this attack, which we have reason to suppose would, in fifteen minutes more, could the action have been continued, have resulted in the capture of the fort bearing upon us, as the enemy was running from his batteries when the two gun-boats drifted helplessly down the river from disabled steering apparatus, as the relieving tackles could not steer the vessels in the strong current.

"When the fleeing enemy returned to the river battery guns from which they had been driven, they again hotly poured fire upon us. The enemy must have brought over twenty guns to bear upon our boats from the water battery and the main fort upon the hill, while we only could return the fire with twelve boat-guns from the four boats.

"One rifled gun, aboard the Carondelet, burst during the action.

"The officers and men in this hotly contested but unequal fight behaved with the greatest gallantry and determination, all deploring the accident which rendered two of our gun-boats suddenly helpless in the narrow river and swift current."

After this gallant but unsuccessful attack, Captain Foote returned with his disabled fleet to Cairo.

General Grant now determined to make the investment of the fort as perfect as possible, to throw up intrenchments for the protection of his force, and to await until the gun-boats—being repaired—could again take part in the attack. The enemy, however, elated by their repulse of the fleet, were emboldened to sally out from their intrenchments and begin the battle by an attack

upon the right wing of the Union force commanded by General McClernand.

Feb. 15. At six o'clock on the morning after the retirement of the gun-boats, the enemy appeared in solid column upon the road. "It was a few minutes past six," says an accurate chronicler,* "when our pickets exchanged shots with their skirmishers.

"Immediately the whole division was astir, waiting for what might turn up. As the rebels neared our forces they deployed and formed in line of battle, making the most furious attack upon the right; also sending their Mississippi sharp-shooters, as one of the captains, now a prisoner, informed me, to the left, to throw the Eleventh and Twentieth regiments into confusion.

"It was about seven o'clock when the firing began on the right, and in a few minutes was running like a train of powder on a floor, along the entire line. The rebels advanced with determination —not in a regular line, but in the guerrilla mode—availing themselves of the trees and the undulations of the ground. Their design was to cut the division at the centre, turn the regiments on the right, composing Oglesby's brigade, up against the creek, and capture them. But their movements to that end were foiled. The regiments at the centre being pressed, after standing hot fire, began gradually to fall back, which rendered it necessary for Oglesby to do the same, as he separated from the division, and the entire right wing of the division accordingly swung back, slowly at first. Dresser's and Schwartz's batteries were brought into position as soon as possible, and for a while there was a very heavy fire, accompanied by continued rolls of musketry. If one were to judge by sound alone, all battles would be terrific, but when a fight is waged in a forest, the trees high in, up the branches usually suffer most. There was, however, considerable loss on both sides at this point.

"And now occurred one of those blunders common in warfare. The enemy pressing hard upon our forces, General McClernand sent Major Brayman for reinforcements. He rode rapidly to the rear and came upon Colonel Cruft's brigade, who moved forward, crossed the road, and came up in rear of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first. These regiments were lying down and firing over the crest of a ridge. As Colonel Cruft came in the rear of them they rose to their feet, not knowing whether the force in their rear was friend or foe. The Twenty-fifth Kentucky, supposing them to be rebels, poured in a volley, which did terrible execution. It is not possible to ascertain how many fell under the fire, but it was sufficient to throw the entire division into disorder, and at once there was almost a panic. Some men took to their heels, threw down their guns and equipments, and fled to the rear crying, 'All is lost!' 'We are all cut to pieces!' and similar expressions. Some of them even fled to Fort Henry, twelve miles distant, and immediately the woods were filled with stragglers.

* Chicago *Tribune*, Feb. 19.

"The enemy improved the opportunity and advanced upon Dresser's and Schwartz's batteries, capturing five guns, taking possession of General McClernand's headquarters, and driving our forces nearly a mile and a half. They had opened the gap, and not only that, but had in the joust driven us, captured five guns, and had reason to feel that the day was theirs."

The enemy now might have escaped through the gap they had made in our line of investment, but instead of seeking their own safety, they strove by a reckless pursuit of the retreating Unionists to capture and destroy. Four hours were thus passed in conflict and chase, when a division of the Unionists, under the command of General Wallace, thrown forward by a timely movement, saved the troops of McClernand, which were exhausted and out of ammunition. General Wallace took up his position on a ridge with Captain Taylor's battery in the centre. McClernand's division was making up its scattered ranks ready to support Wallace. It was now past noon—nearly one o'clock. The enemy formed upon a ridge which General McClernand had occupied through the night, but had afterward abandoned. They were flushed with success, and descended with the expectation of a victory. As they came in range, Taylor opened upon them with shell, grape, and canister. They quailed before this fire, advanced at a slow pace, came to a halt, and as the infantry opened began to fall back. Wallace improved the moment, moved on, drove them before him, regained the lost field, recovered McClernand's tent, and occupied the old ground.

The enemy retired again within their intrenchments, though while falling back before Wallace, they might still have escaped by diverging to the flank of their pursuers.

The Union troops on the left were now ordered to a charge upon the enemy's right, "which," says General Grant, "was brilliantly executed, and gave to our arms full assurance of victory." This spirited and successful attack was made by General Smith's division, consisting principally of the Second and Seventh Iowa and Twenty-fifth and Fifty-second Indiana regiments. Their antagonists, forming the enemy's right, were the Fourteenth Mississippi, the Second Kentucky, and Colonel Head's Tennessee regiments, which were advantageously posted on rising ground, where intrenchments had been raised and rifle pits dug.

The ground occupied by the enemy is thus minutely described by the chronicler previously quoted:

"Directly west of Fort Donelson, and beyond the breast-works, there was a second ridge of land running parallel to that on which the breast-works were erected. The distance across from ridge to ridge, as near as I could judge by a somewhat minute survey, is about forty rods. On this outer ridge were ten rifle pits, made of logs, with a shallow ditch behind and the excavated earth thrown up in front. The western slope of the ridge was quite steep. The distance

F.O.C. Darley, del.

CAPTURE OF FORT DONELSON, TENN.

CHARGE OF GEN. SMITH'S DIVISION.

Virtue, Yorston & C° Publishers, N.Y.

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to the base was thirty rods, as I judged, opening upon a meadow and cornfield. The slope had been forest, but the rebels had used their axes and cut down the trees, forming an abatis not impassable, because the forest was not dead, but a serious obstruction to the advance of an army. It was desirable that the rebels should be driven out of their pits, for they in part commanded Fort Donelson, lying about sixty rods farther east."

The enemy were formed with the Second Kentucky in the centre, Colonel Head's Tennessee Regiment on the right, and the Fourteenth Mississippi on the left, while other troops were in position in the rear to support them. Colonel Lauman, who commanded the brigade upon which devolved the chief work of the day, formed his force in a neighboring meadow, and led it to the charge with the Second Iowa in advance. "They moved across the meadow, through a little belt of woods, came to the base of the hill, and met the enemy's fire. But they paused not a moment. Then they encountered the fallen trees, but instead of being disheartened, they seemed to feel new life and energy. Without firing a shot, without flinching a moment or faltering as their ranks were thinned, they rushed up the hill, regardless of the fire in front or on their flank, jumped upon the rifle pits and drove the rebels down the eastern slope. They escaped into their inner line of defences. Colonel Lauman did not deem it prudent to follow, but halted his men and poured a deadly fire upon the foe, in force, with four cannon behind the works."

Colonel Lauman, after the enemy were thus effectually driven from the ground, called back his men to the rifle pits which he had won, and ordered them to lie down for the night, resting upon their arms, ready to complete their victory, of which they felt well assured, in the morning.

At daylight, however, there came a flag of truce from the enemy, **Feb. 16.** with a note from their general to General Grant. This proved to be a proposition for the cessation of hostilities and the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation.

General Grant at once answered, that "no terms except unconditional **Feb. 16.** and immediate surrender can be accepted," while he added, "I propose to move immediately on your works."

The commander-in-chief of the enemy, General Buckner, did not hesitate to accept the terms proposed. His answer was conveyed in these ungracious words:

"HEADQUARTERS, DOVER, TENN., *Feb.* 16, 1862.

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, U. S. A.:

"SIR—The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.

"I am, sir, your servant,

"S. B. BUCKNER, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A."

Buckner had become suddenly invested with the chief command at Fort Donelson by a strange shuffling of responsibility from general to general, of which, and the escape of Floyd and himself, General Pillow in his official report gives the following account: "I expressed the opinion," he says, "that we could hold out another day, and in that time we could get steamboats and set the command over the river, and probably save a large portion of it. To this General Buckner replied, that the enemy would certainly attack him at daylight, and that he could not hold his position half an hour. The alternative of the propositions was a surrender of their position and command. General Floyd said that he would neither surrender the command nor would he surrender himself a prisoner. I had taken the same position. General Buckner said he was satisfied nothing else could be done, and that, therefore, he would surrender if placed in command. General Floyd said that he would turn over the command to him if he could be allowed to withdraw his command; to this General Buckner consented. Thereupon General Floyd turned the command over to me, I passing it instantly to General Buckner, saying I would neither surrender the command nor myself a prisoner. I directed Colonel Forrest to cut his way out. Under these circumstances, General Buckner accepted the command, and sent a flag of truce to the enemy for an armistice of six hours to negotiate for terms of capitulation. Before this flag and communication were delivered I retired from the garrison."

By the surrender of Fort Donelson, about 13,000 prisoners, a large quantity of heavy ordnance, some 12,000 stand of small-arms, and a considerable amount of ammunition and provisions fell into the hands of the victors. After the capture, two regiments of the enemy, supposing that the works were still in possession of their comrades, marched in and laid down their arms. The loss of the Unionists during the struggle was heavy, amounting to about 500 killed and 800 wounded, while that of the enemy, who fought behind intrenchments, was somewhat less, being estimated at 231 killed and 1,007 wounded. General Pillow in his report declared that after the battle on the 15th, he had left "not less than 5,000" Unionists dead on the field, while he confessed that his own loss was "severe." Those who escaped with him and General Floyd were the fragments of some three or four regiments, and amounted in all to 1,236 men. The enemy reported that 13,829 was the whole number of their troops engaged in the fight. The capture of Fort Donelson, however great a victory in itself, was more important in its consequences.

By the possession of this commanding post on the Cumberland, that river was opened to the Union forces even beyond Nashville, the capital of the State of Tennessee, and the enemy were forced to retreat from all their main positions in Kentucky, now flanked, and in danger of being turned. General Mitchell, com-

manding a division of Buell's army in Feb. 14. Kentucky, advanced from his encampment at Bacon Creek, and after passing through Cave City, where there was no enemy to oppose him, continued his march to Bowling Green. This place, too, so long occupied by the Confederate forces under Buckner and Johnston, was found evacuated and its extensive fortifications demolished. The retreating enemy had succeeded in carrying off their guns, munitions, and stores, and had destroyed the railroad and other bridges in order to check pursuit. Bowling Green, however, had been abandoned before the fall of Fort Donelson and soon after the capture of Fort Henry, by which its communication with Columbus was cut off. Clarksville, too, Feb. 19. on the Cumberland River, yielded without a blow on the approach of Captain Foote with two of his small gun-boats. Clarksville, the capital of Montgomery County, Tennessee, is a town situated on the right bank of the Cumberland, where the Red River empties.* It is not far above Fort Donelson or Dover, on the route by the Cumberland to Nashville, from which it is distant about fifty miles in a northwesterly direction. Nashville, the capital of the State, soon after met with the same fate, and was taken possession of by General Buell's forces without resistance, the enemy having abandoned the city and retreated to the south on the approach of the gun-boats and transports by the Cumberland River. Before leaving, the enemy destroyed the imposing chain-bridge and the railroad viaducts, and distributed among the inhabitants of Nashville such stores as they could not carry away with them. Feb. 24.

It was hoped that the capital of a State, in which a large portion of the people were believed to be still loyal to the Union, would have shown some indications of welcome to the army of the United States. Most of the principal citizens had, however, fled with the enemy's troops, and those who were left looked with little favor upon their rescuers from the thraldom of an insurrectionary government. On the entrance of the Federal troops but one Union flag was displayed, and the inhabitants gen-

* OFFICIAL REPORT OF FLAG-OFFICER A. H. FOOTE.

CLARKSVILLE, TENN., *Feb.* 20, 1862.

HON. GIDEON WELLS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY:

We have possession of Clarksville. The citizens being alarmed, two-thirds of them have fled, and having expressed my views and intentions to the Mayor and Hon. Cave Johnson, at their request I have issued a proclamation, assuring all peaceably disposed persons that they may with safety resume their business avocations, requiring only the military stores and equipments to be given up, and holding the authorities responsible that this shall be done without reservation.

I left Fort Donelson yesterday with the Conestoga, Lieutenant Commanding Phelps, and the Cairo, Lieutenant Commanding Bryant, on an armed reconnoissance, bringing with me Colonel Webster, of the engineer corps, and chief of General Grant's staff, who, with Lieutenant Commanding Phelps, took possession and hoisted the Union flag at Clarksville.

A Union sentiment manifested itself as we came up the river.

The rebels have retreated to Nashville, having set fire, against the remonstrances of the citizens, to the splendid railroad bridge across the Cumberland River.

I return to Fort Donelson to-day for another gun-boat and six or eight mortar boats, with which I propose to proceed up the Cumberland. The rebels all have a terror of the gun-boats. One of them, a short distance above Fort Donelson, had previously fired an iron rolling-mill belonging to Hon. John Bell, which had been used by the rebels.

A. H. FOOTE,
Flag-Officer commanding Naval Forces Western Waters.

erally remained shut up in their dwellings. The shops were for the most part kept closed and barred, and the citizens sullenly refrained from resuming their daily routine of occupation. General Buell, however, strove by the most stringent orders to his soldiers, who were kept in camp outside of the city, and by proclamations of protection, to give assurance of safety to the inhabitants. The General, with a large military suite, called upon Mrs. Polk, the widow of President Polk. Though received with politeness by the venerable dame, whose graceful courtesy is proverbial, there was not only a cold formality in her reception which sufficiently indicated her Southern partisanship, but an open declaration of such sentiments as proved that she considered her visitors in the light of enemies and not of friends.

The next movement of the enemy in Kentucky was to abandon their great stronghold at Columbus, on the Mississippi. Cut off, by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, from direct northern communication with Richmond and the lines on the Potomac, separated from the main body of the Confederate army of Kentucky by its forced retreat from Bowling Green, Clarksville, and Nashville, and threatened by an advance, in the rear, of Buell's forces, which already flanked it, Columbus was no longer tenable, notwithstanding its boasted impregnability. The discovery of its evacuation by an expedition down the Mississippi from Cairo is thus told by one who was present:*

* Correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald.*

"Commodore Foote had prepared five of the 'iron-clads' and one of the old wooden craft, besides six mortar rafts, while General Cullum dispatched upon the steamers Aleck Scott, T. L. McGill, and Illinois, about two thousand men, under General Sherman, of Paducah, Colonel Berford, of the Twenty-seventh Illinois Volunteers, being second in command of the infantry. We started from Cairo at four o'clock this morning, and steamed leisurely down Mar. 4. the river, arriving at Lucas' Bend, four miles above Columbus, at sunrise. Though the morning was clear and beautiful, still the wind was in such a direction as to waft the smoke and steam from our fleet directly between us and the frowning bluffs that have been wont to salute us with the booming of heavy artillery whenever we have made our appearance here before, hiding, or at least greatly obstructing, our view of the batteries, and rendering us unable, even with the aid of powerful field glasses, to determine whether they were still tenanted by rebel troops, or even occupied at all. Occasionally, however, as the wind would veer around a few points, we thought we could discover men upon the brow of the bluffs, but owing to the unsteadiness of the ship's motion, jolting both lookers and glasses, it was impossible to determine what we did see; but as the batteries were silent, we fastened the mortar rafts to the Missouri shore, and dropped down the river in line-of-battle order. When we had arrived at a point about two miles above the works, a

squad of men were discovered standing upon the top of the breast-works, and soon a flag was hoisted there. We were still too far off to distinguish whether it was a Union or a rebel ensign, many averring it was our own, and many the other; but acting upon the hypothesis that it was the latter, Flag-Officer Foote gave the order, so ominous on men-of-war, 'All hands to quarters!' This was the most trying hour of the whole trip. Here we were, within point blank range of the guns of the batteries, floating down the river in a current of about four miles per hour, and perfectly at the mercy of the foe should this be a *ruse* of theirs to inveigle us into their trap. We knew not whether we were approaching friend or foe, whether the flag was ours or theirs, whether the silence would continue, or whether at a moment's notice the whole of that red bank would belch forth in one deafening deathly roar. We dared not fire a gun, lest its charge should fall among our friends, and dared not go too close lest the enemy's guns should open upon us from such a height as to render ours ineffective against them, and there was no safe way of solving the problem. Something must be done, however; so General Cullum dispatched an officer to the shore to learn, if possible, the *status* of the camp. The officer found a single individual on shore, but he knew, or professed to know, as little of affairs in town as though he never had heard of the rebellion, and so the officer came back as ignorant as he went. What was to be done? Just then Captain Phelps, of the Conestoga, and General Sherman, volunteered to take a tug, run down to the fort, and ascertain the position of affairs. With many misgivings, the Flag-Officer and General Cullum consented to the arrangement, and soon the little Fire Fly was on her way to fulfil her bold and dangerous mission. For a few moments after she left the side of the flag-ship, the most painful suspense was felt and evidenced by all on board, for we almost expected each moment that the next would see that mountain open upon her its mighty batteries, and we knew that a single shot would rend her into a thousand fragments. But down, down, down the river she went, until she had made more than half the distance, when she halted for a reconnoissance. Then, after a moment's delay, we saw her turn her prow toward the Kentucky shore, and steam off in the direction of the batteries. We watched her as she crossed the river and approached the shore at the base of the hill, saw her land at the lower fort, heard her signal to 'Come on!' saw her crew leap ashore and hurry up the steep ascent, and finally, when they had attained the summit and hoisted one of the ship's flags, we gave a succession of cheers, and shouts, and huzzas. Then we all dropped down to the town, the transports rounded to and discharged their troops, which were marched directly into the rebel fortifications, and we all set about making discoveries.

"The first place visited was the immense earth-works on the hill to the

north of the town—works covering, in all their ramifications, nearly two hundred acres. Here we found a part of the Second Illinois Cavalry, under Colonel Hogg, who had come into town the day before from Paducah, and are justly entitled to the credit of pioneering the Union army into Columbus. It was they whom we had seen upon the earth-works, they who hoisted the flag which was so hard to be made out, and came so near deceiving us. The river batteries have been almost entirely demolished—three tiers of them—their guns dismounted and thrown into the river, the gun-carriages mutilated, and magazines demolished, leaving nothing to mark their former presence save ruined breast-works and huge piles of cannon-balls and shells. Just below the upper river battery, a huge chain, which has been christened 'Pillow's Folly,' emerges from the water, extends up the almost perpendicular bank a hundred feet or more, and disappears under the soil. A few feet above the chain and below the battery I counted five sixty-four pound guns which had been thrown over the breast-works, with the intention of sinking them in the river, but they had lodged in the yielding earth and become immovable. Two others lay a few rods below, which had been taken from the batteries on the bluff.

"Within the breast-works on the hill there was nothing to be seen but the wildest desolation. Burning piles of rubbish, smouldering heaps of grain—the remnants of burned warehouses—charred timbers of what were once quarters for the troops, broken gun-carriages, and disabled ordnance completed the picture. Here I found a guide in the person of a German who had been impressed into the rebel service, but who had deserted the day the place was evacuated, who gave me much important information. He told me that the number of rebel troops there a week ago was about 16,000, but immediately after the fall of Donelson, preparations were commenced for evacuating the place. * * *

"The German stated that the utmost demoralization existed in the army, and he thought the reason why they left in such indecent haste was to prevent open mutiny in the camp, for certainly 16,000 men could have held the place against any force we could bring against it, providing always that they were united and had any soul in the work. Down in the town of Columbus I found immense piles of ordnance and ordnance supplies, torpedoes, submarine batteries, and equipments for teams and cavalry, but everything of a portable nature had been carried away. The houses of the citizens had been plundered, and especially of those who were suspected of Unionism. Scarcely a vestige of the necessaries of life was left. The battery at the upper end of the town had long been dismantled, and its guns removed to a point farther down the river.

"Quite a number of residents of the town were congregated upon the levee to welcome us, and it was really refreshing to witness their manifestations of joy as we landed. They did not cheer

us, 'tis true; but when we would meet one as we strolled* about the town, he would greet us with such a friendly greeting, shake our hand so heartily, invite us in so kindly, and offer us his hospitality with such a hearty good-will, it did not need his asseverations to convince us that he was glad to see this change of guests, or invaders, if you please. There are but a few families now in town, but such as remain may safely be set down as Unionists.

"Leaving the lower town and ascending the hill in the rear, we get the most comprehensive view of the rebel works. From one point near the top of the hill, my guide pointed out to me the locality of no less than eight different batteries, besides the positions of forty-five or fifty isolated pieces of heavy artillery. In all I computed that a month ago there could not have been less than one hundred and thirty pieces of artillery, of the calibre of twenty-four pounders and upward, added to which there were over seventy pieces of light field artillery. Most of these guns are now in the river, or disabled upon the works, easily fished up when the floods subside, or repaired by skilful workmen."*

Most of their stores the enemy had removed to Jackson, in Tennessee, sixty miles south of Columbus, situated on the line of the Nashville and Ohio Railroad, while the greater portion of the troops were sent to New Madrid, on the Mississippi, in the southeast corner of Missouri, to reinforce General Jefferson Thompson, and to Island No. 10, twenty-five miles south of Columbus, where fortifications were being raised. Here the enemy had determined to make a stand and strive to check the further descent down the river of the Union forces.

* The following is an official report of the evacuation:

"COLUMBUS, KY., *March* 4, 1862.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

"Columbus, the Gibraltar of the West, is ours, and Kentucky is free, thanks to the brilliant strategy of the campaign by which the enemy's centre was pierced at Forts Henry and Donelson, his wings isolated from each other and turned, compelling thus the evacuation of his stronghold of Bowling Green first, and now Columbus.

"The flotilla, under Flag-Officer Foote, consisted of six gun-boats, commanded by Captains Dove, Walke, Stemble, Paulding, Thompson, and Shirk, and four mortar boats, in charge of Captain Phelps, United States Navy, assisted by Lieutenant Ford, advance corps, United States Army, and three transports conveying Colonel Buford's Twenty-seventh Illinois Regiment and a battalion of the Fifty-fourth and Seventy-fourth Ohio and Fifty-fifth Illinois, commanded by Majors Andrews and Sanger, the whole brigade being under Brigadier-General Sherman, who rendered the most valuable and efficient assistance.

"On arriving at Columbus it was difficult to say whether the fortifications were occupied by our own cavalry, or a scout from Paducah, or by the enemy. Every preparation was made for opening fire and landing the infantry, when General Sherman and Captain Phelps, with thirty soldiers, made a dashing reconnoissance with a tug, steaming directly under the water batteries. Satisfied that our troops had possession, they landed, ascended to the summit of the bluff, and together planted the Stars and Stripes amid the heartiest cheers of our brave tars and soldiers.

"Though rising from a sick bed to go upon the expedition, I could not resist landing to examine the works, which are of immense strength, consisting of tiers upon tiers of batteries on the river front, and a strong parapet and ditch, crossed by a thick abatis, on the land side. The fortifications appear to have been evacuated hastily, considering the quantities of ordnance and ordnance stores and numbers of anchors, and the remnant of the chain which was once stretched over the river, and a large supply of torpedoes remaining. Desolation was visible everywhere, huts, tents, and barracks, presenting but their blackened remains, though the town was spared. I discovered what appeared a large magazine, smoking from both extremities. I ordered the train to be immediately cut. A garrison was left in the work, of nearly 2,000 infantry and 400 cavalry, which I will strengthen immediately. GEORGE W. CULLUM,

"Brigadier-General, Chief of Staff."

CHAPTER V.

The United States establishing its Civil Authority in Tennessee.—Appointment of a Military Governor.—Motives of the choice.—Life of Andrew Johnson.—A man of the people.—Humble origin.—Apprentice to a tailor.—How he learned to read.—A diligent Reader.—A migratory Tailor.—A rejected Lover.—Nothing but "a mean White."—A dutiful Son.—Marriage.—A valuable Wife.—Elected Alderman.—Mayor.—Rapid political advancement.—Member of Congress.—Governor of the State.—Defender of the Union.—Appointed Military Governor of Tennessee.—Sanguine hopes.—Arrival of Johnson at Nashville.—Provisional Government organized.—Union Speeches and Meetings.—Compulsory return to Loyalty.—Capture of Paris.—The resistance of the Enemy on the Mississippi.—New Madrid.—Its description.—The Enemy's position.—Attack by General Pope.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Island No. 10.—Great preparations for Defence.—General Beauregard in command of the Department of the Mississippi.—Bragg at No. 10.—Lying like a Bulletin.—Great efforts of the Enemy in the West.—Occupation of Grand Junction, Jackson, Decatur, and Corinth.—Martial Law in Memphis.

THE United States Government having by its decisive victories at Forts
1862. Henry and Donelson obtained for its military forces access by the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers to the interior of Tennessee, and become possessed of the capital, determined upon making an effort to re-establish its civil authority in the State. As this, however, could only be effected at first by the aid of an armed power, it was deemed necessary to establish a military government. The Honorable Andrew Johnson, who from the beginning of the civil troubles had adhered to the Union with a loyalty uninfluenced by the example of the political leaders of his adopted State, and unshaken by their denunciations,
Mar. 4. was appropriately appointed the military Governor of Tennessee. His popularity in the State was such, it was believed, as would secure him a welcome, not only from that large portion of the population of Tennessee still supposed to be loyal to the Union, but even from many of those who had yielded to the guidance of the leaders of the rebellion.

Andrew Johnson is pre-eminently a man of the people, having arisen from the humblest position in life. He was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, on the 29th of December, 1808. At the age of four years his father died, having lost his life in attempting to save a friend from drowning. His mother, who was poor and unaspiring, gave him no opportunities for education, and at the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor, with whom he remained learning his trade until he was seventeen years old. It was during his apprenticeship that he learned in this wise to read and write: A gentleman of Raleigh, who was in the habit of frequenting his master's shop, and prided himself upon his elocution, occasionally read to the workmen and boys a speech from a volume of the masterpieces of oratory of British statesmen. Young Johnson listened ea-

gerly and admiringly, and became fired with an ambition to equal the visitor's elocution. He accordingly determined to learn to read, and soon, with the aid of a fellow-journeyman, mastered the alphabet. His next step was to ask for the loan of the book to the reading of which he had so often listened with delight. Its owner, interested in the lad's eager pursuit of learning, not only made him a present of the book, but gave him some instruction in spelling. With this aid, and his own perseverance during hours of leisure, he was soon able not only to spell but to read. He now became a diligent reader, devoting two or three hours of each night, after his long day's labor on the shop-board, to his books.

In 1824, after the completion of his apprenticeship, young Johnson went to Laurens Court House, in South Carolina, where he worked at his trade as a journeyman tailor for two years. While thus occupied he fell in love with a young girl of the place, but his proffer of marriage was rejected* by the Carolinian damsel's mother on the score of his youth and his poverty, since he was no more than "a mean white." He now returned to Raleigh, and after remaining six months went to the West on a migratory search for employment, taking his poor old mother with him. Stopping at Greenville, Tennessee, by the way, he lived there twelve months, set to work at his trade, and got married. Having already his mother to provide for and now a wife, he was induced by this additional stimulus to effort, to make another move with the hope of bettering his fortune. After a fruitless wandering of some months in the West, he returned to Greenville and settled down to his business as a tailor.

His wife proved a valuable acquisition to a man so eager as Johnson for mental improvement. He was soon able, by her assistance, for she was a woman of some education, to add writing and ciphering to his former single accomplishment of reading. These he pursued with untiring diligence during the late hours of the night—all that he could spare from the absorbing work of the shop.

His fellow-citizens were not long in discovering the superiority of their studious tailor, and showed their appreciation of him by electing him an alderman. From 1828 to 1830 he continued to be annually chosen to this civic office, and at the close of the latter year was raised to the higher dignity of mayor. This

* The story of his courtship and rejection is thus amusingly told by an industrious gossip: "While working at Laurens Court House as journeyman tailor, he fell in love with a girl in the neighborhood and courted her. Governor Johnson tells the story himself. The young lady saw something more in Andy than her mother was able to discern. She engaged herself to him, provided he could get her mother's consent. Andy went one Sunday to speak to the old lady. His heart failed him until toward night, when he mustered up courage and popped the question to the mother. He says she broke out on him in a most terrible tirade of abuse, and said, 'You trifling, worthless vagabond, do you suppose I am going to let my daughter marry a wandering journeyman tailor? I know what you want; you are too lazy to work, and you are after my property.' The Governor said the old woman had four children and three negroes. This was her fortune. In utter despair Andy returned to the village mortified and crestfallen. He determined to quit the place and forget his love, after meeting with such scorn and contempt from the mother."

position he held for three years. In 1835 he was elected a member of the Legislature, and became prominent as the opponent of a scheme of internal improvement. This opposition to a measure which chanced to be popular, lost him his seat at the next election. In 1839, however, the disastrous effects of the scheme he had opposed having become manifest, he was re-elected by a large majority.

In 1840, being chosen a presidential elector by the Democratic party, he canvassed a large district of the State of Tennessee, and developed in the course of a series of itinerant political disputations with his leading Whig opponents, his wondrous skill in stump oratory. In 1841 he was elected a State senator, and in 1843 a member of Congress, in which he served, after successive re-elections, until 1853. During his congressional career he continued an advocate of the policy of the Democratic party. He pleaded vigorously for the bill refunding the fine imposed upon General Jackson at New Orleans in 1815; he advocated the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the tariff of 1846, and a homestead bill. In 1853 he was chosen Governor of Tennessee, after an exciting contest with Gustavus A. Henry, the opposing candidate. In 1855 he was again elected Governor, being stoutly opposed by Meredith P. Gentry. In 1857, after the close of his governorship, he was elected to the United States Senate, where — while rebellion was hatching in the capital, traitors were plotting to destroy the national existence, and the leaders of his own State of Tennessee were in league with the conspirators—he boldly stood forth as the defender of the Union. While even Northern men quailed before the audacity of the Southern insurgents, and seeking counsel of their fears, hesitated to denounce their crime, Andrew Johnson, a native of Carolina, did not falter, but, vexed by the cowardice of his fellow-senators, demanded with all the vigor of his robust loyalty, "What is it? I ask, in the name of the constitution, what is it? It is treason, and nothing but treason." Throughout the struggle Johnson has continued to be among the most loyal defenders and advisers of the Government. With his firm allegiance to the Union and his acceptability in Tennessee, it is hoped that he may be able to re-establish the Federal authority in that State on such a basis of popular concurrence, that when the armed enemy shall be driven out, the citizens may not long require the application of force to reinstate them in their civil relations with the Government of the Union.

Governor Johnson, who had been so many months an exile from the rebellious States, immediately on his appointment proceeded to Nashville, where, soon after his arrival, he addressed a large throng from the balcony of the principal hotel, and found his audience apparently not unwilling to listen to his patriotic appeal in behalf of the Union. He at once installed himself in the Capitol, from which the secessionist Governor Harris and his sympathetic associates in authority had suddenly de-

Mar. 12.

parted on the approach of the Union army. He now prepared to organize a provisional government, and to make an effort to secure the allegiance of Tennessee. Another political notability of Tennessee, the Honorable Baillie Peyton, and a memorable example, like Andrew Johnson, of fidelity to the Union in a disloyal State, found at Gallatin, not far from Nashville, listeners to his fervid expression of Union sentiment. The people of this place, though lately ardent secessionists, gave a further proof, if not of sincere conversion to loyalty, of quick appreciation of its advantages, by seeking to renew their relations with the Federal Government, through a vote in favor of the establishment of a United States post-office. There was, however, no open manifestation of a desire to return to the Union, except in those parts of Tennessee where the presence of the Federal army either subdued aversion or encouraged affection, and it became manifest that the State was only to be fully redeemed by a successful prosecution of the war.

In the course of the movement of the Union troops in flanking the enemy's positions on the Mississippi, their intrenchments at Paris, Tennessee, were
Mar. 12. attacked by some Federal cavalry and artillery. The enemy, estimated to be 600 strong, were driven out of their works with a loss of 100 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the Unionists was but five killed and four wounded ; it was, however, on the Mississippi that the enemy were making the greatest effort at resistance.

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It will be remembered that, after the evacuation of Columbus, a large portion of the troops retired to New Madrid. This place, the capital of New Madrid County, is situated on the western bank of the Mississippi River, in the southeast corner of Missouri, where that State touches the borders of Kentucky and Tennessee. It is 247 miles below St. Louis, seventy-nine miles below Cairo, forty-two miles from Hickman at the northeast, on the opposite side of the river ; ten miles from Island No. 10, which, lying in an elbow of the Mississippi, is at the south, yet by the course of the stream is above ; and intervenes between Columbus and New Madrid in descending the river, though both these places are situated to the north. New Madrid is 160 miles above Memphis and 947 miles above New Orleans. Its position was felt by the enemy to be of great importance in defending these large cities, and as controlling the lower Mississippi. Accordingly, great efforts had been made to hold it. General Jefferson Thompson* had been posted there for some time with a considerable force, when he was strengthened by the troops which had abandoned Columbus, and by a flotilla of five gun-boats from New Orleans. Thus reinforced and in-

* Thompson had been carrying on an irregular warfare for a long time in the southeastern part of Missouri, with varied success. On the 16th of January he had attacked, with overpowering numbers, a force near Ironton of some 800 Unionists, and after a spirited resistance on their part, forced them to retire. However, after prowling about some time with his band, skirmishing with Unionists, plundering, and destroying bridges, in the neighborhood of Potosi, Cape Girardeau, Pilot Knob, etc., he was forced to seek refuge within intrenchments at New Madrid.

trenched on the banks of the river, the enemy were prepared to offer a stubborn resistance. General Halleck had pushed forward from Commerce, in Missouri, a large force under General Pope, with the view of attacking the enemy's position at New Madrid. After six days' severe marching over and through the Mingo swamp, General Pope arrived near New Madrid, and after sending to Cairo for reinforcements, prepared to attack the enemy's fortified position, which is thus described by a Federal campaigner :

Feb. 27.

"New Madrid stands upon the right bank of the river, just at the extremity of a very short and abrupt bend, not unlike the lower swell in the letter S. Ten miles above is Island No. 10, which, rumor says, is strongly fortified. A mile and a half below the town, the rebels have erected a strong four-bastioned fort, in which they have located seven ten-inch columbiads. In the open fields around the fort, in the town and above town, extending to the Little Bayou, the rebels have their encampments (mostly log huts), and the whole is surrounded with a well-erected earth-work and ditch, which we will have to scale in order to reach the town. The land is very low all around New Madrid, and in times of flood, like the present, there is little else than water to be seen in any direction. On the opposite side of the river for several miles the timber has been cut away, which gives a fair range to the enemy's artillery for several miles up the river."

The enemy were variously estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000 men, under a distinguished West Point officer, General I. P. McCown, who had assumed the chief command on the score of seniority of rank. After some skirmishing, the artillery on both sides opened fire, and the conflict continued principally between the siege batteries of the Federalists at Point Pleasant and the gun-boats of the secessionists, for several days, when the enemy finally gave up the struggle, and, taking advantage of a thunder-storm, retreated precipitately during the night to Island No. 10, leaving behind them their artillery, field batteries, tents, wagons, mules, and a large quantity of stores. General Pope, in his report* to General Halleck, says—

Mar. 13.

"It is almost impossible to give any exact account of the immense quantities of property and supplies left

Mar. 14.

* General Pope, in his official report, gives the following detailed account of the operation which led to the retreat of the enemy from New Madrid :

"I arrived before this town with the forces under my command on Monday, the 3d instant. I found the place occupied by five regiments of infantry and several companies of artillery. One bastioned earth-work, mounting fourteen heavy guns, about half a mile below the town, and another irregular work at the upper end of the town, mounting seven pieces of heavy artillery, together with lines of intrenchments between them, constituted the defensive works. Six gun-boats, carrying from four to eight heavy guns each, were anchored along the shore, between the upper and lower redoubts.

"The country is perfectly level for miles around the place, and as the river was so high that the guns of the gun-boats looked directly over the banks, the approaches to the town for seven miles were commanded by direct and cross-fire from at least sixty guns of heavy calibre.

"It would not have been difficult to carry the intrenchments, but it would have been attended with heavy loss, and we should not have been able to hold the place half an hour, exposed to the destructive fire of the gun-boats. As there seemed no immediate hope for the appearance of

in our hands. All their artillery, field batteries, and siege guns, amounting to thirty-three pieces, magazines full of fixed ammunition of the best character, several thousand stand of inferior small-arms, with hundreds of boxes of musket cartridges, tents for an army of 10,000 men, horses, mules, wagons, intrenching

our own gun-boats, it became necessary to bring down a few heavy guns by land to operate against those of the enemy. They were accordingly sent for, and, meantime, forced reconnoissances were pushed over the whole ground and into several parts of the town. Some brisk skirmishes resulted, in which the enemy invariably retreated precipitately. It was found impossible to induce them to trust any considerable force of their infantry outside of their intrenchments. As soon as I found that it would be necessary to await the arrival of our heavy guns, I determined to occupy some point on the river below, and establish our small guns, if possible, in such position as to blockade the river, so far as transports were concerned, and to cut off supplies and reinforcements for the enemy from below.

"Point Pleasant, twelve miles below, was selected as being in a rich agricultural region, and being the terminus of the plank road from the interior of Arkansas. I accordingly threw forward Colonel Plummer, Eleventh Missouri, to that point, with three regiments of infantry, three companies of cavalry, and a field battery of ten-pound Parrott and rifle guns, with orders to make a lodgment on the river bank, to line the bank with rifle pits for 1,000 men, and to establish his artillery in sunk batteries of single pieces between the rifle pits. This arrangement was made to present as small a mark as possible to the shells of the gun-boats, and to render futile the use of round shot from their heavy guns. Colonel Plummer marched with all speed, and after some cannonading from gun-boats which he found there, succeeded in making a lodgment, constructing his batteries and rifle pits, and occupying them in sufficient force to maintain them against any open assault.

"After repeated and persistent cannonading from the gun-boats, the enemy found it impossible to dislodge him, and he maintained obstinately his position, and the blockade of the river to transports during the whole of our operations. Meantime the enemy continued every day to reinforce New Madrid from Island No. 10, until, on the 12th, they had 9,000 infantry, besides a considerable force of artillery and nine gun-boats. The fleet was commanded by Commodore Hollins; the land forces by Generals McCown, Stewart, and Gantt. On the 11th the siege guns were delivered to Colonel Bissell's engineer regiment, who had been sent to Cairo for that purpose. They were at once shipped to Sikeston, reached here at sunset on the 12th; were placed in battery during the same night, within 800 yards on the enemy's main work, so as to command that and the river above it, and opened fire at daylight on the 13th, just thirty-four hours after they were received at Cairo. One brigade, consisting of the Tenth and Sixteenth Illinois, under Colonel Morgan, of the Tenth, was detailed to cover the construction of the battery and to work in the trenches. They were supported by Stanley's division, consisting of the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-ninth Ohio, under Colonel Groesbeck, and the Forty-third and Sixty-third Ohio, under Colonel Smith. Captain Mower, First United States Infantry, with companies A and H of his regiment, was placed in charge of the siege guns.

"The enemy's pickets and grand guards were driven in by Colonel Morgan from the ground selected for the battery, without firing a shot, although the enemy fired several volleys of musketry. The work was prosecuted in silence, and with the utmost rapidity until, at three A.M., two small redoubts, connected by a curtain, and mounting the four heavy guns which had been sent me, were completed, together with rifle pits in front and on the flanks for two regiments of infantry. Our batteries opened as soon as the day dawned, and were replied to in front and on the flanks by the whole of the enemy's heavy artillery on land and water. As our supply of ammunition for heavy artillery was very limited, I directed Captain Mower to fire only occasionally at the enemy's land batteries, and to concentrate all his fire upon the gun-boats. Our guns were served by Captain Mower with vigor and skill, and in a few hours disabled several of the gun-boats, and dismounted three of the heavy guns in the enemy's main work. Shortly after our batteries opened, one of the twenty-four-pound guns was struck in the muzzle by a round shot from the enemy's batteries, and disabled.

"The cannonading was continued furiously all day by the gun-boats and land batteries of the enemy, but without producing any impression upon us. Meantime, during the whole day, our trenches were being extended and advanced, as it was my purpose to push forward our heavy batteries in the course of the night to the bank of the river. While the cannonading was thus going on on our right, I instructed General Paine to make demonstration against intrenchments on our left, and supported his movements by Palmer's division. The enemy's pickets and grand guards were driven into his intrenchments, and the skirmishers forced their way close to the main ditch.

"A furious thunder-storm began to rage about eleven o'clock that night, and continued almost without interruption until morning. Just before daylight, General Stanley was relieved in his trenches with his division by General Hamilton. A few minutes after daylight, a flag of truce approached our batteries with information that the enemy had evacuated his works. Small parties were at once advanced by General Hamilton to ascertain whether such was the fact, and Captain Mower, First United States Infantry, with companies A and H of that regiment, was sent forward to plant the United States flag over the abandoned works.

tools, etc., are among the spoils. Nothing except the men escaped, and they with only what they wore. They landed on the opposite side of the river, and are scattered in the wide bottoms. I immediately advanced Hamilton's division into the place, and had the guns of the enemy turned upon the river, which they completely command."

Such was the precipitation of the enemy's flight that "their dead were found unburied, their suppers untouched —standing on the tables, candles burning in the tents—and every other evidence of a disgraceful panic. Private baggage of officers and knapsacks of men were left behind. Neither provisions nor ammunition were carried off. Some attempt was made to carry ammunition, as boxes without number were found on the bank of the river where the steamers had been landed."

The whole loss of the Unionists during the siege was fifty-one killed and wounded; that of the enemy could not be ascertained. General Pope, after taking possession of the enemy's works, was enabled to command almost every point of the river, with twenty-five guns in position. While thus our land forces were ready at New Madrid to prevent the escape of the enemy down the Mississippi, Captain Foote was preparing his fleet to descend the river from above, and attack them in their refuge at Island No. 10.

The enemy had, however, in the mean time, skilfully availed themselves, under the direct supervision of General Beauregard—who had been appointed, by the Confederate Government, commander-in-chief of the Department of the Mississippi—of the great natural advantages for defence of Island No. 10, and everything betokened a vigorous and perhaps long-sustained resistance on their part. The enemy, since their defeat at Fort Donelson, had been aroused to the necessity of great exertions, and calls had been made for fresh troops from all the seceding States. Beauregard, on assuming command on the Mississippi, called General Bragg from Pensacola to his aid, and manifested the greatest activity. His first order was a fervid appeal to the spirit of his troops:

"Soldiers," he said, "I assume this day command of the army of the Missis- Mar. 5. sippi, for the defence of our homesteads and liberties, and to resist the subjugation, spoliation, and dishonor of our people. Our mothers and wives, our sisters and children, expect us to do our duty, even to the sacrifice of our lives. Our losses since the commencement of the present war, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, are now about the same as those of the enemy. He must be made to atone for those reverses we have lately experienced. Those reverses, far from disheartening, must nerve us to new deeds of valor and patriotism, and should inspire us with an unconquerable determination to drive back our invaders. Should any one in this army be unequal to the task before us, let him transfer his arms and equipments at once to braver, firmer hands, and return to his home. Our cause is as just and sacred

as ever animated men to take up arms, and if we are true to it and to ourselves, with the continued protection of the Almighty, we must and shall triumph."

The enemy's troops, as they mustered from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, were ordered to rendezvous at Grand Junction and Jackson in Tennessee, Decatur in Alabama, and Corinth in Mississippi, all important points for the defence of their positions on the Mississippi River, the great scene of future struggle. Martial law was declared in Memphis, and great endeavors made to protect that important city against the approach of the Federal forces, by land and water.

CHAPTER VI.

General Price's skill in retreat.—Escape from Missouri.—Continued retreat in Arkansas.—The Enemy driven from Sugar Creek.—Price in the Boston Mountains.—Junction with McCulloch.—General Curtis at Bentonville.—Curtis concentrating his forces.—His position on Sugar Creek.—The Enemy's plan of attack.—General Van Dorn in command.—The march of the Enemy.—Attack on rear guard of Sigel.—The escape of Sigel.—Curtis discovers that his flank is turned.—His preparations to defend himself.—Attack of the Enemy.—Battle of Pea Ridge.—The close of the first day.—Anxieties for the morrow.—The Engagement of the second day.—Success of the Unionists.—Sigel saves the day.—Rout and dispersion of the Enemy.—Sigel's pursuit.—The comparative losses.—The Indian allies of the Enemy.—Albert Pike, the Poet, New Englander, and Secessionist.—Superior strategy of the Enemy.—Superior fighting of the Unionists.—Hasty rewards of Government.—Curtis and Sigel made Major-Generals.

General Price, skilled in the tactics of retreat, had successfully eluded **1862.** the pursuit of General Curtis from the interior of Missouri into Arkansas. On reaching this State, the rear guard of the enemy stood at bay for a short time at Sugar Creek, but was soon forced, by its eager pursuers, again to turn and precipitately to join Price's main body in advance. Price continued his flight through Bentonville, a postal town, the capital of Benton County, abandoned Cross Hollows, a strong, natural position of table-land and ravines, where a force under the Confederate General McIntosh had been long posted; passed through Fayetteville, the capital of Washington County, about thirty-four miles south of the borders of Missouri, and after destroying this once flourishing town, sought refuge in the fastnesses of the Boston Mountains, where he was joined by General Ben McCulloch with his Texans and other reinforcements. The Union army under Generals Curtis and Sigel had rapidly followed, taking possession of Bentonville, where they captured a quantity of baggage that was left in the ruins of Fayetteville and other posi- **Feb. 20.** tions abandoned by the enemy in their flight.

The Union army was for a time somewhat scattered, but General Curtis expecting an attack, finally determined to concentrate his forces. He accordingly ordered the various divisions to move to

a position on Sugar Creek, where it is crossed by the main road from Springfield to Fayetteville, a short distance south of Pea Ridge. Curtis having called in the scattered detachments, formed his line with his front covered by a ridge of high ground and the creek. In his rear, to the north, was the junction of the Huntsville and Bentonville roads; to the west, Pea Ridge and the Bentonville turnpike, and to the east, the Huntsville. On the right, General Sigel was posted in command of the first and second divisions; in the centre, Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, with the third division; and on the left and in the rear, Colonel Carr, with the fourth.*

The enemy, aware of the strength of the position of the Union forces in front, perfectly familiar with the country, and hoping to cut them off from their basis of operations and supplies, determined to make their attack in the rear. General Van Dorn, who had succeeded to the chief command of the Confederate forces, upon being joined by General

* The Union forces engaged in the battle have been thus enumerated:

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Brigadier-General Samuel R. Curtis.

FIRST DIVISION.

Colonel Osterhaus, commanding.

Thirty-sixth Illinois Infantry. Twelfth Missouri Infantry.
Seventeenth Missouri Infantry.
Battalion Third Missouri Infantry.
Two battalions Benton Hussars (cavalry).
One battalion Thirty-ninth Illinois Cavalry.
Battery A, Captain Welfry, six guns. Battery B, six guns.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Colonel Coler, commanding.
Twenty-fifth Illinois Infantry.
Forty-fourth Illinois Infantry.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel Greusel, commanding.

SECOND DIVISION.

Brigadier-General Asboth, commanding.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Colonel Schafer, commanding.
Second Missouri Infantry.
Second Ohio Battery (six guns), Lieutenant Chapman.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel Joliet commanding.
Fifteenth Missouri Infantry.
Captain Elbert's Flying Battery, six guns.
Sixth Missouri Cavalry, Colonel Wright.
Battalion Fourth Missouri Cavalry, Major Messaur.

General Sigel commanded the first and second divisions, thus filling the position of Field Marshal.

THIRD DIVISION.

Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, commanding.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Colonel Barton, commanding. Eighth Indiana Infantry.
Twenty-second Indiana Infantry.
Eighteenth Indiana Infantry. Indiana battery, six guns.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel White, commanding.
Thirty-seventh Illinois Infantry.
Ninth Missouri Infantry. First Missouri Cavalry.
Battery, four guns.

[The Ninth Missouri has been placed on the list of Illinois regiments, and now ranks as the "Fifty-ninth Illinois."]

FOURTH DIVISION.

Colonel Carr, commanding.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Colonel Dodge, commanding.
Fourth Iowa Infantry. Thirth-fifth Illinois Infantry.
First Iowa Battery, Captain Jones, six guns.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel Vandever, commanding.
Ninth Iowa Infantry.
Twenty-fifth Missouri Infantry (Phelp's regiment).
Third Illinois Cavalry.
Dubuque Battery, Captain Hayden, six guns.

The following were not brigaded:

Third Iowa Cavalry, two battalions, Colonel Bussy.
Mountain howitzer battery, four guns, Captain Stevens.
Battalion of cavalry, General Curtis' body guard, Major W. D. Bowen.

The following is the estimate of the enemy's strength:

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Major-General Earl Van Dorn.

Missouri troops, under Brig.-Gen. Price, about....	9,000
Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas troops, under Brigadier-General McCulloch, about	13,000
Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and other Indian troops, with two white regiments under Brigadier-General Pike, about	7,000
Estimated aggregate of rebel army under General Van Dorn	30,000

Price in Arkansas, marched from the camp in the Boston Mountains with his main body, and took a route leading to the rear of the Unionists' position on Sugar Creek. Leaving the main road at Fayetteville, he passed to the westward, and traversing Bentonville, went northward nearly to the Missouri boundary. Here he took the main road from Springfield and marched directly south toward Sugar Creek, and in the rear of the Union army. He had left, however, a small force to make a feint in front of General Curtis, and a detachment of Indians under General Albert Pike, about two miles on Curtis' right, with the same object.

Mar. 5.

The enemy, on their march, fell in with the rear guard of General Sigel, consisting of the Thirty-sixth Illinois Infantry and a portion of the Second Missouri Regiment. Sigel was with this detachment, hastening it forward to close in with the line on Sugar Creek, when he found himself surrounded by a numerous force. He, however, succeeded in cutting his way through to his main body, with a loss of twenty-eight killed and wounded, and a portion of the Illinois regiment taken prisoners.

Mar. 6.

After this attack by the enemy on Sigel's detachment, General Curtis became aware that Van Dorn had turned his flank, and was about to attack him on his right or in the rear. He accordingly prepared for the approach of the enemy in this hitherto unexpected direction.

"During the night," says Curtis, "I became convinced that the enemy had moved on so as to attack my rear, therefore, early on the 7th, I ordered a change of front to the right; my right, which thus became my left, still resting on Sugar Creek Hollow. This brought my line across Pea Ridge, with my new right resting on Head Cross Timber Hollow, which is the head of Big Sugar Creek. I also ordered," he adds, "an immediate advance of the cavalry and light artillery, under Colonel Osterhaus, with orders to attack and break what I supposed would be the reinforced line of the enemy. This movement was in progress when the enemy, at eleven A.M., commenced an attack on my right."

Mar. 7.

Colonel Carr was with his fourth division on the right of the Unionists, where he had to meet the first onset of the enemy. Carr's line was extended across the main road to Springfield, forming the extreme left and rear of the position of General Curtis' army, before he had changed its front, when an attack in that quarter became imminent. Carr was now in the advance and on the right, directly facing the main body of the enemy coming from the north. Major-General Van Dorn commanded their right, and Major-General Price their left. As the enemy advanced, Carr moved along the Springfield road to meet them, to a point about four miles from the boundary of Missouri.

"Colonel Dodge's brigade," writes an eye-witness, "filed off upon a road leading to the east from the Elk Horn Hotel, and opened its battery upon the enemy, who was posted in a wood on a declivity

in front. They were promptly replied to, and a brisk encounter of artillery and infantry speedily ensued. Colonel Vandever's brigade passed about half a mile beyond the hotel, and took position on the left of the road. In front of them the ground descended to a dry ravine, and the opposite bank, which was somewhat abrupt and covered with low oaks, was held by the enemy. The Dubuque battery opened upon the rebels, and the scattering of some of the infantry of the latter showed that the guns were well aimed. The rebel batteries replied, and at the third fire a shell from their guns blew up one of the Union limber chests. It was about nine A.M. when the first gun was fired. Within fifteen minutes afterward the whole line of the division was fairly engaged. The explosion of the limber chest showed the rebels that their shots were well directed, and they appeared in large numbers, and poured in a terrific fire. Ten minutes after the blowing up of the limber chest, another, belonging to the same battery, was exploded in like manner, badly burning one of the cannoniers. This explosion was the signal for a rush by the rebels upon the Union battery, and they succeeded in capturing one of the guns before they were driven back by the infantry. The enemy fell back to their cover, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and wounded, who had fallen before the rifles of the Iowa Ninth."

The enemy now commenced firing shells, which, however, mostly passed over the heads of the brigade in front of them, but produced more effect upon a detachment of infantry stationed in reserve near the Elk Horn Hotel. "A shell burst in their midst," says the chronicler before quoted, "killing two men and wounding five others. Another struck in the yard, in the rear of the house, in its explosion shattering the leg of an old regular soldier in Quartermaster Carr's employ. Still another fell among some horse teams, frightening one into running away, directly up the road and over into the enemy's lines, where it was lost. In its flight several of our soldiers were run over, one being seriously and three or four slightly wounded. The drivers of some twenty or more wagons took fright, and started for the camp at full speed. Had it not been for the determined course of Quartermaster Carr, who, pistol in hand, brought them to a halt, a serious stampede would have been the result. A solid shot struck the house and passed completely through, injuring no one, as the family had taken shelter in the cellar."

Colonel Carr, finding that little was to be gained by holding the advanced position he had assumed, and that the enemy were in overpowering force, withdrew to more tenable ground, about a hundred yards to the rear. Here the struggle was continued for some time, the enemy striving to drive their antagonists from the field, but being long kept at bay by the well-aimed shots of the Iowa and Missouri Infantry. The secessionists, however, continued to advance in greater numbers, and with fiercer impet-

uosity, firing their double-barrelled fowling-pieces, loaded with ball and buckshot, with which they were armed, and, when they approached sufficiently close, striking with the butt-ends of the gun-stocks. They succeeded thus in driving the cannoniers away and capturing one of our guns. Colonel Carr now again withdrew his division farther back, until he reached some ground near the Elk Horn Hotel, on a road which connects the Springfield highway with that to Huntsville on the east. Here he strove to make a stand, and sent back messenger after messenger, begging for reinforcements. "Two batteries and three regiments, or sunset and darkness, are the only alternatives for our safety," exclaimed the almost despairing Carr, as he found himself overmatched by the superior numbers of the enemy. In the mean time he was again compelled to fall back until he reached an open field on the Springfield road, hardly a mile from the Union encampment on Sugar Creek, where, finally being reinforced, and the much-wished-for darkness coming on, he was enabled to hold his ground.

Colonel Osterhaus, commanding the first of the two divisions under General Sigel, who had been sent to meet the enemy's centre, had, in the meantime, met with better success. About three miles from camp, Colonel Osterhaus' division encountered what was supposed to be a small body of the enemy, posted in the edge of some timber and brushwood, and brought three guns to bear upon them. After a few rounds of shell, grape, and canister, the artillery was ordered to cease firing, and the Third Iowa Cavalry moved forward to complete the clearance of the timber. A greater resistance, however, than was expected, was met, and the Iowa Cavalry were driven back in disorder. The enemy followed up the cavalry in its retreat, and, taking advantage of the confusion, succeeded in capturing the three guns with which they had been shelled. Colonel Osterhaus brought up his Indiana regiments, and after a rapid succession of volleys of musketry, followed by a bayonet charge, retook the guns lost but a few moments before. Gen. Davis then came forward with his division, the third, and the force of the enemy being strengthened at the same time, a vigorous action commenced. The enemy brought their artillery into position, and a duel of heavy guns ensued, ending with the enemy abandoning their position. A running fight now followed, and a vigorous pursuit was kept up for two or three miles, the enemy flying toward the north in order to form a junction with the force in our rear.

General Sigel, with his second division, under the immediate command of General Asboth, also did good service on the extreme left, where a slight demonstration or feint was made, in supporting Osterhaus' and Davis' attack on the enemy's centre. General Asboth, after retiring from the pursuit of the enemy, was enabled to go with his division to the rescue of Colonel Carr. This was the reinforcement by which the latter succeeded in holding the ground to which he had been driven.

Thus closed the first day of the struggle of Pea Ridge. The enemy had not only disclosed a skilful strategic movement, but had almost succeeded in bringing it to a successful issue. The Unionists, with a numerous and desperate enemy in their rear, between them and the borders of Missouri, to which alone they could look for supplies and reinforcements, were in a position which seemed to offer little ground for encouragement. Both officers and soldiers, however, were determined to do all that courage could effect, but looked forward to the coming day with more doubt than hope. That night is graphically described by a campaigner.*

"The lines of the contending armies during the night were not more than three hundred yards apart, and each party rested on its arms, and passed the long hours till dawn without lighting fires. The air was still, and conversation was carried on in low voices and whispers, through fear that ordinary tones would be overheard.

"In the main camp of the army everything was bustle and commotion. Coffee, bread, and meat were prepared and sent out, with blankets and overcoats, for the comfort of those who had so nobly fought during the day and were intending to renew the conflict at dawn. General Sigel and Colonel Davis had returned, and were making all preparation to throw their whole force to the aid of Colonel Carr. The teams were still attached to the wagons, and the braying of the mules—never melodious—became doubly dismal and discordant. The poor animals had been without food for forty-eight hours, and without water for twenty-four hours. They had been standing in harness since daybreak, and their usually hoarse tones gradually softened to a low, plaintive moan that was painful to hear.

"Most of the officers were fearful of the results of the conflict on the morrow, since those of the day's battle had been so unfavorable. Some turned their thoughts upon escape; but saw not how it was to be accomplished, as our only lines of retreat to the north were completely cut off. Among the soldiers, as they sat by the camp fires, there was generally but one expression, 'We must fight like heroes, or surrender to the rebels. There is no falling safely back, as there was at Wilson Creek. Our only alternative is desperate fighting, and we will all do our best.'

"Around headquarters most of the commanders passed a sleepless night. Though there were but few words spoken, nearly every one felt that the following dawn would but usher in our defeat. General Sigel brought his division into camp, where it was ready at call, and then calmly lay down to sleep. Colonel Davis moved his command at midnight, and anxiously waited the coming light. The Commander-in-chief was hopeful but fearful. Colonel Dodge and Colonel Vandever sent in for a fresh supply of ammunition, and about midnight visited the camp in person to swallow a sup of coffee and return to the field. Ambulances were in constant

* N. Y. *Herald.*

motion, bringing the wounded to the hospitals prepared for their reception, and surgeons were active in relieving the wants of the sufferers.

"In the action of the day the Iowa regiments had suffered fearfully. Nearly two hundred each had been the loss of the Iowa Fourth and Ninth, and the latter had not a single field officer fit for duty. Its colonel was commanding a brigade, its lieutenant-colonel (Herron) was made prisoner while gallantly cheering his men, after losing a horse and receiving a severe wound; and its major and adjutant were disabled and in the hospital. Still none of the men were despondent, but were all ready for the work of the morrow. From the camp of a German regiment, the notes of some plaintive air, possibly a love ditty, were wafted on the breeze in words unintelligible to my ear. It reminded me that long ago, in the Crimea, on the night before the storming of the Malakoff, the entire British army in the trenches before Sebastopol joined in singing a famous Scottish ballad, one of the sweetest ever known:

They sang of love and not of fame;
Forgot was Britain's glory,
Each heart recalled a different name,
But all sang Annie Laurie.

"Daybreak and sunrise at last. Not the bright, clear sun that rose over Austerlitz and cheered Napoleon to his great victory, but a dull, copper-tinted globe, slowly pushing itself up through the murky cloud of cannon smoke that even the long hours of a winter night had not dispelled. The heavens soon became overcast, as if the elements themselves foreshadowed an impending calamity. Every ear was open to catch the sound of the first dull boom of cannon, and every eye was watching for the first curling wreath of smoke that should usher in the contest of the 8th."

General Curtis having become convinced that the enemy had concentrated their main force on the right, began another change of front, so as to face the enemy where they had deployed on his right in a strong position. While this movement was in progress, the battle of the 8th of March opened at sunrise by a fire from the centre and right of the Union forces. Colonel Carr's division was placed in the centre, Colonel Davis' division on the right, and General Sigel on the left; the whole force being concentrated to the north and rear of the camp. During the night the enemy had planted their strongest batteries on a hill on their right, about two hundred feet high, with a slope to the north, but with precipitous sides, where it faced our line on the south. About the base of this hill, under the cover of the trees and undergrowth, were posted large bodies of infantry to prevent its being turned. On their left the enemy had extended their cavalry and some few field pieces. The great object was evidently to dispossess the enemy of their commanding position on the hill, and to this the main effort of the day was directed, which devolved upon General Sigel in command of our left, directly facing the eminence. This skilful commander deliberately prepared for the assault, and did not fire a gun until every-

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Mar. 8.

thing was properly arranged. Forming his troops, with a front line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and reserves in the rear, in a level cornfield, he advanced to the attack and opened fire from his cannon. A continuous cannonade was thus kept up for two hours, with but occasional intervals of from five to fifteen minutes rest. The enemy responded from the hill with spirit and with well-aimed shots. Their fire was less effective than that of Sigel, who succeeded in dismounting several of their guns, which they, however, rapidly replaced with others.

In the mean time, while this cannonade between the main force of the enemy in and about the hill and our left was going on, the center and right, under Carr and Davis, had been steadily advancing, but gaining slowly upon their antagonists' position. They had finally reached the borders of a wood, by which the enemy were covered, when a "battery of three guns, in front of a wooded space on the left of the road, at length became troublesome, and orders were issued for a bayonet charge to capture it. Just at this moment a gust of wind blew away the smoke from the front of the rebels, revealing their exact position. The Twelfth Missouri was designated for the honor of taking the battery, and nobly acquitted themselves, advancing at the *pas de charge* under a terrible musketry fire, possessing themselves of the guns and holding them until their supports came up. Twelve of their men were killed in this charge, and a large number wounded. Another gun was shortly after taken in the timber near by, and still another spiked piece on the extreme right of Davis' division."

Sigel, however, with his artillery, was executing the great work of the day. After enduring the fearful cannonade for two hours and a half, the enemy finally broke from their strong position on the hill, and fled. "My left," says General Curtis in his official report, "under General Sigel, moved close to the hills occupied by the enemy, driving him from the heights, and advancing steadily toward the head of the hollows. I immediately ordered the centre and right wing forward, the right turning the left of the enemy, and cross firing on his centre. This final position of the enemy was in the arc of a circle. A charge of infantry, extending throughout the whole line, completely routed the whole rebel force, which retired in great confusion, but rather safely, through the deep, impassable defiles of cross timber."

General Sigel continued to pursue the fugitives for twelve miles, and succeeded in capturing a number of prisoners, a considerable quantity of wagons, loaded with provisions and ammunition, and nearly a thousand stand of arms. The country was such, with its irregularity of ground, its hills and ravines and stretches of wood, that it was impossible to pursue the enemy with cavalry, and they accordingly escaped with comparative impunity.

"The appearance of the hill and woods shelled by General Sigel's division attests the terrific shower of mis-

siles that fell upon them. Walking over the ground immediately after the flight of the enemy and the pursuit by our forces, I found it," says the writer before quoted, "thickly strewn with dead and wounded, most of them having fallen by the deadly artillery projectiles. Tree after tree was shattered or perforated by shot and shell, and many were filled with grape and canister balls. One tree was pierced through and through by a solid shot, its top shivered by a shell, and the base of its trunk scarred by seventeen canister and rifle balls. In one place lay the fragments of a battery wagon, wherein a shell had exploded, utterly destroying the wagon and killing two mules which had been its motive power. A ruined caisson and five cannon-wheels were lying near it. Two dead artillerymen were stretched on the earth, each killed by a grapeshot, and by their side was a third, gasping his last, with his side laid open by a fragment of a shell. On the hill, where the cannonade had been severe, trees, rocks, and earth bore witness to its fierceness. Fifteen wounded rebels lay in one group, and were piteously imploring each passer-by for water and relief for their wounds. A few rods from them was another, whose arm had been torn off by a cannon-shot, leaving the severed member on the ground a few feet distant. Near him was the dead body of a rebel, whose legs and one arm had been shattered by a single shot. Behind a tree a few yards distant was stretched a corpse, with two-thirds of its head blown away by the explosion of a shell, and near it a musket, broken into three pieces. Still farther along was the body of a rebel soldier, who had been killed by a grapeshot through the breast. A letter had fallen from his pocket, which, on examination, proved to be a long and well-written love epistle from his betrothed in East Tennessee. Around him in all directions were his dead and dying comrades, some stretched at full length on the turf, and others contorted as if in extreme agony. The earth was thickly strewn with shot and fragments of shell.

"The bursting of shells had set fire to the dry leaves on the ground, and the woods were burning in every direction. Efforts were made to remove the wounded before the flames should reach them, and nearly all were taken to places of safety. Several were afterward found in secluded spots, some of them still alive, but horribly burned and blackened by the conflagration.

"The rebels, in nearly every instance, removed the shoes from the dead and mortally wounded, both of their own army and ours. Of all the corpses I saw, I do not think one-twentieth had been left with their shoes untouched. In some cases pantaloons were taken, and occasionally an overcoat or a blouse was missing. A large number of the killed among the rebels were shot through the head, while the majority of our dead were shot through the breast. The rebels, wherever it was possible, fired from cover; and as often as a head appeared from behind a tree or bush, it became a mark for our men. The Union

troops generally stood in ranks, and, except when skirmishing, made no use of objects of protection."

The loss of the Union troops in this severe conflict was, killed, 203, wounded, 972, and missing, 176. The enemy, in their report, declared that "the fighting was the most desperate on record. Our loss was immense; that of the enemy unknown. Generals McCulloch and McIntosh were both killed on the 7th instant (March). General Slack was mortally wounded; General Price was slightly wounded in the arm." The enemy's surgeons confessed to a loss "of 1,100 killed, and from 2,500 to 3,000 wounded."

"So far as I can ascertain," writes General Van Dorn, in his report, "our losses amount to about 600 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners, and one cannon, which, having become disabled, I ordered to be thrown into a ravine.

"The force with which I went into action was less than 14,000 men; that of the enemy is variously estimated at from 17,000 to 24,000."

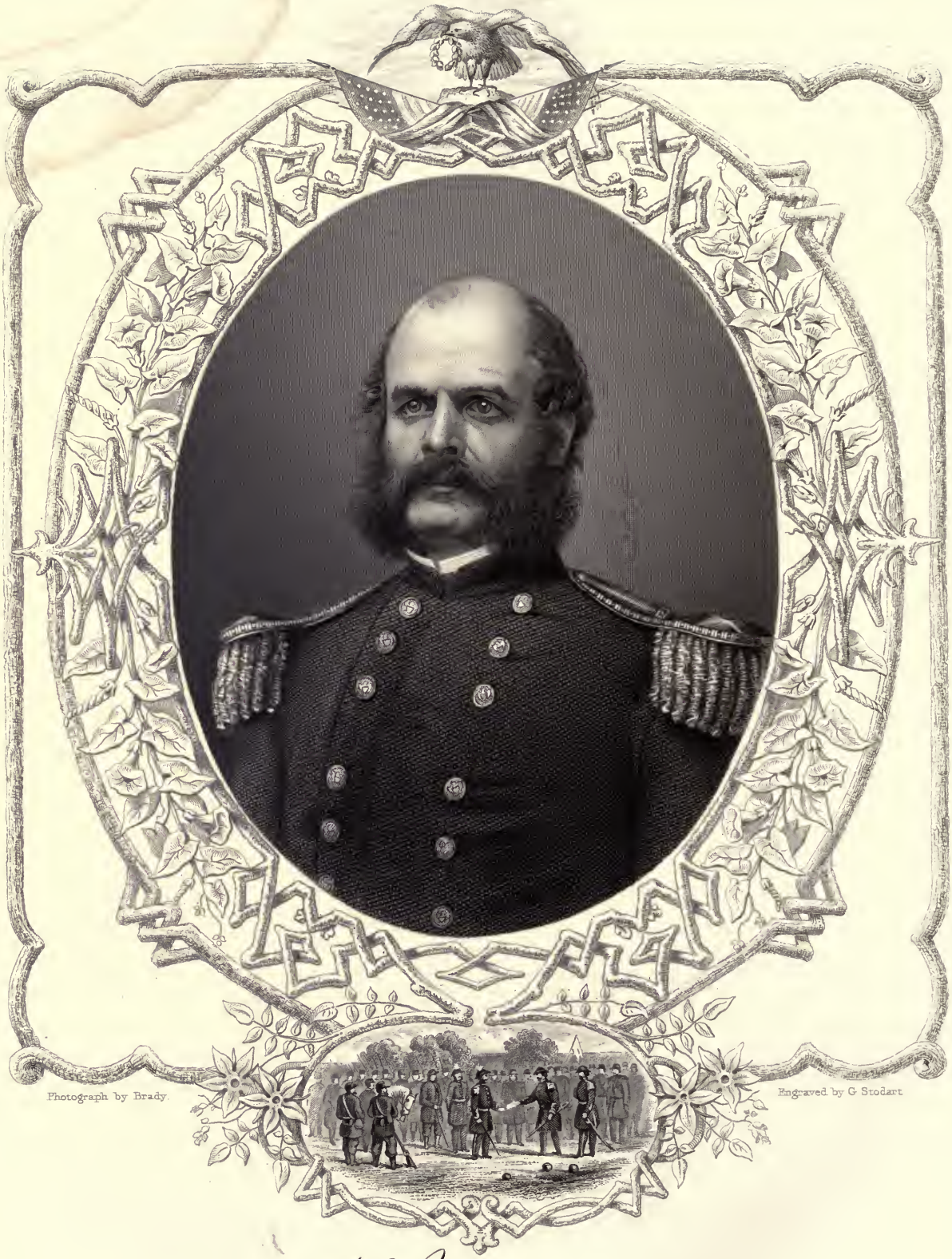
A correspondence in regard to the wounded took place between General Van Dorn and General Curtis, in the course of which the aide-de-camp of the latter wrote:

"The General regrets that we find on the battle-field, contrary to civilized warfare, many of the Federal dead who were tomahawked, scalped, and their bodies shamefully mangled, and expresses a hope that this important struggle may not degenerate to a savage warfare."

This referred to the barbarities of the Indian allies, who, to the number of 2,200, fought in the ranks of the enemy, under the command of General Albert Pike, a native of Massachusetts, but a most inveterate advocate of slavery. The whole force of the enemy, including these savages, has been estimated as high as 35,000, while that of the Unionists was not more than 8,000.

General Van Dorn* is entitled to the credit of superior strategy, in having so successfully turned the Union army and interposed his whole force between it and the boundary of Missouri. By this well-conducted movement, Curtis was inclosed in a most dangerous position, from which he was only rescued by the skilful artillery tactics of General Sigel and the stubborn courage of our brave soldiers. The Government, however, has, with unreflecting haste, honored the Commander-in-chief with a major-generalship. The same reward bestowed upon Sigel is but a fair tribute to a skilful commander, who has added to his other notable deeds that of rescuing the whole army of Missouri from disgrace or total destruction.

* General Van Dorn is said to have exhausted his ammunition, and been obliged to resort to stones for the want of cannon-balls.



Photograph by Brady.

Engraved by G. Stodart

A. E. Burnside

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CHAPTER VII.

The third great Naval and Military Expedition.—Rendezvous at Fortress Monroe.—Composition of the Expedition.—Commander-in-chief.—General Burnside.—Birth and education.—Military career.—A memorable feat.—Resigns in the army.—A gun-manufacturer.—Unsuccessful business.—Cheated by Floyd.—The Burnside Rifle.—Heavy Losses.—On the Illinois Central Railroad.—Intimacy with General McClellan.—Residence in New York.—Invited to Rhode Island.—In command of the First Rhode Island Regiment.—In Washington.—His energy in discipline.—At the Battle of Bull Run.—Opposed to that Battle.—A Brigadier-General.—A Major-General.—Personal appearance and character.—Life of Goldsborough.—Naval career.—Long service.—Commander-in-chief of the Fleet.—Departure of the Expedition.—Arrival at Hatteras.—The trials and misfortunes of the Voyage.—Delay.—The first movement.—Roanoke Island.—Description.—The Enemy's defences.—The attack by Union gun-boats.—Landing of troops.—A spirited charge.—Victory.—Destruction of the Enemy's fleet.—Losses and Gains.—Capture of Elizabeth City.

THE third great naval and military expedition designed to act upon the Southern coast, and thence to advance into the interior of the Confederate States, in co-operation with the Federal armies, after rendezvousing at Fortress Monroe, sailed thence at midnight on the 11th of January.

1862.

Jan. 11.

The expedition, consisting of over a hundred steam and sailing vessels, transports, gun-boats, and tugs, and from fifteen to twenty thousand troops, chiefly from New England, had been in preparation but two months, and yet was one of the most complete and formidable ever fitted out.

General Ambrose Everett Burnside was chosen the commander-in-chief—an officer who had, by the completeness of his military education, his enterprising character, and the patriotic spirit he had already exhibited in the present war, inspired the utmost confidence in his leadership.

Burnside was born at Liberty, Union County, Indiana, on the 23d of May, 1824. In 1842, at the age of nineteen, he entered the Military Academy at West Point, and graduated in 1847, when he became a second-lieutenant in the Second United States Artillery. In September of the same year, being transferred to the Third Artillery, he served in the company of Captain Bragg, now one of the foremost generals in the enemy's service, and marched with General Patterson's division to Mexico, where he remained until the end of the war.

Subsequently, while second lieutenant in the same company, he was engaged for several years in the campaign against the Indians of New Mexico, and in August, 1849, greatly distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Apaches at Los Vegas, routing them, killing eighteen, capturing nine, and a number of horses. For his spirit and success on this occasion he was promoted to a first lieutenancy.

In the commission appointed to settle

the boundary line between Mexico and the United States, Burnside served as quartermaster; and in 1851, as bearer of dispatches from Colonel Graham to President Fillmore, performed the memorable feat of riding on horseback with an escort of but three men, from the Gila River across the plains, in seventeen days, over a space of 1,200 miles through a region beset by hostile Indians.

Burnside was now posted at Fort Adams, in Newport Harbor, but, like many of the most enterprising of our officers, tiring of the inactivity of a military station, in peace, resigned his commission in 1853, and sought in civil life a more stirring scene of labor.

Having invented a "breech-loading rifle," he devoted himself to its manufacture, in which he was encouraged to embark all his means, during the administration of Buchanan, by the promise of the secretary of war, Floyd, that it would be adopted by the Government. In the mean time, that unscrupulous public officer is supposed to have made a contract with another inventor, by whom he was promised a share of the profits, and the "Burnside rifle" was refused the Government patronage. This sudden withdrawal of the expected custom of a prodigal purchaser deprived Burnside of the anticipated profits of his manufactory, and involved him in great losses. The establishment at Bristol, R. I., was subsequently sold to his brother-in-law, who, with a change of rule, has been more fortunate in securing the custom of the Government, which has purchased considerable quantities of his rifles, now extensively used in the army.

Burnside was soon after employed by the Illinois Central Railroad Company as the President of the Land Office Department, and has the credit of having perfected the present time-table arrangement for railroad trains. On receiving this appointment, he removed with his wife, whom he had married at Bristol, in Rhode Island, to Chicago, where he renewed and strengthened his relations with General McClellan, then associated with him in the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. Burnside, subsequently appointed treasurer of the company, removed to New York, where he was living when invited by Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, to take the command of the First Regiment of Volunteers of that State. Having already, while a resident of Bristol, served as major-general of the militia of Rhode Island, he readily accepted the call to lead his former comrades, and marched with the regiment to Washington. Here, during the days of anxiety and doubt, when the capital was in danger, Burnside became conspicuous for his energy in preparing his soldiers for duty. His regiment was noted for its discipline and perfection of appointment. At the battle of Bull Run he served as a brigadier-general, and was in the advance on that disastrous day, giving an example of self-command and intrepidity which, if it had been generally followed, might have turned the defeat into a victory. He, however, is supposed to have strenuously objected, from what he

knew of the imperfect condition of the army of the Potomac, to trust it at that early day in an assault upon an intrenched enemy.

Burnside's merits were at once recognized by the Government, and he was soon made a brigadier, and subsequently a major-general. The leadership of the expedition, as will be proved by its history, could not have been trusted to a more competent person.

Burnside has all the characteristics of the popular hero. Tall and graceful in person, active in movement, a bold and skilful horseman, and confident in bearing, with a dash, perhaps, of defiance, which comes from his martial training, he is a noticeable person. Though lively and affable in conversation, and fond of society, there is a certain emphasis in manner, and a positiveness of opinion, denoting a self-reliance, independent of the applause of those who surround him. A high forehead and projecting eyebrows are the external indications of the man of reflection, and his premature baldness giving greater gravity to his appearance, adds to the impression of the seriousness of his character. He is but thirty-eight years of age, but would be generally considered much older.

The chief command of the fleet was given to the veteran naval officer Goldsborough. Louis M. Goldsborough was born in Maryland, but received his appointment in the navy, which he entered at an early age in 1812, from the District of Columbia. He has thus been in the naval service for more than half a century. He had been employed at sea for eighteen years; had been engaged twelve on duty ashore, and passed some eighteen without active occupation, when he was appointed to the command of the United States frigate Congress. From this vessel he was called to supersede Captain Stringham in the command of one-half of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron. He hoisted his flag on board of the steam frigate Minnesota, and had been stationed for some time in Hampton Roads, off Fortress Monroe, when he sailed as the commander-in-chief of the naval portion of General Burnside's expedition. Although by the act of Congress, which retires all officers who have served over forty-five years, Goldsborough is nominally withdrawn from the service, he has proved, by his active and able performance of duty, that he is really one of the most efficient commanders in the navy.

While the great expedition was being fitted out, the utmost secrecy was affected, but although many at the North were perplexing themselves with speculations as to its destination, the enemy at the South, with their usual prescience, as will be seen, had been enabled to divine the direction of the blow and prepare for it.

Although most of the vessels of the expedition left Hampton Roads during the night of January 11th, there were others which did not sail until the next, and even the day after. The expedition, like that to Port Royal, encountered a severe storm off the coast of Hatteras, which scattered the fleet, wrecked several vessels, and greatly

damaged others. The principal portion, however, reached Hatteras Inlet, and anchored there in safety. Some six vessels, four transports, a gun-boat, and floating battery were wrecked, but all those on board were rescued with the exception of a few who, being thrown on the coast of the enemy, were taken prisoners.

Jan. 13.

After reaching Hatteras Inlet, much difficulty was found in crossing the bar or swash, either in consequence of the great draft of the vessels, or some change in the depth of the channel from the shifting of the sand in the course of the storm.* A long delay ensued in getting the fleet into Pamlico Sound; but after great efforts, and by the use of the ordinary expedients of floats and tugs, the chief vessels were got over the bar, and the expedition was ready to commence operations. The first movement was to capture Roanoke Island, which commanded the approach to Albemarle Sound.†

The enemy had made formidable preparations for the defence of this im-

* It was stated that the draft of many of the vessels was greater than had been reported, and, moreover, that instead of vessels drawing eight and a half feet being able to cross the bar, as General Burnside had been informed, none drawing over seven feet three inches could pass.

† The following article, from the Wilmington *Journal*, (North Carolina) of January 20, will show how correct were the *conjectures* of the enemy, and at the same time supplies an accurate description of Roanoke Island and the rest of the field of operations:

"The Norfolk *Day Book* asserts, as though with knowledge, that they are destined for Elizabeth City. Probably this point is suggested or indicated as being at or near the southern terminus of the two lines of water communication between Albemarle Sound and Norfolk Harbor—the Dismal Swamp Canal and the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal. The number of canal boats would appear to give some shadow of plausibility to this. It might be an object to seal up the navigation through these works, and thus cut off two important lines of transport and communication between our forces at Norfolk and those on our northern coast. It would be madness for any 'expedition' to attempt to force its way to Norfolk through either of these canals.

"Very naturally, the people on Pamlico Sound are seriously alarmed. Some injury, serious injury, indeed, might be done to the dwellers in Hyde, Beaufort, Craven, and Jones counties by marauding expeditions, but no strategic advantages could be secured to the enemy by any such course; and, if report speaks truth, General Burnside is not a man like Butler and others who delight in rapine without a military object. Of course we speak now of the country, and our remarks will not apply to Newbern or Washington, or to an attempt to seize upon some point on the Atlantic or North Carolina Railroad, with the view of obtaining control of that work, either for the purpose of isolating Fort Macon or of advancing into the interior. These things are only conjectural, but as they are neither impossible nor improbable, they naturally create no small anxiety in the minds of the people of Newbern and Beaufort incidentally.

"In order to go to Elizabeth City, it would be necessary for the flotilla to force its way into Albemarle Sound, which is connected with Pamlico Sound by a narrow strait some twenty miles long, which divides the mainland of Tyrrell County from the banks. Nearly in the middle of this strait lies Roanoke Island, which is about twelve miles in length and three in breadth. Roanoke Island divides the strait into two parts, that between it and the mainland being called Croatan Sound, and that between the island and the banks being called Roanoke Sound. The former, Croatan Sound, will possibly admit the passage of vessels drawing eight and a half to nine feet water—eight and three-quarters is marked on the Coast Survey at the shallowest point. This channel approaches at one part of its course within easy range of the island, from which batteries might command it. It could not be so easily commanded from the mainland. It is thus evident that Croatan Sound will allow the passage of vessels of as large a draught of water as can approach it from the sea, whether they enter by Hatteras or Ocracoke Inlet. The channel, however, is intricate and narrow, and capable of being readily obstructed, we should think.

"The same narrowness of the channel would evidently preclude the possibility of any manœuvring by gun-boats or other vessels attacking any batteries on the island, and it seems to us they would be forced to pass certain points in single file. Once in Albemarle Sound, the shore can be approached with safety in twelve feet water, within three-fourths of a mile of the shore, save at two or three points. Any vessel that can enter Albemarle Sound can ascend the Pasquotank River to Elizabeth City. The Dismal Swamp Canal empties into the Pasquotank River, the

portant position. They had erected five forts to defend the shores and strongly intrenched a camp in the centre of the island, where they had mustered a force of several thousand men, under the command of Major-General R. C. Hill, of North Carolina. They had, moreover, striven to obstruct the channel leading to Albemarle Sound by sinking vessels and driving piles across Croatan Sound from the mainland to the island, and had stationed beyond a flotilla of eight gun-boats.

A reconnoissance having been previously made by Captain Goldsborough, he moved with his fleet,* consisting of thirty-one gun-boats, on the morning of the 5th of February, toward Croatan Sound, and on the 7th began the attack on the enemy's forts on either side. The gun-boats advanced in three columns. The first was led by the "Stars and Stripes," Commander Worden; the second by the Louisiana, Commander Murray, and the third by the Hetzel, Commander Davenport. Captain Goldsborough was on board the Southfield, accompanied by the gun-boat Underwriter. These two vessels began the attack at 11 o'clock in the morning, with a fire upon the enemy's fort at Pork Point. In half an hour afterward the engagement became general, with a spirited cannonade on both sides, in which the enemy's gun-boats above the obstructions in Croatan Sound took part. In less than an hour the enemy's flotilla was forced to retire beyond the reach of our guns, after one of the vessels, the Curlew, became so disabled that she was obliged to seek refuge under the guns of a fort on the mainland. Captain Goldsborough now concentrated his fire upon the battery at Pork Point,

Feb. 5.

mouth of which is only divided from North River, the mouth of which is the southern terminus of the Albemarle and Chesapeake navigation, by a narrow neck of land known as North Point.

"The water between Roanoke Island and the banks is known as Roanoke Sound, and is not navigable. There are no lunar tides, and any rise or fall in Albemarle and Croatan sounds is due to the winds or the state of the rivers. As for our means of resistance and defence, we can only trust that they may be adequate. Of course we would not now state what they are, even if we knew, which we do but partially.

"Roanoke Island is about fifteen miles from Hatteras Inlet."

* The fleet was thus composed:

	Names.	Commanders.	Guns.
1.	Brickner	Acting Master J. C. Giddings	1
2.	Ceres	Acting Master S. A. McDermaid	2
3.	Chasseur	Lieut. Com. John West	6
4.	Com. Barney	Lieut. Com. R. D. Renshaw	2
5.	Com. Perry	Lieut. Com. C. H. Flusser	2
6.	Delaware	Lieut. Com. S. P. Quackenbush	3
7.	Granite	Acting Master E. Boomer	1
8.	Grenade	Commander W. B. Avery	3
9.	Gen. Putnam	Acting Master W. J. Hoskiss	2
10.	Huzzar	Acting Master Fred. Crocker	4
11.	Hunchback	Lieut. Com E. R Calhoun	4
12.	Hetzel	Lieut. Com. H. K. Davenport	2
13.	J. N. Seymour	Acting Master F. S. Welles	2
14.	Louisiana	Acting Master Hooker	4
15.	Lockwood	Acting Master S. L. Graves	3
16.	Lancer	Acting Master B. Morley	4
17.	Morse	Acting Master Peter Hayes	2
18.	Philadelphia	Acting Master Silas Reynolds	1
19.	Pioneer	Acting Master Charles S. Baker	4
20.	Picket	Acting Master T. P. Ives	4
21.	Rocket	Acting Master James Lake	3
22.	Ranger	Acting Master J. B. Childs	2
23.	Stars and Stripes	Lieut. Com. Worden	5
24.	Southfield	Lieut. Com. Behm	4
25.	Shawshene	Acting Master T. S. Woodward	2
26.	Shrapnel	Lieut. Com. Ed. Staples	3
27.	Underwriter	Lieut. Com. Jeffers	4
28.	Valley City	Lieut. Com. J. C. Chaplin	5
29.	Vidette	—— ——	4
30.	Whitehead	Lieut. Com. French	1
31.	Young Rover	Acting Master I. B. Studley	5
	Total guns		94

on the island, at a range of three-quarters of a mile or more, being as near as the depth of water would allow. The enemy replied vigorously for awhile, until their flag was shot away, the barracks set on fire, and the works began to fall to pieces under the constant dropping of our shells.

It was now that General Burnside prepared to land his troops. The place of disembarkation chosen was Ashby's Harbor, on Roanoke Island, about two miles below and on the same side as Pork Point. As the troops, at two o'clock, began to land, the enemy with a force of 2,000 men and a battery of three pieces occupied the neighboring woods, to oppose them. A shower of shell, however, from the gun-boats soon dispersed the enemy, and General Burnside was enabled to continue the tedious labor of landing his troops. About midnight he had succeeded in placing on the island a force of nearly 11,000 men, who were conveyed from the transports by small steamers and launches; but such was the shallowness of the water, on approaching the shore, that each man was obliged to wade for a quarter of a mile waist-deep to the land.

In the mean time, while the troops were landing, the enemy's flotilla returned and renewed its fire, which was vigorously answered by several of the Federal gun-boats. The engagement had lasted an hour, when the enemy were again forced, after suffering considerable damage, to withdraw their vessels, and our gun-boats directed their fire against Fort Barton at Pork Point, which responded but feebly. At six o'clock in the evening, Captain Goldsborough signalized his fleet to withdraw, and thus closed the first day's action. Many of the Federal gun-boats had been struck, but none of them were seriously injured. Three men only had been killed and some ten wounded.

At an early hour next morning, the Federal troops, which had landed to the number of 11,000 men during the night, moved forward to the attack of the enemy's intrenchment in the centre of the island, about five miles distant from Ashby's Harbor, the place of disembarkation. General Foster assuming the general command as next in rank to General Burnside, who remained at the landing, led the advance, and was followed by the main body, under the command of Generals Reno and Parke. **Feb. 8.**

At eight o'clock in the morning, General Foster reached the enemy's position, which had been well chosen, on a piece of ground flanked on either side by a morass. A narrow causeway was the only approach to their works, and this they had protected by an earth-work mounting three guns, while within the intrenchments there was mustered a force of some two or three thousand men.

General Foster having placed his artillery—which consisted of six or eight mortars from the naval launches—in front, opened fire, which was followed by a discharge from the infantry in support. The enemy responded briskly, but in spite of their heavy fire and protected position, General Foster continued

F.O.C.Darley. J.J.Crew.

CAPTURE OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

CHARGE OF ZOUAVES

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to move forward steadily. As Generals Reno and Parke came up with their respective divisions, they made a detour to the right and left of the enemy with the view of flanking them. The whole force was now steadily closing in upon the intrenchments, when, at twelve o'clock, General Foster ordered Colonel Hawkins, with his New York Zouaves and the Tenth Connecticut Regiment, to charge with bayonets upon the battery which commanded the causeway. A simultaneous movement was made on the right and left, and the enemy thus surrounded were driven from their guns back into the intrenchments. The charge of the New York and Connecticut men was gallantly made. They pressed forward with a loud shout, and, in their eagerness, crowding over the narrow causeway, leaped into the morass knee-deep in mud and water, and pushed their way into the fort, thrusting with their bayonets the enemy before them, and taking possession of their guns. The fugitives, escaping from the intrenchments, fled to the northern end of the island, pursued by General Foster.

While this victory was being won on land, Captain Goldsborough renewed his fire against Fort Barton at Pork Point, and having silenced it, sailed in pursuit of the enemy's gun-boats. General Foster, upon reaching the extremity of the island, was met by a flag of truce from Colonel Shaw, in command of a Virginia regiment, which had landed there on that morning. The Colonel proposed to negotiate about terms of capitulation, but General Foster replied that the surrender must be unconditional and immediate; and the enemy, without further parley, laid down their arms. Generals Reno and Parke and Colonel Hawkins, as they marched over the island, found no resistance, and were equally fortunate in securing a large number of prisoners. The forts were either abandoned or surrendered, and the United States flag was raised upon all before the close of the day.

General Burnside thus summed up the results of this successful two-days' work:

"I have the honor to report," he wrote, "that a combined attack upon this island was commenced on the morning of the 7th, by the naval and military forces of this expedition, which has resulted in the capture of six forts, forty guns, over 2,000 prisoners, and upward of 3,000 small-arms.

"Among the prisoners are Colonel Shaw, commander of the island, and O. Jennings Wise, commander of the Wise Legion. The latter was mortally wounded, and has since died.

"The whole work was finished on the afternoon of the 8th inst., after a hard day's fighting, by a brilliant charge in the centre of the island, and a rapid pursuit of the enemy to the north end of the island, resulting in the capture of the prisoners mentioned above.

"We have had no time to count them, but the number is estimated at nearly 3,000.

"Our men fought bravely, and have endured most manfully the hardships incident to fighting through swamps and dense thickets."

In the spirited charge upon the enemy's battery in the centre of the island, Russell, the colonel of the Tenth Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Victor de Monteil—who had volunteered his services, though his regiment, the D'Epineuil Zouaves, was not present—fell, after gallantly leading their comrades to the attack.

The loss of the enemy, as they fought under the cover of breast-works, was not very great, amounting in all to about twenty killed and a hundred wounded.

Among the former was Colonel O. Jennings Wise, the son of Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, who was to have commanded the enemy's forces, but, during the engagement on the island, remained at a neighboring place, known as Nag's Head, where he was reported to be seriously ill. The loss of the Unionists was thirty-five killed and about two hundred wounded.

Captain Goldsborough, on the day after the capture of Roanoke Island, and sent thirteen steamers, under Commander Rowan, in pursuit of the enemy's flotilla. Pushing their way through the sunken vessels and piles, with which an attempt had been made to obstruct the passage through Croatan Sound, and meeting with no resistance from the works (Fort Forrest) on the mainland, which the enemy abandoned, Commander Rowan sailed up Albemarle Sound to the harbor of Elizabeth City, where he overtook the enemy's vessels, under the command of Captain Lynch, and attacked them with the result which he thus reported:

Feb. 9.

"I met," he wrote, "the enemy off this place this morning at nine o'clock, and after a very sharp engagement, succeeded in destroying or capturing his entire naval force,* and silencing and destroying his battery on Cobb's Point.

Feb. 14.

"The only vessel saved from destruction is the Ellis, Captain J. M. Cook, who is wounded and a prisoner. I have other prisoners.

"I am happy to say that our casualties are few, considering the warmth of the enemy's fire—say two or three killed and some wounded."

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* The following is a list of the enemy's vessels:

Raleigh	2 guns.	Postboy	2 guns
Forrest	2 "	Beaufort	2 "
Curlew	2 "	Fanny	2 "
Ellis	2 "	Sea Bird	2 "

This is a sketch of their commander, from the N. Y. *Herald:*

"Captain W. F. Lynch, the commander of the rebel gun-boat fleet which supported the rebel batteries at Roanoke Island at the late battle, is a native of Norfolk, Va. He was formerly of the United States Navy. He entered the Federal service on the 26th of July, 1819. His last commission was dated April 2, 1856, and under it he was two years in active sea service. His total sea service was thirteen years and ten months. He was on shore duty eleven years and eleven months, and was fifteen years and ten months unemployed. His total service was forty-one years and seven months. When he resigned his commission in the Federal service, he stood No. 75 in the rank of captains.

"Captain Lynch was the chief of the exploring expedition to the Dead Sea in 1843-4. His report to the Secretary of the Navy, after his return, was quite voluminous and highly interesting, giving, as it did, the minutest details of the expedition, written in a manner which displayed no ordinary talent. Captain Lynch is well known among our geographical societies, before whom he has often lectured on topics connected with his famous expedition.

"At the commencement of the present rebellion he resigned his commission in the Union service, and joined the rebels. During last summer he supervised the movements of the rebel gun-boats on the Potomac and James rivers, and subsequently the equipment of a rebel flotilla on Albemarle Sound, North Carolina."

Elizabeth City was at once taken possession of, not, however, before the retreating enemy had applied the torch and half burned the place. Some of the citizens seemed to disapprove of this barbarous act, and solicited the naval officers to send a force on shore to assist in putting out the flames.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Vigorous Enterprise of Burnside.—Conquests on the Coast of North Carolina.—Expedition to Edenton.—Results.—Expedition to the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal.—Results.—Expedition to Newbern.—Sanguine Union sentiment.—Proclamation.—Vigorous measures.—Description of Newbern.—Preparations for attack.—Preparations for defence.—Sailing of the Expedition.—Battle of Newbern.—Capture.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Comparative losses.—Burnside's Report.—Escape of Steamer Nashville.—Disappointment.—Capture of Washington.

GENERAL BURNSIDE continued to give proof of his characteristic vigor of enterprise by rapidly extending his operations along the coast of North Carolina. By the aid of the fleet of his energetic coadjutor, Commodore Goldsborough, he was enabled soon to possess himself of the main harbors of the enemy opening to Albemarle Sound, and to intercept some of their more important communications by land and water. An expedition proceeded to Edenton, consisting of the Louisiana, Lieutenant A. Murray, who held the chief command; the Underwriter, Lieutenant Jeffers; the Commodore Perry, Lieutenant Flusser; and the Lockwood, Acting Master Evans. This flotilla, entering the harbor carefully—the Lockwood, the smallest vessel, being in advance, in order to keep her larger consorts informed of the depth of water, or of the appearance of earth-works on the banks of the river—took possession of the town of Edenton† without resistance. The only

1862. Feb. 12.

* Elizabeth City is the capital of Pasquotank County, North Carolina. It is situated on the right bank of the Pasquotank River, about twenty miles from its mouth, 215 miles east by north of Raleigh, and about thirty miles south of Norfolk, Va. It is also a post town, and is considered one of the most important towns in the north-eastern part of the State. It has a water communication with Norfolk, which is reached by going twenty miles up the Pasquotank River, thence twenty-two miles by the Dismal Swamp Canal to Elizabeth River, Virginia, thence nine miles to the latter city.

It contains a court-house, jail, three churches—one Baptist, one Episcopal, and one Methodist—an academy, four seminaries, two banks, thirty-five stores, three newspaper offices, issuing two weekly newspapers and a semi-monthly publication, and a population estimated at two thousand. Vessels drawing seven feet of water can come up to it with the greatest ease.

† Edenton is quite a flourishing little town of some 1,700 inhabitants. It is a post town, a port of entry, and capital of Chowan County, North Carolina, and is situated at the head of Edenton Bay, which opens into Albemarle Sound a little below the mouth of Chowan River, 150 miles east of Raleigh. It is one of the principal towns in the north-eastern part of the State, carries on considerable trade. and is sixty-six miles south of Norfolk, Va.

In June, 1852, 1,640 tons of shipping were owned and employed in the coast trade, and during that year three schooners, with an aggregate burthen of 215 tons, were

show made by the enemy was a flying battery of artillery with a few hundred soldiers, who retired without firing a shot on the approach of the gun-boats. Many of the inhabitants also fled, frightened by the rumor that the Unionists had made great havoc at Elizabeth City. Those who were left, however, were soon tranquilized by assurances of the falsity of the report, and some representatives of the civic authority showed themselves so well disposed as to profess Union sentiments. A schooner on the stocks and six cannon found in the place were destroyed, and two small vessels in the harbor captured.

Another small expedition, consisting of the Lockwood, the Shawshene, and the Whitehead, with two schooners in tow, under the chief command of Lieutenant Wm. N. Jeffers, sailed to the mouth of the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal.

"On opening the reach of the river leading to the mouth of the canal," says Commander Jeffers in his report, "I discovered two small steamers and three schooners about a mile and a quarter up the canal, and that the mouth of the canal was obstructed. Pickets stationed near the mouth fired their muskets to give the alarm, and a large body of men, whose muskets glistened in the sunshine, got under cover at the point where those vessels were.

"I immediately moved up within a couple of hundred yards of the mouth of the canal, until all the vessels grounded, and ordered the Whitehead to open fire with her nine-inch guns. But three shells were fired, when the whole body precipitately fled.

"On going on shore I found that a schooner had been sunk about fifty yards within the mouth, supported by piles, logs, etc., forming a complete barrier. I advanced a picket of fifteen men, under command of Acting Master Graves, followed by the machinists of the Lockwood, with crowbars, mauls, etc. At the distance of half a mile a second row of piles had been driven. They were at work on this when we surprised them. The steamers and schooners had left before we landed, but a fine large dredging machine remained, and this we soon saw sinking. This sunk diagonally across the canal, closing it entirely for the passage of the smallest vessel, being, say, ten feet from one side and six from the other. The machinery was entirely destroyed by the working party, the hull above water burned and entirely consumed."

A third expedition, consisting of a land force and three gun-boats, sailed up the Chowan River as far as Winton, but finding the enemy posted there in large force, no attempt was made to land. However, as a fire was opened from the town, the Union gun-boats returned it with shells, which partly burned the place.

General Burnside now planned a more important expedition, which was to attack the city of Newbern, where the enemy were in large force and had made formidable preparations for defence.

built. Edenton was settled in 1716, and contains a splendid court-house, a jail, two churches—one Episcopal and one Methodist—an academy, and one printing-office issuing a weekly newspaper.

Notwithstanding the determination to resist, which such efforts seemed to indicate, hopes were indulged of evoking a sentiment friendly to the Union among the people of North Carolina, a large portion of whose inhabitants were known to have long opposed secession. That a change had taken place in the feeling toward the United States Government, even of those so lately loyal, could not be doubted; but this was attributed to the influence of corrupt leaders who had studiously perverted the objects of the Federal authority. To remove the false impressions thus made, and to awaken the latent loyalty of the people, General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough issued this proclamation:

"ROANOKE ISLAND, N. C., *Feb.* 18, 1862.

"The mission of our joint expedition is not to invade any of your rights, but to assert the authority of the United States, and to close with you the desolating war brought upon your State by comparatively a few bad men in your midst.

"Influenced infinitely more by the worst passions of human nature than by any show of elevated reason, they are still urging you astray to gratify their unholy purposes.

"They impose upon your credulity by telling you of wicked and even diabolical intentions on our part; of our desire to destroy your freedom, demolish your property, liberate your slaves, injure your women, and such like enormities—all of which, we assure you, is not only ridiculous, but utterly and wilfully false.

"We are Christians as well as yourselves, and we profess to know full well, and to feel profoundly, the sacred obligations of the character.

"No apprehensions need be entertained that the demands of humanity and justice will be disregarded. We shall inflict no injury, unless forced to do so by your own acts, and upon this you may confidently rely.

"Those men are your worst enemies. They, in truth, have drawn you into your present condition, and are the real disturbers of your peace and the happiness of your firesides.

"We invite you, in the name of the Constitution, and in that of virtuous loyalty and civilization, to separate yourselves at once from these malign influences, to return to your allegiance, and not compel us to resort further to the force under our control.

"The Government asks only that its authority may be recognized; and, we repeat, in no manner or way does it desire to interfere with your laws, constitutionally established, your institutions of any kind whatever, your property of any sort, or your usages in any respect.

"L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH,
"Flag-Officer Commanding North Carolina Blockading Squadron.

"A. E. BURNSIDE,
"Brigadier-General Commanding Department North Carolina."

Burnside, however, did not trust alone to soft words, with the hope of conciliating uncertain friends, but continued to strike hard blows, with the resolution to overcome an obdurate enemy.

The most important enterprise after the capture of Roanoke Island was the expedition against Newbern. Newbern is a small town, the capital of Craven County, N. C., of about 6,000 inhabitants, situated nearly at the head of navigation, and at the confluence of the Trent with the Neuse River, which empties into Pamlico Sound. With a good harbor leading to the Atlantic Ocean through Ocracoke Inlet, Newbern carried on a considerable commerce by sea, and with its communications by railroads with the interior, a prosperous trade by land. Its proximity and accessibility by rail, moreover, to Goldsborough, the point of junction of various railways connecting Richmond, the Confederate capital, with the interior and coasts of the Southern States, gave the possession of Newbern great strategic importance.

At Roanoke Island, which was now the basis of operations, great preparations were made for the combined naval and military expedition. The enemy had been not less busy in making ready for its reception. They had obstructed the channels with piles, wrecks, and submerged torpedoes, had erected upon the banks of the river a succession of batteries, and collected a large force of men, under General Branch, to defend them, and resist the approach of our gun-boats and troops.

After embarking his troops, to the **Mar. 11.** number of about 15,000, at Roanoke Island, General Burnside rendezvoused at Hatteras Inlet with the transports and the fleet, now under Commander Rowan, who had succeeded Capt. Goldsborough ordered to Hampton Roads.

Early the next morning the entire force set sail, and at night anchored **Mar. 12.** off the mouth of Slocum's Creek, about twelve miles below Newbern by water and seventeen by land, where it was determined to land the troops. The landing began at seven o'clock in **Mar. 13.** the morning of the following day, under cover of the gun-boats. It was effected "with the greatest enthusiasm by the troops," said General Burnside in his report. "Many, too impatient for the boats, leaped into the water and waded waist-deep to the shore, and then, after a toilsome march through the mud, the head of the column marched within a mile and a half of the enemy's stronghold, at eight P.M., a distance of twelve miles from the point of landing, where we bivouacked for the night, the rear of the column coming up with the boat howitzers about three o'clock next morning, the detention being caused by the shocking condition of the roads, consequent upon the heavy rain that had fallen during that day and the whole of the night, the men often wading knee-deep in mud, and requiring a whole regiment to drag the eight pieces which had been landed from the navy and our own vessels."

As the troops disembarked they were ordered to advance, the gun-boats, in the mean time, covering the landing and the march by shelling the banks of the river.

General Burnside moved his force in three divisions. General Foster led his

brigade along the main county road to attack the enemy's left; General Reno took the direction of the railroad to attack their right, and General Parke followed General Foster, with orders, however, to support either or both divisions, as might be necessary. The main force of the enemy, consisting of eight regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, and three batteries of field artillery of six guns each, was posted within a line of intrenchments extending from the river across the railroad and turnpike of more than a mile in length, protected on their left on the bank of the river by a battery of thirteen heavy guns, and on their right by a long succession of redoubts for riflemen and field pieces in the midst of swamps and dense forests.

About seven o'clock in the morning of **Mar. 14.** the 14th of March, the skirmishers of the Union army encountered the enemy's outposts and opened fire.

"Rapidly forming, the different regiments assumed their positions in their brigades, and the division marched to the attack.* General Burnside rode forward, and as the battery or breast-work came in sight across a wide field, a shot was fired from one of its guns. The missile, which proved to be a shell, struck within ten feet of the General and his staff, but, not exploding, bounced along the ground, splashing the party with mud.

"General Foster, whose brigade had advanced by the stage road, rapidly formed his regiments in line of battle in the fringe of woods skirting the edge of the field before the breast-work; the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts, Colonel Stevenson, on the extreme right; the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts, Colonel Upton, next, with its left resting on the road; the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, Colonel Lee, next, with right resting on the road, and the Twenty-third Massachusetts, Colonel Kurtz, on the brigade left, with the Tenth Connecticut in reserve. To support this line against the eighteen or twenty guns of the enemy's battery, our forces had only a few pieces of artillery. The rest was on the way, but did not reach the field in time to participate in the fight. The disposition of our artillery in support of General Foster's position was as follows: On the extreme right, Executive Officer McCook's battery of boat howitzers from the navy, manned by Lieutenants McCook, Hammond, Daniels, and Tillotson, with marines and a detachment of the Union Coast Guard. In the centre, and near the road, a twelve-pounder steel gun from the Cossack, manned by Captain Bennet, his second mate, Mr. Stroud (captain of the gun), and twenty of the ship's crew. On the left, Captain Dayton's battery, from the transport Highlander.

"After the first gun the enemy ran their flag defiantly up over the ramparts and opened very briskly with round shot, grape, canister, and shell. Their infantry were stretched out the entire length of the work between the river and the railroad, and kept up an incessant fire with musketry.

* This account is from the correspondence of the N. Y. *Herald*.

"Their fire was replied to with equal vigor by the brigade when it had taken up its position; and, leaving them engaged, let me return to the operations of the second and third brigades, under Generals Reno and Parke.

"The second brigade—consisting of the Twenty-first Massachusetts, Lieut.-Colonel Clark; Fifty-first New York, Colonel Ferren; Fifty-first Pennsylvania, Colonel Hartsruft, and Ninth New Jersey—took the railroad and proceeded along the enemy's right flank. It is somewhat remarkable that the manœuvres of the battle were nearly the same as those of the fight at Roanoke Island. The point at which the intrenchment crossed the railroad was strongly defended by a series of redoubts and rifle-pits, while a subsequent examination revealed the fact that beyond these redoubts the breast-work was continued nearly a mile and a half, making the entire length of the defences about three miles. The operations of our forces, however, were confined to that only between the river and the railroad track.

"The third brigade, under General Parke, took up a position on the front, between the first and second brigades.

"Such was the disposition of our troops. The engagement regularly opened about eight o'clock, when the first brigade bore the brunt of the battle. General Foster rode fearlessly along, giving his orders, and was several times exposed to the hottest of the fire. His aids, too, shared the danger, and one of them, Lieutenant Pendleton, narrowly escaped injury, if not death, from a bullet which passed through his coat sleeve, just grazing the arm. The Massachusetts Twenty-fourth, on the right, had soon to regret the wounding of two of their officers, Major Stevenson and Adjutant Horton, the former by a ball in the leg, the latter by a ball in the shoulder. Early in the engagement the Massachusetts Twenty-third lost Lieutenant-Colonel Murritt, who was struck by a cannon-ball, which carried away one side of his body and lacerated his form in a horrible manner. The proportion of officers killed and wounded during the entire fight was quite large. The Twenty-seventh Massachusetts seemed for some reason to be more exposed to the fire of the enemy, and with ammunition expended, and a large loss, were withdrawn. The Tenth Connecticut, until now in reserve, was ordered to their support, and as they fell back took their place, moving to the front with great alacrity and opening fire with vigor. The Tenth was finally compelled to retire through want of ammunition, and the Eleventh Connecticut took their place. To the first brigade belongs the credit of having so gallantly and attentively engaged the battery while the second and third executed the brilliant manœuvre of flanking the enemy's right, of which I have now to speak.

"When it became evident that the first brigade was capable of carrying on the fight in front, the third, which had been supporting it, was ordered, with the exception of the Eleventh Connecticut, to support the second in the flank move-

ment. Accordingly the Eighth Connecticut, Fourth Rhode Island and Fifth Rhode Island regiments withdrew a short distance into the woods, and defiling to the left came out upon the railroad, and going forward came in the rear of the third brigade.

"This portion of the field of operations was immediately under the command of General Reno, and to him was allotted the task of the flank movement already referred to, and which he so brilliantly and successfully accomplished.

"It may be well here to state that when the idea of flanking was entertained, it was not known that the line of intrenchment extended beyond, or if it did, much beyond the railroad. When the troops attempted the movement consequently of getting in the rear, they discovered not the mere obstacle of swamp or marsh, but also of a series of redoubts and rifle pits, which defended the immediate vicinity of the track. Our attack in front had so far been confined to the right, near the river, where one of the water batteries had reversed its guns and was assisting in the defence of the breast-work by an enfilading or, more properly, diagonal fire upon our troops. The great body of the enemy was consequently here posted, and the flank movement came near resulting in a perfect surprise, though they rapidly reinforced the redoubts as soon as they discovered the approach on that side.

"Having drawn out in line of battle, the second brigade returned the fire of the enemy vigorously, who, from the rifle pits and behind the screening edges of the redoubts, were picking off our men with deadly certainty at every shot. But we have to boast of our sharpshooters also, as many a rebel in these same rifle pits and behind the intrenchments, whose death wound was in the head, amply testified.

"At last the word was given to charge, and the Massachusetts Twenty-first, which was on the left, succeeded in getting four companies within the enemy's position. The New York Fifty-first, which was on the right of the Massachusetts Twenty-first, supported the movement, while the Ninth New Jersey, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, Eighth Connecticut, and Fourth and Fifth Rhode Island assailed the work at various points. The four companies of the Massachusetts Twenty-first were far in advance of the others into the intrenchment, and, driving the rebels before them, had attempted to reverse the guns, when repulsed by a strong reinforcement of the enemy, who suddenly charged from a little ravine or hollow just in the rear, and with their overwhelming numbers drove them out, making a few prisoners. Our repulse was but momentary. Re-forming, the Massachusetts Twenty-first, New York Fifty-first, Fourth Rhode Island, and the Ninth New Jersey, with the Fifth Rhode Island in reserve, returned to the assault, and after another gallant charge, another desperate resistance of the enemy, a hand-to-hand contest over the ramparts of the intrenchment, in which our forces at one time actually reversed its purpose and used it as a breast-work for their own protection

while they kept the rebels at bay inside, they drove the enemy out, and at the point of the bayonet chased them back out of sight. The victory was won with the loss of nearly seventy killed and two hundred and fifty wounded—a heavy one when it is taken into consideration that of the two brigades only six regiments and one battalion were engaged. The fire of the enemy was terrific, and embraced all the varieties of missile. General Reno and General Parke admirably conducted the whole manœuvring, and, with their aids and staff, were exposed to no inconsiderable danger.

"When the word to charge was given on the left, the cheers with which it was received were heard over on the right, and instantly the first brigade emerged from its position along the edge of the woods, and dashing across the fields assailed the enemy at the very muzzles of their guns. But the retreat of their forces on the flank had inspired all with a panic, and they most ingloriously fled, leaving their cannon unspiked, a number of horses, the caissons, and the unexpended ammunition."

The fleet of gun-boats under Commander Rowan took part in the conflict, and contributed toward securing the victory. Moving slowly up the river, the boats kept throwing shells in advance of the position of the national troops. "The fleet," says Commander Rowan in his report, "steadily moved up and gradually closed in toward the batteries. The lower fortifications were discovered to have been abandoned by the enemy. A boat was dispatched to them, and the stars and stripes planted on the ramparts. As we advanced, the upper batteries opened fire upon us. The fire was returned with effect—the magazine of one exploding. Having proceeded in an extended line as far as the obstructions in the river would permit, the signal was made to follow the movements of the flag-ship, and the whole fleet advanced in order, concentrating our fire on Fort Thompson, mounting thirteen guns, on which rested the enemy's land defences. The army having with great gallantry driven them out of these defences, the forts were abandoned. Several of our vessels were slightly injured in passing the barricades of piles and torpedoes which had been placed in the river. The upper battery having been evacuated on the appearance of the combined forces, it was abandoned and subsequently blown up. We now steamed rapidly up to the city. The enemy had fled, and the place remained in our possession."

The national troops, after driving the enemy from their intrenchments, rapidly followed them, but they succeeded in escaping by taking the railroad and turnpike in their rear, and destroying the bridges across the Trent River to prevent pursuit. In their flight they threw away blankets, muskets, pistols,* knapsacks, and swords, and whatever hindered

* Some of the weapons were shot-guns, old horse-pistols, brass pistols, cutlasses, sabres, and home-made swords, if I may so call them, for they appeared to have been manufactured out of old carving-knives, meat-choppers, and the like, roughly adjusted into handles of common pine wood, and in many cases fastened with twine.—*Correspondent of the* N. Y. Herald.

rapidity of movement, and occasionally dropped a wounded or dying comrade.

The destruction of the bridges delayed the advance of the troops, but the fleet had already arrived at the wharves and commanded the town of Newbern. The enemy, in the mean time, had, as they retreated, attempted to burn the place, but the fire was soon extinguished by the remaining citizens under the direction of the naval officers. General Foster's brigade was now transported across the river to Newbern by means of the gun-boats, and many of the inhabitants returning, the city was soon in quiet possession of the United States military authorities.

By this victory the nationals not only captured Newbern, but eight batteries, mounting forty-six heavy guns, three batteries of light artillery of six guns each, two steamboats, a number of sailing vessels, wagons, horses, a large quantity of ammunition, commissary and quartermaster's stores, forage, the entire camp equipage of the enemy, and considerable resin, turpentine, and cotton, besides 200 prisoners.

The national loss amounted to 91 killed and 466 wounded, of whom some subsequently died. It was difficult to form an estimate of the loss of the enemy, but it was supposed to be somewhat less than our own, as they fought behind breast-works. According to their statement it was 64 killed, 101 wounded, and 413 missing.

General Burnside in his report paid this tribute to his army :

"Too much praise cannot be awarded to the officers and men for their untiring exertion and unceasing patience in accomplishing this work. The effecting of the landing, and the approach to within a mile and a half of the enemy's works on the 13th, I consider as great a victory as the engagement of the 14th.

"Owing to the difficult nature of the landing, our men were forced to wade ashore waist deep, march through mud to a point twelve miles distant, bivouac on low, marshy ground, in a rain storm, for the night, engage the enemy at daylight in the morning, fighting them for four hours, amid a dense fog that prevented them from seeing the position of the enemy, and finally advancing rapidly over bad roads upon the city. In the midst of all this, not a complaint was heard ; the men were only eager to accomplish their work. Every brigade, and in fact every regiment, and I can almost say every officer and man of the force landed, was in the engagement.

"The men are all in good spirits, and, under the circumstances, are in good health.

"I beg to say to the General commanding that I have under my command a division that can be relied upon in any emergency."*

After the victory of Newbern, the im-

* This extract from General Burnside's report is given since it has an important bearing upon the vexed question of General McClellan's claims to the credit of planning the campaign :

"I beg to say to the General commanding the army, that I have endeavored to carry out the very minute instructions given me by him before leaving Annapolis, and thus far events have been singularly coincident with his anticipations. I only hope that we may in future be able to carry out in detail the remaining plans of the campaign."

portant harbor of Beaufort, at the mouth of the Newport River, in North Carolina, upon the approach of a national force, yielded without resistance. Fort Macon, on Brogue Point, moreover, which guards the entrance to Beaufort from the sea, was so cut off from all communications, that its restoration to Federal authority could not long be postponed.

The escape, however, of the Nashville, **Mar. 17.** which after its return from Europe had succeeded in entering the harbor of Beaufort, was a disappointment which somewhat diminished the public satisfaction at the North with the successes in North Carolina. Great indignation was expressed against the Navy Department* for a neglect of such precautions as might have prevented that bold rover from again hoisting the Confederate flag.

Washington, a small town on Pamlico River, in spite of some obstructions in the harbor, was reached by a single gunboat in advance of a large expedition, and found almost deserted. The **Mar. 21.** few inhabitants who remained seemed not unwilling to hoist the United States flag and yield to the Federal authority.

* An officer on board the blockading steamer Cambridge thus justifies the conduct of the officers of that vessel:

"The Nashville, from the time of our arrival (on the 11th of March) till she left, lay at the dépôt wharf, in plain sight of us, and the day before leaving got up steam, came down to the junction of the different channels, near Fort Macon, without the least attempt at secrecy, and every one on board the blockading vessels knew that she intended to make her escape the following night, if possible, and every one was on the *qui vive* for the hoped-for engagement. Captain Parker, of the Cambridge, kept under weigh day and night, fearing she would escape his vigilance should he remain at anchor. The State of Georgia having been obliged to leave for Hampton Roads for coal, on the day previous, we anxiously expected another vessel to supply her place, thinking, of course, that those in control of the Navy Department must know our situation, and feel the same interest in keeping the Nashville safe, while they had her in their immediate power, as they did in scouring the broad Atlantic for her when there was scarcely a hope for her capture. But no assistance came, and we therefore made the best of our position. From an intelligent contraband who had sought refuge on board the State of Georgia, we learned that picket boats were sent out nightly to ascertain the exact position of the Union vessels, and we therefore felt that the Nashville had more than an even chance of escape should she venture the passage during the darkness of the night. Everything favored her. The tide was at its highest flood, and the moon did not rise until half-past eight P.M., and we knew that between the departure of daylight and that hour she must go, if at all. We stationed ourselves at the entrance of the shortest channel (the one through which she entered), and trusted to the Gemsbok to give us timely warning should she take the other channel; and she did so. But the Nashville passed out at the rate, probably, of twelve miles per hour, and escaped without being seen by the Cambridge, whose highest rate of speed does not exceed nine miles. The manner of her doing it may be easily understood. The Nashville lay close to Fort Macon ready for a start. A picket boat, with two lights—perhaps a bright white or yellow one and another red—is sent to Swash Channel. If the blockading steamer is there, she is to show, say, the red light, masked on the sea side, which means 'The Cambridge is here,' and off she goes through the Ship Channel. Had the Cambridge been at the entrance of Ship Channel, she would show the yellow light, meaning 'No vessel here,' and then the Nashville takes the Swash Channel and goes on her way rejoicing. Is it therefore to be wondered at, that the Nashville, with but a trifling display of enterprise, was enabled to escape unscathed? Her capture—while it would not have proved greater vigilance on the part of the Cambridge—would have shown a great want of sense and forethought on the part of her own officers. No person at all conversant with such things, and understanding the situation of affairs, will feel surprised at the result."

CHAPTER IX.

The Expedition to Port Royal a disappointment.—Inactivity of the Troops.—Obstinacy of the White Inhabitants.—Flocking in of Negroes.—A Missionary Enterprise.—Probable results.—Difficulties of civilization.—Expense of the Process.—Activity of the Fleet.—Preparations to capture Fort Pulaski.—Operations of Dupont.—Operations of Generals Sherman and Viele.—Command of Savannah River secured.—Great difficulties successfully overcome.—Bombardment and surrender of Fort Pulaski.—Batteries on Skiddaway and Green islands captured.—Another approach to Savannah secured.—A success on the coasts of Georgia and Florida.—Capture of Fernandina.—St. Mary's.—A brutal captain.—An easy capture.—Capture of Brunswick.—An Expedition to Darien.—A disappointment.—Abandoned towns.—A scene of wretchedness.—Expedition to St. John's River.—Capture of Jacksonville.—Capture of St. Augustine.—Expedition to Mosquito Inlet.—Possession of Apalachicola.—An expression of returning loyalty.—Passive obedience.—Great combined Expedition for New Orleans.—Confidence in the result.

1862. THE results of the imposing and successful expedition to Port Royal did not, it must be confessed, immediately equal the public expectation. The troops under General Sherman remained comparatively inactive, and instead of moving against the enemy in the interior, with the view of capturing Charleston and Savannah, or cutting off their communications, continued within the encampments about the harbor of Port Royal, where they had first landed, and laboriously intrenched them, as if the sole object was their defence.

The white inhabitants of Beaufort and the neighboring plantations, who had fled after the capture of the forts at Port Royal by the national forces, obstinately resisted all inducements to return. The negroes, however, continued to flock in in large numbers, so that soon some ten thousand had placed themselves under the protection of the United States military authorities. This large body of human beings, who from their long servitude were incapable of self-control, became a source of great inquietude, and awakened the interest of the benevolent. A voluntary association was organized at the North to provide means for an attempt to civilize them. Funds were collected, and missionaries appointed, who, sanctioned by the Government, were sent out to Port Royal. It would be presumptuous to speak with confidence on the results of a mission which must require many years fully to test its efficacy. Human beings of any race, born and brought up in slavery, would be slow in awaking, if not to the consciousness, certainly to the responsibilities, of independence. The African slave, naturally emotional and irreflective, must especially demand a long tutelage to fit him for the membership of a free and highly civilized society. In the mean time he must remain, if not in bondage to an irresponsible master, at least in *statu pupillari*, under the guidance of an intelligence superior to his own. Whatever may be the final result, the immediate effect of the change of re-

lation of the negro slave to the dominant white man will doubtless be to diminish his utility as a producer. Suddenly emancipated, he will be more disposed to indulge in the novel pleasures of freedom than to submit to the familiar drudgery of labor, the obligation of which the change in his condition will not remove, though it endows it with a higher motive. Thus the negroes, freed by the success of our arms, with their disposition to indolence and license, will require the most judicious care, unwearying assiduity in their education, and a profuse expenditure of money for their support, before they can become either reputable or profitable members of society. The few thousands already under the protection of the Government must be a burden upon its treasury of more than half a million of dollars annually.

Although the land force at Port Royal remained comparatively inactive, Captain Dupont, with characteristic energy, kept at work with his fleet. Having failed in his attempt to approach the city of Savannah by the Wilmington Narrows on the south, in consequence of the obstructions placed in the channel by the enemy, and the shallowness of the water, he now shifted his operations to the northern bank of the Savannah River. Having taken possession of Dawfuskie Island, at the mouth of the Cooper River, he made it the rendezvous of a flotilla of gun-boats and a small detachment of troops, and proceeded along Wall's Cut with the view of getting in the rear of Fort Pulaski, in possession of the enemy, which commands the mouth of the Savannah River. The boats, however, soon grounded, and after getting afloat again with much difficulty, returned, without effecting their purpose.

A few days subsequently, General Sherman ordered an expedition to make an effort in the same direction, without the aid of the gun-boats. Accordingly, General Viele was dispatched with the Forty-eighth Regiment of New York Volunteers, two companies of volunteer engineers, and two companies of the Third Rhode Island Artillery. The troops, carrying with them six thirty-two pounders, embarked at Dawfuskie Island in flat-boats, which were towed by steamboats of light draught. Having reached Jones' Island by Wall's Cut and Mud River, a site at Venus' Point was selected for the erection of a battery. To effect this, such was the marshy condition of the island, that it was found necessary to construct a road of logs (a corduroy road) from the point where the troops landed on Mud River, across the island, to the site selected for the fort, on the Savannah, a mile in distance. The road, however, by dint of hard labor, was finally made, and a fort being erected, guns were dragged by hand across the island to mount it.* **Feb. 12.**

* A correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald* gives this interesting account of the arduous work:

"The thing at first sight looked like an impossibility. The swampy character of the soil seemed to forbid the landing of troops on the island, much more to erect batteries and mount heavy guns thereon. It was determined, however, to erect the battery at the point already designated, and carry the guns a distance of a mile over a swampy road. To facilitate matters, Colonel Perry, the

The command of the Savannah River not being thus secured, as was expected, another battery was soon after erected on Long Island, lying in the middle of the Savannah River, and nearer the mouth than Jones' Island. By these batteries, Fort Pulaski was supposed to be completely cut off from all communication with the city of Savannah. The enemy claimed to be provided with supplies for six months, and thus capable of resistance for that length of time. An attack, however, having been made by General Hunter, who had superseded General Sherman in the command at Port Royal, the enemy were forced to surrender much sooner than had been expected.

The successful bombardment of Fort Pulaski was one of the most remarkable proofs of the efficiency of modern artillery. Batteries having been erected on Tybee Island, fire was opened upon the fort, and after thirty hours only of firing, a "practicable" breach was made. Colonel Olmstead, the commander of the fort, now declared that "it was impossible to hold out any longer, as the rifle-shots were fast working their way into the magazines, and many of his guns were disabled." He accordingly surrendered unconditionally, and thus "forty-seven guns, 7,000 shot and shells, 40,000 pounds of powder, 360 prisoners, and a good supply of provisions" were obtained by the Unionists with the loss of only one man killed. The enemy had three wounded.*

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energetic commander of the Forty-eighth New York Regiment, was requested to superintend the construction of a corduroy road from the place where the troops landed on the Mud River side of Jones' Island to Venus' Point. The road was constructed, and by the untiring labor of the troops the guns were at last placed in battery. While the construction of the road was going on, another detachment of Colonel Perry's regiment attempted to erect breast-works to cover the guns. The mud, as fast as it was piled up for the battery, slipped and sunk away; but the platforms were laid and the guns mounted. The guns were landed on a wharf made of bags filled with sand, and long planks laid across them. Tramways were laid along the marsh, constructed of planks twenty feet long, laid in parallel lines; two sets of these parallels were used for each gun, and as fast as the pieces were dragged over one set, it was taken up and placed still farther in advance. Holes were drilled in the planks, and ropes looped through the holes, so that the planks might be more easily dragged by the troops. In this manner the guns were conveyed across Jones' Island to their present position. Colonel Perry, Lieutenant J. H. Wilson, of the United States Engineers, and Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Department, superintended the removal of the guns. On the first night the heavy guns were dragged two hundred yards. The second night the work proceeded, and the guns were dragged the remainder of the route, and before morning all were in position. The work of tugging the guns was performed entirely by the Forty-eighth New York Regiment, who were commanded and encouraged by Colonel Perry. In the morning a rebel gun-boat came down the Savannah to reconnoitre, and doubtless was amazed to find a Union fort confronting her. As the rebel craft approached the new work, the latter opened fire, but by hugging the western shore of the river, successfully passed the battery and proceeded to Fort Pulaski. It was discovered by this occurrence that the guns on Jones' Island did not completely command the river; hence it was determined to erect another battery on the west end of Long Island, and which, ere this is completed, cuts off all communication between the rebels at Savannah and Fort Pulaski. This accomplished, Fort Pulaski is beleaguered, and Savannah, in the natural course of events, must fall."

* The following is the official report of Brigadier-General Benham, who had the immediate direction of the siege of Fort Pulaski:

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, NORTHERN DISTRICT, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH. FORT PULASKI, COCKSPUR ISLAND, GEORGIA, *April* 12, 1862.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID HUNTER, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH:

"SIR: I have the honor to report the conclusion of the operations of the siege of Fort Pulaski, in Savannah River, Georgia, which have resulted in the capture of that fortress and its armament, and the unconditional surrender of the effective force of the garrison, amounting to 361, of whom

An expedition of several gun-boats, under Commander Gilles, subsequently took possession of the forts on Skidda-

twenty-four were officers, besides about eighteen who were sick or wounded.

"This siege is, as I would remark, the first trial—at least on our side the Atlantic—of the modern heavy and rifled projectiles against forts, erected and supposed to be sufficiently strong, prior to these inventions; almost equalling, as it would appear, the revolution accomplished in naval warfare by the iron-clad vessels recently constructed.

"These operations, with the cordial assistance and co-operation of the naval forces under Flag-Officer S. F. Dupont, have been accomplished by a portion of the troops of my division, for the most part under the immediate direction of Captain Q. A. Gilmore, Corps of Engineers, acting brigadier-general, and chief engineer of the siege. * * *

"Immediately after our arrival in this Department, as you are aware, I visited Tybee Island (on the 31st ult.), and carefully inspected the works being erected there for the direct attack upon this fort, which had been well advanced by General Gilmore, under the direction of that faithful and judicious officer, Brigadier-General T. W. Sherman, my predecessor in this district. These works consisted of eleven batteries, prepared for thirty-five to thirty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance, extending along an oblique line of about one and a half miles in length, opposite the southeast face of the fort, the extremities of this line being at distances respectively of about one and two miles from the fort. They were placed with great skill and judgment, and constructed properly, and with as much strength and regularity as the circumstances of the case would permit; and the care and forethought of the engineer in providing for the proper supply of ordnance and other stores that might be needed, is worthy of especial mention; the whole arrangement at Tybee Island meeting my entire approval.

"Desiring, however, if possible, to obtain a concentric fire upon the work, I endeavored to arrange with General Viele (commanding at Dawfuskie Island) to accomplish this object—directing him, on the 6th inst, to place a battery on Long Island to attack the gorge of the fort on the west; and, after a second visit to him on the 9th, to construct another (if practicable, and the distance was not too great), upon Turtle Island, on the north—the object being mainly the moral effect of an encircling fire rather than the expectation of any serious effect upon the walls at that distance. From some cause, however, the heavy ordnance for these batteries did not arrive in time, and the lighter pieces most available, and placed in position on Long Island, served rather as a diversion than for any serious demonstration upon the work.

"The main attack upon the fort, as you are aware, commenced on the morning of the 10th inst., at about quarter past seven, and immediately after the refusal of its com-

way and Green islands, which were found abandoned by the enemy, they having removed the guns to increase

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mander to surrender, according to your summons previously sent. Being present yourself, at or between our batteries for the greater portion of the day during the contest between these batteries and the fort, you are, of course, personally aware of the great efficiency with which these batteries were served, and of the successful commencement of the breach at the southeast angle of the fort on that day. You are also aware of the efficient and accurate firing of the guns at the fort, directed as they were with great precision, not only at our batteries, but even at the individual persons passing between them, or otherwise exposed. The firing on our part, though delayed at first by the necessity of obtaining the proper range, was kept up with such vigor that over 3,000 projectiles, varying in size from the thirteen-inch mortar shell to the thirty-pound Parrott shot, were thrown at the fort during the first day.

"At evening, as it was necessary to guard against the possibility of attack from the Wilmington marshes, a force of some two regiments was stationed upon the ridges of land adjacent—one immediately in rear of the upper batteries, and one on a ridge running toward Tybee River; and to give General Gilmore an opportunity for the rest which he required, I arranged with him to remain myself at the batteries, in general charge of the forces, during the first half of the night, directing at the same time that the shells should be thrown at the fort every ten or fifteen minutes during the night for the purpose of fatiguing the garrison. This shell practice, especially during the early part of the night, while the moon was up, was reported to be most successful, or fully as accurate as by daylight.

"As a principal battery, of one James and five Parrott guns near the fort, appeared not to have been as successfully served as was possible during the day, and as a detachment of 100 seamen from the navy, under the command of Lieutenant Irwin, had been kindly furnished to us by Flag-Officer Dupont (at the suggestion of Captain C. R. P. Rodgers), which had, unfortunately, reached us too late for the first assignment to the batteries, I directed that a portion of this battery should be placed in the hands of this command, and the remainder, with suitable men, to be under Captain Turner, A. C. S, late of the First Artillery, United States Army, and now chief commissary of your staff, and the James and three of the Parrott guns were assigned to the naval detachment accordingly.

"At about seven in the morning of the 11th the fire opened with great vigor and accuracy, the certainty as to direction and distance being greatly beyond that of the previous day, especially on the part of the enemy—there being scarcely any exposure of our force that did not draw a close shot, while the embrasures and parapets of our batteries were most accurately reached.

the armament of the works at Savannah. A complete control of Warsaw and Ossibaw sounds, and the mouths of the Vernon and Wilmington rivers to the south and the rear of Fort Pulaski, was thus obtained, and another import-

"At about ten to eleven A.M. I visited the batteries, finding them most efficiently served, especially the small mortar batteries nearest the fort, the batteries just referred to in charge of the navy and Captain Turner, and the columbiad batteries under Captain Pelouze. I found that an embrasure at the breached point, which was much enlarged on the previous day, was now opened to fully the size of the recess arch, or some eight or ten feet square, and the adjacent embrasures were rapidly being brought to a similar condition. At about noon the whole mask and parapet wall of the casemate first injured fell into the ditch, raising a ramp quite visible to us, and soon after the corresponding parts of the adjacent casements began to fall, the Parrott and James shot passing quite through, as we could see the heavy timber blindage in rear of the casemates to the rear of the magazine, on the opposite (northwest) angle of the fort.

"In this state of things I felt sure that we would soon be called to peel off the whole scarp wall from the front of the casemates of the southeast front, making a breach greatly larger than the small garrison could defend, with, probably, another smaller breach upon the opposite side; and I at once determined that, if the resistance was continued, it would be best, and entirely practicable, to storm the fort successfully within thirty to forty hours. And I had given directions to General Gilmore to have suitable scaling-ladders prepared for the purpose, and was arranging for the proper forces, boats, etc., when, at about two P.M., we discovered a white flag thrown up, and the rebel flag, after telling out to the wind for a few minutes at *half-mast*, came slowly to the ground.

"I then directed my assistant adjutant-general, Captain A. B. Ely, to leave for the fort; but finding soon after your own adjutant-general, Major Halpin, at the batteries, I commissioned him (accompanied by Captain Ely) to proceed there with the terms I proposed—simply those of your own first note, demanding the surrender of the garrison and all the armament and weapons; no other modification to be allowed than that they should have as favorable terms as are given by our Government in this war. General Gilmore reaching the upper batteries soon after, and appearing to desire it, and as his services most eminently merited that his wishes should be gratified, I authorized him to pass over to accept the surrender of the fort; and the terms assented to by him are essentially those dictated by me, excepting, perhaps, those relating to the disabled men who would otherwise have been a burden to us. And by the return of these, I have endeavored to provide by a letter from Colonel Olmstead, the rebel commander, for the receiving of a like number of men of the Forty-sixth New York Regiment, captured from Tybee about two weeks since.

"I have now, in closing, the pleasing duty of reporting upon the instances of individual merit that have come under my observation during that siege, which report must necessarily be brief, where so many have done so well.

"And to the kind and cordial co-operation of the naval forces under Flag-Officer Dupont, I feel that our highest thanks are due; for it was only by their assistance that we have been completely enabled to isolate the fort from the hope of succor and relief; while the needy supply of ordnance stores and other material most needed by us, at the last moment, has been of great value. And the battery manned by their detachment, under Lieutenant Irwin, I have the pleasure of stating was one of the most efficiently served against the fort during the action; a supervision being kept over it constantly by Captain C. P. R. Rogers in person—an officer who, an acquaintance of more than twenty years' standing assures me, is without a superior in our own or any other service.

"To Acting Brigadier-General D. A. Gilmore (captain of engineers) the highest praise is due for the exercise of his great professional skill and judgment, and his laborious industry, in arranging and personally superintending all the general preparations and all the details of the actual siege, which has resulted so successfully; showing him eminently worthy of the position and rank in which his previous commander, General Sherman, had placed him, as far as was in his power; and which rank I would respectfully ask your interest for confirmation of by the President.

"Captain Pelouze, acting inspector-general of the Department; Captain Turner, chief commissary of the Department; Lieutenant Porter, of the United States Ordnance Department, and Lieutenant Wilson, Topographical Engineers—all in charge of batteries—rendered most zealous and efficient service, which their previous military education has so well fitted them for. Lieutenant P. H. O'Rourke, of the United States Engineers, acting as assistant-engineer to General Gilmore, was also most energetic and useful.

"Of your own staff, I had the pleasure of noticing repeatedly under fire, most actively engaged, Major Halpin, assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenant Smith, acting assistant adjutant-general; Major Hough, most especially zealous; Major Wright, Captains Thompson and Dole, Lieutenants Stockton, Hay, and Kinsie, your aids—not only complying with your own directions, but ready to aid me at all times when needed.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Hall, of the volunteer engineer regiment, deserves most especial commendation for his activity, zeal, and general usefulness at all times, by night and by day, by which he constantly rendered most

ant approach to the city of Savannah secured.

Captain Dupont having sent out a series of naval expeditions to operate upon the coasts of Georgia and Florida, was enabled soon to report a succession of easily won triumphs.

The first expedition was to Fernandina, a small village of Florida, situated on the northern side of Amelia Island, at the entrance of Cumberland Sound. Though an insignificant place, its harbor is one of the best on the coast, and is commanded by a strongly constructed fortress, Fort Clinch. Its communications, too, with the interior, by means of various railroads, are well established.

The expedition of Captain Dupont was of a formidable character. The following vessels comprised the fleet which entered Cumberland Sound in the order named: the Ottawa, Mohican, Ellen, Seminole, Pawnee, Pocahontas, Flag, Florida, James Adger, Bienville, Alabama, Keystone State, Seneca, Huron, Pembina, Isaac Smith, Penguin, Potowska, the cutter Henrietta, the armed transport McClellan with a battalion of marines, and six other transport vessels, on board of which was a brigade of troops under the command of Brigadier-General Wright. **Mar. 2.**

The enemy were found to have deserted the works, and to be retreating rapidly into the interior. Commodore Dupont thus finding there was little need for the use of the formidable force he had gathered, detached the gun-boats on various expeditions. The United States flag was immediately hoisted upon the deserted Fort Clinch, and Fernandina and St. Marys were taken possession of without any serious attempt at resistance, a few scattering musket shots only being fired by the flying enemy as they took to the railroad cars. The train was chased by the gun-boat Ottawa for two miles, and shelled, it was supposed, with effect. A steamer, containing military stores, was captured, but not until she had received some shots. "There

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valuable services, as did the battalion of his fine regiment during the siege and previously; and Captain McArthur, of the Eighth Maine Regiment, being highly praised by different officers who witnessed his successful management of his men at the batteries, deserves my commendation.

"The companies of the Third Rhode Island Artillery, under Captain Tourtelotte, served their guns most efficiently; and the Seventh Connecticut Regiment, under Colonel Terry, very ably manned the batteries which they had most laboriously constructed; so that I designated them, as I was pleased to find had been (unknown to me) the previous selection of General Gilmore, for the honor of being the first to garrison the surrendered fort.

"Of my personal staff, my senior aid, Lieutenant A. B. Ely, acting assistant adjutant-general, was constantly with me when not occupied otherwise by my direction; still showing most eminently every qualification, as he had done previously, for the responsible position for which I had selected him—and Lieutenant S. U. Benham, my junior aid, and S. H. Hawks, acting aid, were ready and prompt in the discharge of their duties. Colonel Serrell, of the volunteer engineer regiment (acting temporarily on my staff), showed great zeal and activity throughout the action.

"I would respectfully recommend in relation to the commander of the garrison of the fort, Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, whose gallant conduct as an enemy, and whose courtesy as a gentleman are entitled to all consideration, that should you deem it proper, the courtesy of the return of his own sword should be extended to him. His defence, I would remark, was continued until almost the latest limit possible; for a few hours more of our fire would, to all appearance, have sufficed for the destruction of the magazine and a larger portion of the fort, while another day would have unavoidably placed the garrison at the mercy of a storming column from our command.

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. W. Benham,

"Brig.-Gen. Commanding Northern District,
Department of the South."

were passengers on board—women and children—in the Daylight (for that was the name of the steamer), and the brutal captain," wrote Commodore Dupont, "suffered her to be fired upon, and refused to hoist a white flag, notwithstanding the entreaties of the women."

Though the soldiers strove in their flight to destroy, they succeeded in doing but little injury either to the towns or the railroads, and left behind them a large supply of munitions of war. Commodore Dupont thus expresses his surprise at the facility with which the enemy had abandoned a place the approaches to which could have been so easily defended.

"It is impossible," he says, "to look at these preparations for a vigorous defence without being surprised that they should have been voluntarily deserted. The batteries on the north and northeast shores are as complete as art can make them. Six are well concealed, and, protected by ranges of sand-hills in front, contain a perfect shelter for the men, and are so small and thoroughly covered by the natural growth and by the varied contours of the land, that to strike them from the water would be the mere result of chance. A battery of six guns, though larger, and affording therefore a better mark, is equally well sheltered and masked. These batteries, and the heavy guns mounted on Fort Clinch, command all the turnings of the main ship channel, and rake an approaching enemy. Besides them there was another battery of four guns on the south end of Cumberland Island, the fire of which would cross the channel inside the bar. The difficulties arising from the indirectness of the channel and from the shoalness of the bar would have added to the defences by keeping the approaching vessels a long time exposed to fire under great disadvantages; and when the ships of an enemy had passed all these defences they would have to encounter a well-constructed and naturally masked battery at the town, which commands the access to the inner anchorage. We are told that General Lee pronounced the place perfectly defensible. We are not surprised at this, if true. We captured Port Royal, but Fernandina and Fort Clinch have been given to us."

Commander S. W. Gordon was dispatched with the gun-boats Mohican, Pocahontas, and Potowska to Brunswick. This sea-port town, the capital of Glynn County, in the southwest of Georgia, is situated on the Turtle River. It has an excellent harbor, and is connected with the interior by the Brunswick and Florida Railroad, of which it is the eastern terminus. Its distance from Savannah, with which its connections by water and rail are intimate, is only eighty miles.

Commander Gordon having crossed the bar and anchored for the night in St. Simon's Channel, within two miles of the forts which guard the entrance, proceeded early next morning to commence operations. The forts, both considerable works of earth and sand, on St. Simon's Island and Jekyl's, being found abandoned, were taken pos-

Mar. 8.

session of. Gordon sailed with his flotilla toward Brunswick. As he advanced, the railroad train was seen to move rapidly away with soldiers, who fired the dépôts and wharves as they retreated. On reaching Brunswick and sending on shore a landing party of twenty-five marines and forty-two riflemen with two twelve-pounder guns, the United States flag was hoisted over the city deserted by its inhabitants. Having withdrawn the troops and posted a notice urging the people to return, and promising protection to the property of all good citizens, Commander Gordon went on board his gun-boat and sailed toward Darien through the inland passage, with the hope of capturing some of the enemy's steamers reported to be there. Delayed in his course by obstructions in the river, which, however, he removed, he had the mortification of seeing the steamers move away at a rapid rate up the Altamaha River until they were out of reach. He now returned, abandoning his purpose of pushing on to Darien, which was reported, like Brunswick, to be entirely abandoned by its inhabitants. A company of horsemen, however, remained to fire the town, in case of the approach of the United States gun-boats. In this extract from Commander Gordon's report, there is a simple record of oppression and wretchedness which no studied rhetoric can intensify :

"I have been," says he, "from one end of St. Simon's Island to the other. But one white man is left on it. I saw him. He is with his aged mother and little child. He had never been in the army, refused to leave his house, and was in mortal dread of our coming, as the military had informed him that we came for the purpose of destroying even the women and children. We procured beef for the vessels at his plantation, for which we paid the price he asked, and furnished the family with some articles, such as coffee, salt, etc.—which articles they had not even seen for months. We stopped at one or two other plantations on our way back. All were deserted, but had been tenanted by the military at various times, for as late as November some 1,500 troops were quartered on St. Simon's. We found some of the places to contain large quantities of cattle ; and at Kind's plantation, not three miles from this anchorage, we counted some fifty head near where we landed. All the blacks have been removed from St. Simon's, and at Doboy we met the only negro seen, who was old and alone on the place. He had been the father of thirteen children, but he informed me that every one had been sold as they reached about eighteen years of age, and, as he graphically expresses it, "for pocket-money for his master."

Thus far the expedition had been conducted without loss. A boat's crew, however, while on shore near Brunswick for the purpose of obtaining cattle, was fired upon by some of the lurking enemy, and two men killed and several wounded.

The third expedition was to the St. John's River, on the coast of Florida. Here again no resistance was offered, the enemy flying on the approach of

the gun-boats, which pushed up the
Mar. river to Jacksonville.
11. "We succeeded," says Lieut.-Commanding T. H. Stevens, in his report, "in reaching Jacksonville without difficulty, and at every house, save one, found evidences of peaceful demonstrations and returning reason. On our arrival at this place, the corporate authorities, through S. L. Burritt, Esq., came off with a flag of truce, and gave up the town. From conversation with intelligent citizens, I find that the inhabitants are seeking and waiting for the protection of our flag; that they do not fear us, but their own people; and from the occupation of this important point I am satisfied, if our opportunities are improved, great results will follow. Many of the citizens have fled, many remain, and there is reason to believe most of them will return. I have just heard that the municipal government has been restored."

Some valuable saw-mills, and a hotel at Jacksonville,* were burned by the retreating enemy.

Commodore Dupont proceeded in per-
Mar. son to St. Augustine, on the coast
11. of Florida, south of the mouth of St. John's River. "I immediately," he says, "sent on shore Commander C. R. P. Rodgers with a flag of truce, having reason to believe that if there were any people on this coast likely to remain in their houses, it would be at St. Augustine."

The Commodore's anticipations proved to be well-founded, as will be seen by this interesting report of Commander Rodgers:

"I approached," he says, "St. Augustine under a flag of truce, and as I drew near the city a white flag was raised upon one of the bastions of Fort Macon. Landing at the wharf, and inquiring for the chief authority, I was soon joined by the mayor and conducted to the city hall, where the municipal authorities were assembled. I informed them that, having come to restore the authority of the United States, you had deemed it more kind to send a manned boat to inform the citizens of your determination than to occupy the town at once by force of arms; that you were desirous to calm all apprehensions of harsh treatment that might exist in their minds, and that you should carefully respect the persons and property of all citizens who submitted to the authority of the United States; that you had a single purpose: to restore the state of affairs which existed before the rebellion. I informed the municipal authorities that so long as they respected the authority of the government we serve, and acted in good faith, municipal affairs would be left in their own hands, so far as might be consistent with the exigencies of the times. The mayor and council then informed me that the place had been evacuated the preceding night by two companies of Florida troops, and that they gladly received the assurances I gave them, and placed the city in my

* General Hunter, desiring to concentrate his forces, withdrew, early in April, the 1,500 troops under General Wright, who had been stationed at Jacksonville by General Sherman. With them came a considerable body of loyal citizens who feared to remain without the protection of a United States military force.

hands. I recommended them to hoist the flag of the Union at once, and in prompt accordance with the advice, by order of the mayor, the national ensign was displayed from the flag-staff of the fort. The mayor proposed to turn over to me the five cannon mounted at the fort, which are in good condition and not spiked, and also the few munitions of war left by the retreating enemy. I desired to take charge of them for the present, to make careful inventories and establish a patrol and guard, informing him that he would be held responsible for the place until our force should enter the harbor. I called upon the clergymen of the city, requesting them to reassure their people, and to confide in our kind intentions toward them. About fifteen hundred persons remain in St. Augustine, about one-fifth of the inhabitants having fled. I believe that there are many citizens who are earnestly attached to the Union, a large number who are silently opposed to it, and a still larger number who care very little about the matter. I think that nearly all the men acquiesce in the condition of affairs we are now establishing. There is much violent and pestilent feeling among the women. They seem to mistake treason for courage, and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines. Their minds have doubtless been filled with the falsehoods so industriously circulated in regard to the lust and hatred of our troops. On the night before our arrival, a party of women assembled in front of the barracks and cut down the flag-staff, in order that it might not be used to support the old flag. The men seemed anxious to conciliate in every way.

"There is a great scarcity of provisions in the place. There seems to be no money except the wretched paper currency of the rebellion, and much poverty exists.

"In the water battery at the fort are three fine army thirty-two pounders of 7,000 pounds, and two eight-inch seacoast howitzers of 5,600 pounds, with shot and some powder. There are a number of very old guns in the fort useless and not mounted. Several good guns were taken away some months ago to arm batteries at other harbors. The garrison of the place went from St. Augustine at midnight on the 10th for Smyrna, where are said to be about 800 troops, a battery, the steamer Carolina, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition.

"It is very positively stated that the Governor has ordered the abandonment of East Florida, and proposes to make a stand near Apalachicola."

After thus obtaining possession of St. Augustine, Commodore Dupont dispatched the Penguin, Acting Lieutenant Budd, and the Henry Andrew, Acting Master S. W. Mather, to Mosquito Inlet, on the Florida coast, forty-one miles south of the former place. The object of the expedition was to establish "an inside blockade, capture any rebel vessels there, and guard from incendiarism large quantities of live-oak timber on the government land, cut and ready for shipment."

Commodore Dupont followed the expedition in his flag-ship, the Wabash, and on arriving at Mosquito Inlet was met with a report of operations, which we give in his own words:

Mar. 22.

"I was boarded," he says, "by the executive officer of the Penguin, and informed that Lieutenant Commanding Budd, with Acting-Master Mather, had organized an expedition from the two vessels, and had moved southward through the inland passage, leading into Mosquito lagoon, passing Smyrna with four or five light boats, carrying in all some forty-three men. Soon after this report, which I heard with anxiety, the results were developed. It appears that after going some fifteen or eighteen miles without any incident, and while on their return and within sight of the Henry Andrew, the order of the line being no longer observed, the two commanding officers, quite in advance, landed under certain earth-works which had been abandoned or never armed, near a dense grove of live oak with underbrush. A heavy and continuous fire was unexpectedly opened upon them from both these covers. Lieutenant Commanding Budd and Acting Master Mather, with three of the five men composing the boat's crew, were killed. The remaining two men were wounded, and made prisoners. As the other boats came up, they were also fired into, and suffered more or less. The rear boat of all had a howitzer, which, however, could not be properly secured or worked, the boat not being fitted for the purpose, and could therefore be of little use. The men had to seek cover on shore; but as soon as it was dark, Acting Master's Mate McIntosh returned to the boats, brought away the body of one of the crew who had been killed, all the arms, ammunition, and flags, threw the howitzer into the river, passed close to the rebel pickets, who hailed, but elicited no reply, and arrived safely on board the Henry Andrew.

"On hearing of this untoward event, I directed Commander Rogers to send off the launch and cutters of this ship to the support of the Andrew. The boats crossed the bar at midnight, and the next morning the vessel was hauled close up to the scene of the late attack, but no enemy could be discovered."

The bodies of the two commanders were returned with a flag of truce, and "a Captain Bird, who had come from a camp at a distance," adds Dupont, "made some show of courtesy by returning papers and a watch, as if ashamed of this mode of warfare; for these were the very troops that, with sufficient force, means, and material for a respectable defence, had ingloriously fled from St. Augustine on our approach."

Apalachicola, like the other points on the coast of Florida, was, on the approach of the Union gun-boats, Mercedita, Commander Stillwagen, and the Sagamore, Lieutenant Drake, deserted by the enemy. No resistance was made by the inhabitants, of whom there were found but 542 out of the original population of 3,500. The town was found to be suffering greatly from

April 2.

want of provisions; "there was not a pound of flour in the place, no sugar," and hardly food enough to keep the few people remaining from starving.

These easy conquests on the coast of Florida were accompanied by an expression of returning loyalty on the part of the few inhabitants left. At Jacksonville, in response to a conciliatory proclamation of General Sherman, a "meeting of the loyal citizens" was held, and resolutions passed denouncing the unconstitutional proceedings by which the State of Florida had been wrested from the Union. The mayor of the city, however, qualified these indications of a Union sentiment by this singular exposition of passive obedience:

"The duty has been imposed upon me," he said, "by the corporate authorities of the city of Jacksonville, of announcing to you that the place and its immediate vicinity are without any military defence or protection, and that, so far as is known or believed, no resistance is meditated or will be offered to your invasion at this point. It is but candid to say, however, and it will not surprise you to be told, that there is a singular unanimity of sentiment, not only in this place, but throughout the whole State, upon the subject of the war. It is believed to be unwise, unprovoked, and unjust. We say this to obviate, if possible, misconstruction, and for the purpose of avoiding hereafter any imputation of a design to mislead. Whatever may be the sentiments of the citizens of this place, we repeat that no resistance will be made. If the preservation of order should be left with the city government, it will be rigidly enforced. It is, perhaps, to be lamented that the great body of our citizens, of all ages and sexes, distrusting the policy which a military occupation of the place by an enemy might dictate, have left it. Those who have remained have done so in confidence that the rules of civilized warfare would afford ample protection both to the persons and property of those who were defenceless."

Another great combined expedition of naval and military forces had been long in preparation to operate against New Orleans. Large numbers of troops had been accumulating at the rendezvous on Ship Island, under the command of General Butler, and a great fleet of gun and mortar boats, constructed and fitted out at the navy yards of the North, had sailed early in March, under Commander David Porter, to take part in the contemplated movement.

Notwithstanding the repulses met by the reconnoitring forces from Ship Island, in their attempt to land at Biloxi and Mississippi City, and the great preparations made by the enemy, through works of defence, armed gun-boats, and the mustering of troops, to protect New Orleans and its approaches, the Unionists felt confident that their powerful naval and military expeditions would soon overcome all obstacles, however imposing.

CHAPTER X.

History and description of the Merrimac.—Great fears artfully allayed.—Ruse of the Enemy.—Sudden appearance of the Merrimac.—Alarm created.—Attack upon the Union Fleet.—Destruction of the Cumberland and Congress.—Gallantry of the Union sailors.—Flying the Flag to the last.—Description of the Congress and Cumberland.—The escape of the Minnesota.—A night of anxious expectation.—A sudden relief.—Arrival of the Monitor.—Description of the Monitor.—Reappearance of the Merrimac.—Encounter with the Monitor.—Van Brunt's description of the conflict.—The Merrimac beaten off.—Return to Norfolk.—Results of the struggle.—Comparative losses.—The impregnability of the Monitor.—Her Commander wounded.—Great public inquietude.—What the Merrimac might do.

No event of the war excited so great an interest as the appearance of the enemy's iron-clad man-of-war Virginia, in Hampton Roads, and her attack upon the Union blockading squadron. The "Virginia" was formerly the United States steam frigate Merrimac, which fell into the hands of the insurgents of Virginia when the Norfolk Navy Yard was abandoned by the Federal officers. An attempt had been made, by scuttling and sinking, to destroy her, but the enemy had succeeded, in raising the hull, repairing the machinery, and by reconstruction, in rendering the former Merrimac a most formidable vessel of war. Her hull was cut down to within three feet of the water-mark, and a bomb-proof shield of heavy timber plated with bars of railroad iron, three inches thick, was built so as to cover her gun-deck, like the gabled roof of a house. Without masts, nothing was left exposed above but her smoke-stack and pilot-house. Fore and aft she was strengthened with solid oak and plated with thick steel. To her bows, moreover, was affixed a "ram" of steel, something like the shear of a plough, for the purpose of piercing or running down vessels. Though the Merrimac was originally mounted with forty guns, twelve cannon only were placed on board of her, but these were of the most formidable character. On each side she carried eleven-inch navy guns, and at the bow and stern two one-hundred pounders, supposed to be of English manufacture. These cannon projected from port-holes opening through the iron mail, within which the artillerists, while loading and firing, could remain under cover. This novel war-machine had been long preparing, and although at one time there had been alarming rumors at the North of its formidable character, these had been allayed by the artful statement of the Southern newspapers, that "the Merrimac was a failure."

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About one o'clock in the day, observers at Fortress Monroe saw a strange object, "looking like a submerged house with the roof only above water," moving down from Norfolk, by the chan-

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nel in front of Sewall's Point. Signal guns were at once fired from the Union batteries and by the ships Cumberland and Congress, lying off and blockading the James River, to give warning to the rest of the United States squadron.

It was soon evident that the strange object was the Merrimac, which, confident in the security of her iron mail, had come out, accompanied by two small gun-boats, to make an assault upon our formidable fleet of men-of-war. She moved steadily and silently on with her ports closed, steering directly for the Cumberland and Congress, two sailing vessels of war lying off the mouth of the James River, and as she came within range, the latter opened fire upon her with her heavy guns, but the balls, as they struck, glanced off, "having no more effect than peas from a pop-gun."

As the Merrimac continued to approach the Cumberland and Congress on one side, the steamers Yorktown and Jamestown, or Patrick Henry (as she is now called), two other vessels of which the enemy had become possessed by the fatal abandonment of the navy yard at Norfolk, came, followed by a small gun-boat, down the James River, where they had been long closed in by the blockade, and opened fire upon the other. The Federal batteries at Newport News strove, by a heavy cannonade, but in vain, to prevent the approach of the Yorktown and Jamestown. The Merrimac, in the mean time, kept steadily on her course, making, after giving the Congress a broadside, directly for the Cumberland. When within a hundred yards of her, she and her consort, the Congress, "rained full broadsides on the iron-clad monster that took no effect, glancing upwards and flying off." The progress of the Merrimac seemed, however, for a moment to be arrested, and she "slowed" an instant, as if stunned by the shock. She soon recovered her momentum, and moved, "head on," for the Cumberland, which she struck with her steel prow, about midships, "literally laying open her sides." The Merrimac now drew off, and firing a broadside into the doomed vessel, again darted against her, and completely crushing in her side, left her to sink.* The monster now turned her attention to the Congress, about a quarter of a mile distant, which had, in the mean time, been engaged with the Jamestown and Yorktown. The Congress, thus beset, losing her commander, and dreading the fate of her consort, made for the beach, where she grounded, and after being raked fore and aft by the Merrimac, hauled down her colors. The Jamestown now boarded her, and took off some officers as prisoners. The enemy, however, were driven off by the Union batteries on shore, which set fire to the vessel, and she was burned to the water's edge. The Cumberland was a sloop-of-war of 1,725 tons burthen, and carried twenty-four guns. She was built at the Charlestown Navy Yard in 1842, and was consequently twenty years old.

* "The operations of the Merrimac on the Cumberland were performed," says the Norfolk *Day Book*, "in the short space of fifteen minutes."

She was, however, considered one of the most effective of the wooden sailing vessels of war in the navy. At the time of her destruction by the Merrimac, she was temporarily in command of First Lieutenant George W. Morris, who fought his ship with great gallantry, firing the guns as she was sinking, and keeping his flag flying to the last.*

With the Cumberland went down a large number of men, and the killed and drowned amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty.

The Congress was a sailing frigate, built at Kittery Navy Yard in 1841, and thus at the time of her loss was twenty-one years old. Her burthen was 1,867 tons, and she carried fifty guns. Her commander, Smith, fell before she surrendered. During the conflict she had seven killed and ten wounded, while some twenty-three were taken prisoners. The whole loss of the enemy, according to their own account, was nine killed and twelve wounded, among whom was Captain Franklin Buchanan, formerly an officer in the United States Navy, who commanded the Merrimac, and the first lieutenant. When the Merrimac was first seen to approach, the Minnesota, the St. Lawrence, and the Roanoke, anchored in Hampton Roads, strove to join in the engagement. The steamer Minnesota, however, got aground within a mile and a half of Newport News, while moving to the scene of conflict, and when in this comparatively helpless condition, the enemy, after engaging the forts, attacked her.

"At four P.M., the Merrimac, Jamestown, and Patrick Henry," says Captain

* The pilot gave this graphic account of the action :

"As soon as the Merrimac got within one mile of the Cumberland we opened fire upon her from our ten-inch pivot guns and our rifled cannon. Some of the shots struck her, and others passed and fell short. She paid no attention whatever to our firing until she got near up to the Congress, when she fired into her. The Congress immediately returned the compliment by discharging a whole broadside, followed by another. She continued on her course, still firing at the Congress, but seeming not to care much for her, and on coming much nearer passed by her and made direct for the Cumberland, under a full head of steam. On approaching sufficiently near she fired one shot at us, which killed five men and cut away our main rigging, hammock netting, etc. The Cumberland at once replied by firing into her most vigorously. The Merrimac then drew off for a short distance, rounded to and run into us, striking us on the port bow, backing off again and firing into us rapidly. We continued all the while pouring shot and shell against her from our nine-inch guns and ten-inch pivots, without producing any effect on her whatever. The Cumberland now began to sink. The iron monster had only ran into us once, and still we knew that there was no chance at all of saving the vessel. Although in this dangerous and momently sinking condition, the men and officers nobly stood their ground. The Merrimac continued all this while firing occasional shots into us, killing four or five men at every shot. The cock-pit was soon filled with wounded men, and poor fellows maimed for life were scattered over the upper, gun, and berth decks. Still our men continued working and fighting their guns in the most gallant manner. Our forward magazine was soon filled with the water which was rushing into the ship, so that it became entirely useless. The best order, under the circumstances, prevailed, but the cries of the wounded were dreadful. At one time a shell burst through the sick bay or hospital, killing four men who were on the sick list, and unable to report for duty. At last the water rushed into the gun-deck ports, and it was seen that the ship would not float much longer. She was now all down by the head, and going fast to the bottom. The boats were therefore ordered out, and with difficulty brought alongside. It was, however, almost impossible for the men to get from the gun-deck to the spar-deck, but some of them climbed into the rigging, and others sprang overboard as the ship was settling out of sight. Everybody was naturally endeavoring to reach the boats ; some fifty or sixty men were seen floating and swimming about, catching at spars. The rule now was, every one for himself. Quite a number were crushed by the after pivot gun, which rolled about in a dangerous manner."

Van Brunt, "bore down upon my vessel. Very fortunately the iron battery drew too much water to come within a mile of us. She took a position on my starboard bow, but did not fire with accuracy, and only one shot passed through the ship's bow. The other two steamers took their position on my port bow and stern, and their fire did most damage in killing and wounding men, inasmuch as they fired with rifled guns; but with the heavy gun that I could bring to bear upon them I drove them off, one of them apparently in a crippled state. I fired upon the Merrimac with my ten-inch pivot gun without any apparent effect, and at seven P.M. she, too, hauled off, and all three vessels steamed toward Norfolk."

The Roanoke having a shaft broken, was towed toward the scene of the conflict, but after getting within two miles, turned back. The St. Lawrence engaged the Jamestown for awhile, and exchanged broadsides with the Merrimac, but got aground; she was towed off in safety. The gun and tug boats, while aiding the larger vessels, and after being more or less exposed to the enemy's fire, were also forced to retire. Thus ended the first day's work of the formidable Merrimac, whose early reappearance was expected and awaited with great anxiety.

In the mean time, however, there had arrived at Fortress Monroe the Monitor. This was the floating battery designed by Captain Ericsson, a Swedish engineer, who had been long a resident of New York, and become notable for his ingenious inventions, among which that of the caloric engine is the best known. The Monitor was built and launched at Greenpoint, Long Island, in one hundred days. Her plan, which was designed by Ericsson, was claimed to be wholly original. The vessel was constructed with two hulls, an upper and lower one. The latter, which was entirely submerged below the water and protected by the former, was built of three-eighth inch iron, with an average thickness of three-quarters of an inch. Its length was a hundred and twenty-four feet, and its breadth where it was attached to the upper hull, thirty-four feet; from this it inclined toward the keel, so that a ball could not strike it without passing through twenty-five feet of water, and at an angle of about ten degrees. The upper hull was a hundred and seventy-four feet long, forty-one feet and four inches wide, and five feet deep. It thus projected beyond the lower hull at each end twenty-five feet, and extended over its sides three feet seven inches. The sides of the upper hull were vertical, built with bulwarks of white oak, thirty inches thick, lined with iron half an inch thick, and covered on the outside with solid plate iron, six inches in thickness, which enveloped the whole vessel to a depth of five feet. The draft of the structure in the water was barely ten feet, and its sides rose only eighteen inches above the surface. The propeller, rudder, anchor, and machinery were protected within the iron mail of the upper hull.

The deck was shell proof, and upon it rose a cylindrical turret, to hold the guns and those who served them. Its

height was nine feet, and its diameter within twenty feet. It had two port-holes, both on the same side, armed with two eleven-inch columbiads, and was so constructed and arranged with machinery that it could revolve fifteen times in a minute. The revolving turret was composed of a rolled iron skeleton, one inch in thickness, to which were riveted and bolted eight laminæ of rolled plates, each one inch thick. These plates were very accurately fitted up, the seams were vertical, and the joints so arranged as not to come in the same line. The top was made bomb-proof by being covered with a bomb-proof roof placed six inches down in the cylinder. An additional iron shield of two inches strengthened the side pierced by the port-holes, and which was most exposed to fire. Two enormous wrought-iron pendulums were so arranged that when the gun recoiled they would swing by and effectually close the port-holes. The vessel was a long oval in shape, with a clear deck without a rail, and having nothing above it except the revolving turret and the angular pilot-house, which could be lowered in action. The issue of the smoke and steam was through a pipe, which was so arranged as to shut in like an ordinary telescope, while its outer aperture was covered with a bomb-proof grating, which likewise protected the ventilators. In the construction of this formidable machine, Ericsson seemed to have succeeded in solving the problem of obtaining the greatest possible buoyancy with the smallest area of target. The cost of the Monitor was two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, only about an eighth of that of the famous English iron-clad Warrior. This sum was advanced by private citizens, confident that the genius of Ericsson would triumph over the severe conditions imposed by the Government, that his work should only be accepted and paid for after it had proved its efficiency by the test of success. To this trial it was destined soon to be submitted, with a result which is now to be related.

The Monitor,* after a stormy voyage from New York, during which her capabilities as a sea-vessel were seriously tried, reached Fortress Monroe at nine o'clock in the night of that memo- **Mar. 8.** rable day's havoc by the Merrimac. Her opportune arrival, which seemed like an interposition of Providence, was hailed with a grateful welcome by all, stricken as they were with awe at the tragic assault of the Merrimac, and the prospect of its reappearance.

"The day closed, indeed," wrote an observer at Fortress Monroe, "with sadness in the hearts of our officers, besides having the fact resting on their minds, that the hostile machine that had just made such murderous work had only retired apparently to recruit itself, and then return to complete the destruction she had so auspiciously commenced, having the floating vessels here at her mercy. While despondency settled on many brows, and conjectures were rife as to where the Merrimac would direct her attention the next day, a gleam of hope arose. At eight o'clock in the evening, a bright, movable light was

* The Monitor subsequently foundered at sea.

discovered seaward coming from the direction of Cape Charles light. It being known that the Ericsson battery had left New York a few days previous, surmises were rife that this light might proceed from the deck. The best night telescopes were brought into requisition, and in less than half an hour after it first hove in sight the fact was circulated that the Ericsson battery was coming up the Roads. The news spread like wildfire; the ramparts in the fort were soon lined with troops. At nine o'clock the Monitor anchored off Fortress Monroe. Lieutenant Commanding Worden immediately reported to Flag-Officer Marston, and subsequently to General Wool. It was at once determined by those officers to send the battery to Newport News, to protect that port; also to defend the Minnesota, which was still on shore. Before she started on her mission, an additional supply of ammunition was placed on board, and at half-past eleven o'clock the Monitor went on her mission, to await the appearance of things the following day. The arrival of the Monitor was, indeed, providential."

At two A.M. on the morning of March 9th, the Monitor went alongside of the Minnesota, which had become more and more imbedded in the mud bank, where she had grounded on the evening before, and apparently lay at the mercy of the dreaded Merrimac. The arrival of the Monitor was a joyful event. "Then all aboard," says Captain Van Brunt, "felt that we had a friend that would stand by us in our hour of trial."

The next morning opened with the prospect of a fair day. A slight haze, as the sun rose, limited the eager gaze of all observers toward Norfolk. At half-past six o'clock, however, the morning cleared, and off Sewall's Point could be seen the Merrimac with the Patrick Henry and Yorktown, and some hovering gun and tug boats, again advancing to the attack. A fluttering at once occurred among the transports hurrying to a place of safety up the Chesapeake. On the Minnesota, to which the enemy seemed to be directing their course, there was a busy but calm preparation for the encounter, while the little Monitor, lying quietly by her side, and hardly visible in the shadow of the towering bulwarks of her consort, was unmoved in the confidence of her concentrated and impregnable strength. Mar. 9.

The conflict which ensued is best told in Captain Van Brunt's own words:

"At six A.M. the enemy again appeared coming down from Craney Island," he says, "and I beat to quarters, but they ran past my ship and were heading for Fortress Monroe, and the retreat was beaten to allow my men to get something to eat. The Merrimac ran down near the Rip Raps and then turned into the channel, through which I had come. Again all hands were called to quarters, and opened upon her with my stern guns and made signal to the Monitor to attack the enemy. She immediately ran down in my wake, right within the range of the Merrimac, completely covering my ship as far as was possible with her diminutive dimensions,

NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN HAMPTON ROADS

C. Parsons, del.

J. Davies, sc

Sewall's Point

Newport News

MERRIMAC AND MONITOR

Cumberland.

Rebel Tug

Jamestown

Yorktown.

Minnesota.

Virtue, Yorston & Co Publishers, N.Y.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D.1863 by Virtue, Yorston & ... of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

and, much to my astonishment, laid herself right alongside of the Merrimac, and the contrast was that of a pigmy to a giant. Gun after gun was fired by the Monitor, which was returned with whole broadsides from the rebels, with no more effect apparently than so many pebble-stones thrown by a child. After a while they commenced manœuvring, and we could see the little battery point her bow for the rebels, with the intention, as I thought, of sending a shot through her bow port-hole, then she would shoot by her and rake her through her stern. In the mean time, the rebels were pouring broadside after broadside, but almost all her shot flew over the little submerged propeller; and when they struck the bomb-proof tower, the shot glanced off without producing any effect, clearly establishing the fact, that wooden vessels cannot contend successfully with iron-clad ones, for never before was anything like it dreamed of by the greatest enthusiast in maritime warfare. The Merrimac, finding that she could make nothing of the Monitor, turned her attention once more to me in the morning. She had put one eleventh-inch shot under my counter near the water-line, and now on her second approach I opened upon her with all my broadside guns and ten-inch pivot—a broadside which would have blown out of water any timber-built ship in the world. She returned my fire with her rifled bow gun with a shell which passed through the chief engineer's state-room, through the engineer's mess-room amidships, and burst in the boatswain's room, tearing four rooms all into one, in its passage exploding two charges of powder, which set the ship on fire, but it was promptly extinguished by a party headed by my first lieutenant. Her second went through the boiler of the tug-boat Dragon, exploding it and causing some consternation on board my ship for the moment, until the matter was explained. This time I had concentrated upon her an incessant fire from my gun-deck, spar-deck, and forecastle pivot guns, and was informed by my marine officer, who was stationed on the poop, that at least fifty solid shot struck her on her slanting side without producing any apparent effect. By the time she had fired her third shell, the little Monitor had come down upon her, placing herself between us, and compelled her to change her position, in doing which she grounded, and again I poured into her all the guns which could be brought to bear upon her. As soon as she got off she stood down the bay, the little battery chasing her with all speed, when suddenly the Merrimac turned round and ran full speed into her antagonist. For a moment I was anxious, but instantly I saw a shot plunge into the iron roof of the Merrimac, which surely must have damaged her, for some time after the rebels concentrated their whole battery upon the tower and pilot-house of the Monitor, and soon after the latter stood down for Fortress Monroe, and we thought it probable she had exhausted her supply of ammunition or sustained some injury. Soon after, the Merrimac and the two other steamers headed for my ship, and

I then felt to the fullest extent my condition. I was hard and immovably aground, and they could take position under my stern and rake me. I had expended most of my solid shot, and my ship was badly crippled and my officers and men were worn out with fatigue; but even in this extreme dilemma I determined never to give up the ship to the rebels, and after consulting my officers, I ordered every preparation to be made to destroy the ship after all hope was gone to save her. On ascending the poop-deck, I observed that the enemy's vessels had changed their course and were heading for Craney Island; then I determined to lighten the ship by throwing overboard my eight-inch guns, hoisting out provisions, starting water, etc. At two P.M. I proceeded to make another attempt to save the ship by the use of a number of powerful tugs and the steamer S. R. Spaulding—kindly sent to my assistance by Captain Talmadge, quartermaster at Fortress Monroe—and succeeded in dragging her half a mile distant, and then she was again immovable, the tide having fallen."

Next morning the Minnesota was got off, and anchored opposite Fortress Monroe.

Beaten off by the little Monitor, the Merrimac, accompanied by her consorts, returned to Norfolk with the consciousness that in her second day's encounter she had met with more than her equal. She was reported by negro refugees to be much damaged. "One shot," it was said, "from the Cumberland riddled her, and one shot from the Monitor went through her port-hole and dismounted two guns." In the enemy's official report it was stated, "Two of our guns had the muzzles shot off. The prow was twisted, and the armor somewhat damaged by her encounter with the Cumberland." The boiler of the Patrick Henry, one of her consorts, was reported to have been pierced by a ball, and two men killed and others scalded. The enemy, in their published accounts, claimed to have had on the Virginia or Merrimac only two killed and eight wounded; among the latter Captain Buchanan, injured on the first day—and succeeded in command on the second by Captain Ap-Catesby Jones—and Lieutenant Minor; while they declared that the vessel itself was uninjured. Though the Unionists believed her to be damaged, her reappearance was dreaded, and formidable preparations were made to receive her. On the rest of the enemy's vessels there were, as they averred, only five killed and nine wounded.

The Monitor came out of the fight without injury, and with scarcely a mark of having been in the struggle. On the tower and hull there were left some slight indentations and breaks in the paint, showing where a score of balls had struck. Most of these were on the upper hull, which seemed to have been the chief aim of the enemy, in the belief that there was some vulnerable point near or below the water-mark. The indentations at this part were not deep, but at one point there was a slight fracture of the end of the iron sheathing.

The ball which struck the pilot-house

merely shattered the cement, a particle of which was driven into the eye of Commander Worden, who was thus for some time disabled for service. The total loss on board the Minnesota and the tug-boat Whitehall, which had gone to her assistance, was six killed and twenty wounded.

Notwithstanding the belief that the Monitor, which remained on guard at Fortress Monroe, was more than a match for the Merrimac, great public inquietude was created by the performance of that vessel. The fact that the enemy were still in possession of so formidable a machine, and were building others, made it manifest that provision should be made to prevent further disaster. Congress at once voted a large sum for the construction of iron-clad batteries and ships, and the various governments of the northern sea-board States hastened to provide defences of a similar kind for their harbors, lest the formidable Merrimac, or some other such structure, should, in spite of blockading fleets and stone forts, enter the large commercial ports, destroy their throngs of ships, bombard the cities, and exact millions of tribute.

CHAPTER XI.

Session of the Thirty-first Congress.—President's Message.—Report of the Secretary of the Navy.—Report of the Secretary of War.—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.—Action of Congress.—Unanimity.—Tax Bills.—Treasury Note Bill.—Expulsion of Disloyal Members.—Expulsion of Senator Bright.—Exposure of Corruption.—Resignation of Secretary Cameron.—Appointment of Stanton.—Action on Slavery.—Emancipation and Confiscation.—Inauguration of the "Permanent Government" of the Southern Confederacy.—Imposing Ceremonies.—Message of Jefferson Davis.—Action of Confederate Congress.—Great efforts of the Enemy.—Devotion.—Sacrifices of the People.

THE first session of the Thirty-seventh Congress commenced on the 2d of December, and on the next day the President sent in his message. Although there had been in the capture of Slidell and Mason, in the combined expedition to Mexico, of England, France, and Spain, and the seizure of St. Domingo by the latter power, apparent causes of complication in the relations of the United States with foreign nations, Mr. Lincoln avoided all direct allusion to these important events. The reference to our foreign relations was of the most general character. In one paragraph the President declared that "the disloyal citizens who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected." This he accounted for on the ground, that foreign nations had discovered that they had more to gain from the Union in its integrity than from its dismembered parts. In another

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paragraph he recommended that ample measures be taken for coast and lake defences, "since it is apparent that here, as in every other state, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties."

In regard to internal communications, the President recommended, as a "military measure," that the "loyal regions of eastern and western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad."

"The resources from all sources," he stated, "including loans for the financial year ending on the 30th of June, 1861, were $86,835,900 27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were $84,578,034 47, leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st of July, of $2,257,065 80 for the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th of September, 1861. The receipts from all sources, including the balance of July 1, were $102,532,509 27, and the expenses $98,239,733 09, leaving a balance on the 1st of October, 1861, of $4,292,776 18."

He at the same time expressed his gratification "to know that the expenses made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the Government will continue to sustain it till peace and union shall again bless the land."

For the purpose of administering justice in the insurgent States or Territories which might be restored to Federal authority by civil or military means, he expressed the hope that Congress would devise a plan, not of a "permanent institution," but "a temporary substitute, to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be re-established in peace."

His sole allusion to the slaves was in regard to those who, by the act of Congress or of the States, should be forfeited, and for these he recommended that some system of colonization should be adopted.

His view of the policy to be pursued in suppressing the insurrection was thus defined by the President:

"I have been anxious and careful," he said, "that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature. In the exercise of my best discretion, I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports. So also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property, and for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. *The Union must be preserved.*

and hence all disposable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable."

After an exposition of the immense development of the United States in population and resources, the President closed with this view of the future grandeur of the country and an appeal to the patriotism of the people to secure it:

"There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 250,000,000. The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day. It is for a vast future, also. With a firm reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

The Secretary of the Navy, in his report, was less reticent on the great questions which agitated the country. Of the capture of Slidell and Mason he did not hesitate to express his approbation.

"The prompt and decisive action of Captain Wilkes on this occasion," he said, "merited and received the emphatic approval of the Department, and if a too generous forbearance was exhibited by him in not capturing the vessel which had these rebel emissaries on board, it may, in view of the special circumstances, and of its patriotic motives, be excused; but it must by no means be permitted to constitute a precedent hereafter for the treatment of any case of similar infraction of neutral obligations by foreign vessels engaged in commerce or the carrying trade."

In regard to the obstruction of the ports of the insurgent States, by sinking in the channels vessels laden with stone, he declared that "this, if effectually done, will prove the most economical and satisfactory method of interdicting commerce at those points."

As proof of the efficiency of our cruisers, the Secretary of the Navy stated that one hundred and fifty-three vessels had been captured while sailing under various flags.

His statement of the naval force, and estimates of its cost, were as follows:

OLD NAVY.

Number of Vessels.	Guns.	Tonnage.
6 Ships-of-line	504	16,094
7 Frigates	350	12,104
17 Sloops	342	16,031
2 Brigs	12	549
3 Store-ships	7	342
6 Receiving-ships, etc.	106	6,340
6 Screw frigates	222	21,460
6 First-class screw sloops	109	11,953
4 First-class side-wheel steam sloops	46	8,003
8 Second-class screw sloops	45	7,593
5 Third-class screw sloops	28	2,405
4 Third-class side-wheel steamers	8	1,808
2 Steam tenders	4	599
76	1783	105,271

VESSELS PURCHASED.

36 Side-wheel steamers	166	26,680
43 Screw steamers	175	20,403
13 Ships	52	9,998
24 Schooners	49	5,324
18 Barks	78	8,432
2 Brigs	4	460
136	518	71,297

VESSELS CONSTRUCTED.

14 Screw sloops	98	16,787
23 Gun-boats	92	11,661
12 Side-wheel steamers	49	8,400
3 Iron-clad steamers	18	4,600
52	256	41,448

—making a total of 264 vessels, 2,557 guns, and 218,016 tons. The aggregate number of seamen in the service on the 4th of March last was 7,600. The number is now not

less than 22,000. The amount appropriated at the last regular session of Congress for the naval service of the current fiscal year was $13,168,675; to this was added at the special session of last July $30,446,876—making an aggregate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1862, of $34,615,551. To this must be added:

For vessels purchased and alterations to fit them for service	$2,530,000
For the purchase of additional vessels	2,000,000
For 20 iron-clad vessels	12,000,000
	$16,530,000
Add previous appropriations	43,615,551
Total for year ending June 30, 1862	$60,145,551

The estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1863, are as follows:

For the navy proper	$41,096,530
For the marine corps	1,105,657
For miscellaneous objects	2,423,478
Total for fiscal year ending June 30, 1863	$44,625 655

The Secretary of War's report was made memorable by the issue of a second edition, varying from the first, a portion of which in regard to slavery being supposed by the President impolitic, having been altered at his suggestion. In the revised edition, Secretary Cameron was made thus to speak:

"It is already a grave question what shall be done with those slaves who are abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as in Beaufort district, in South Carolina. The number left within our control at that point is very considerable, and similar cases will probably occur. What shall be done with them? Can we afford to send them forward to their masters, to be by them armed against us, or used in producing supplies to maintain the rebellion? Their labor may be useful to us; withheld from the enemy it lessens his military resources, and withholding them has no tendency to induce the horrors of insurrection, even in the rebel communities. They constitute a military resource, and, being such, that they should not be turned over to the enemy is too plain to discuss. Why deprive him of supplies by a blockade and voluntarily give him men to produce supplies? The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will, unquestionably, secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the constitution of the country."*

* The following is the original version:

"It has become a grave question for determination, what shall be done with the slaves abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as in the Beaufort district of South Carolina. The whole white population therein is 6,000, while the number of negroes exceeds 32,000. The panic which drove their masters in wild confusion from their homes, leaves them in undisputed possession of the soil. Shall they, armed by their masters, be placed in the field to fight against us, or shall their labor be continually employed in reproducing the means for supporting the armies of rebellion

"The war into which this Government has been forced by rebellious traitors is carried on for the purpose of repossessing the property violently and treacherously seized upon by the enemies of the Government, and to re-establish the authority and laws of the United States in the places where it is opposed or overthrown by armed insurrection and rebellion. Its purpose is to recover and defend what is justly its own.

"War, even between independent nations, is made to subdue the enemy, and all that belongs to that enemy, by occupying the hostile country, and exercising dominion over all the men and things within its territory. This being true in respect to independent nations at war with each other, it follows that rebels who are laboring by force of arms to overthrow a government, justly bring upon themselves all the consequences of war, and provoke the destruction merited by the worst of crimes. That government would be false to national trust, and would justly excite the ridicule of the civilized world, that would abstain from the use of any efficient means to preserve its own existence, or to overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by sparing or protecting the property of those who are waging war against it.

Secretary Cameron's exhibit of the strength of the army was as follows:

States.	Volunteers. Three Months.	Volunteers. For the War.	Volunteers. Aggregate.
California	—	4,688	4,688
Connecticut	2,236	12,400	14,636
Delaware	775	2,000	2,775
Illinois	4,941	80,000	84,941
Indiana	4,686	57,332	62,018
Iowa	968	19,800	20,768
Kentucky	—	15,000	15,000
Maine	768	14,239	15,007
Maryland	—	7,000	7,000
Massachusetts	3,435	26,760	30,195
Michigan	781	28,550	29,331
Minnesota	—	4,160	4,160
Missouri	9,356	22,130	31,486
New Hampshire	779	9,600	10,379
New Jersey	3,068	9,342	12,410
New York	10,188	100,200	110,388
Ohio	10,236	81,205	91,441
Pennsylvania	19,199	94,760	113,959
Rhode Island	1,285	5,890	7,183
Vermont	780	8,000	8,780
Virginia	779	12,000	12,779
Wisconsin	792	14,153	14,945
Kansas	—	5,000	5,000
Colorado	—	1,000	1,000
Nebraska	—	2,500	2,500
Nevada	—	1,000	1,000
New Mexico	—	1.000	1,000
District of Columbia	2,823	1,000	3,823
Total	77,875	640,637	718,512

To the number of volunteers for the war, 640,637, add the estimated strength of the regular army, including the new enlistments, under the Act of July 29, 1861, which is 20,334, and our entire military force now in the field will be 660,971; the several arms of the service being distributed as follows:

	Volunteers.	Regulars.	Aggregate.
Infantry	557,208	11,175	568,383
Cavalry	54,654	4,744	59,398
Artillery	20,380	4,308	24,688
Rifles and Sharpshooters	8,395	—	8,395
Engineers	—	107	107
Total	640,637	20,334	660,971

For the ensuing year appropriations were asked for 500,000 men.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury was anxiously awaited, as with

"The principal wealth and power of the Rebel States is a peculiar species of property, consisting of the service or labor of African slaves, or the descendants of Africans. This property has been variously estimated at the value of from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

"Why should this property be exempt from the hazards and consequences of a rebellious war?

"It was the boast of the leader of the rebellion, while he yet had a seat in the Senate of the United States, that the Southern States would be comparatively safe and free from the burdens of war, if it should be brought on by the contemplated rebellion, and that boast was accompanied by the savage threat that 'Northern cities and towns would become the victims of rapine and military spoil,' and that 'Northern men should smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel.' No one doubts the disposition of the rebels to carry that threat into execution. The wealth of Northern towns and cities, the produce of Northern farms, Northern workshops and manufactories, would certainly be seized, destroyed, or appropriated as military spoil. No property in the North would be spared from the hands of the rebels, and their rapine would be defended under the laws of war. While the loyal States thus have all their property and possessions at stake, are the insurgent rebels to carry on warfare against the Government in peace and security to their own property?

"Reason and justice and self-preservation forbid that

such should be the policy of this Government, but demand, on the contrary, that, being forced by traitors and rebels to the extremity of war, all the rights and powers of war should be exercised to bring it to a speedy end.

"Those who make war against the Government justly forfeit all rights of property, privilege, or security, derived from the Constitution and laws, against which they are in armed rebellion; and as the labor and service of their slaves constitute the chief property of the rebels, such property should share the common fate of war to which they have devoted the property of loyal citizens.

"While it is plain that the slave property of the South is justly subjected to all the consequences of this rebellious war, and that the Government would be untrue to its trust in not employing all the rights and powers of war to bring it to a speedy close, the details of the plan for doing so, like all other military measures, must, in a great degree, be left to be determined by particular exigencies. The disposition of other property belonging to the rebels that become subject to our arms is governed by the circumstances of the case. The Government has no power to hold slaves, nor to restrain a slave of his liberty, or to exact his service. It has a right, however, to use the voluntary service of slaves liberated by war from their rebel masters, like any other property of the rebels, in whatever mode may be most efficient for the defence of the Government, the prosecution of the war, and the suppression of the rebellion. It is as clearly a right of

the lengthened duration and increased magnitude of the war, there was a great desire to know how its immense expenses were to be met. His exhibit showed the following estimate for the financial year of 1861–2:

EXPENDITURE.

Expenditure for first quarter	$98,239,733
Estimated expenditure for second, third, and fourth quarters, according to acts of extra session	302,035,761
Additional appropriations now asked for	143,130,927
Total	$543,406,422

REVENUE.

Ordinary revenue from customs, etc.	$36,809,731	
Revenue from direct tax	20,000,000	
Borrowed already	197,242,588	
Balance of loans authorized	75 449,675	
Deficit	213,904,427	
		$543,406,422

To meet this deficit of $213,904,427, he proposed to get $150,000,000 by substituting for the present bank notes of the several States a Federal currency of that amount, secured by United States stocks and redeemable in coin on presentation; and $50,000,000 to be raised by direct taxation in the loyal States to the amount of $20,000,000, a tax on liquors, tobacco, etc., to produce $20,000,000, and an income tax to yield $10,000,000. The calculation may thus be summed up:

Total sum to be provided for		$213,904,427
To be raised by taxes	$50,000,000	
By currency	150,000,000	
		200,000,000
Deficit		$13,904,427

This deficit of $13,904,427 was considered merely nominal, and would be covered by that part of the public debt the payment of which would not probably be demanded, and certain retrenchments in the expenditure of the Government.

Mr. Chase, with a sanguine anticipa-

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the Government to arm slaves when it may become necessary, as it is to use gunpowder taken from the enemy. Whether it is expedient to do so is purely a military question. The right is unquestionable by the laws of war. The expediency must be determined by circumstances, keeping in view the great object of overcoming the rebels, re-establishing the laws, and restoring peace to the nation.

"It is vain and idle for the Government to carry on this war, or hope to maintain its existence against rebellious force, without employing all the rights and powers of war. As has been said, the right to deprive the rebels of their property in slaves and slave labor is as clear and absolute as the right to take forage from the field, or cotton from the warehouse, or powder and arms from the magazine. To leave the enemy in the possession of such property as forage and cotton and military stores, and the means of constantly reproducing them, would be madness. It is therefore equal madness to leave them in peaceful and secure possession of slave property, more valuable and efficient to them for war than forage, cotton, and military stores. Such policy would be national suicide. What to do with that species of property is a question that time and circumstances will solve, and need not be anticipated further than to repeat that they cannot be held by the Government as slaves. It would be useless to keep them as prisoners of war; and self-preservation, the highest duty of a government, or of individuals, demands that they should be disposed of or employed in the most effective manner that will tend most speedily to suppress the insurrection and restore the authority of the Government. If it shall be found that the men who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right, and may become the duty, of the Government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline, and command.

"But in whatever manner they may be used by the Government, it is plain that, once liberated by the rebellious acts of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage. By the master's treason and rebellion he forfeits all right to the labor and service of his slave; and the slave of the rebellious master, by his service to the Government, becomes justly entitled to freedom and protection.

"The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war, can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will unquestionably secure to the loyal slaveholder every right to which he is entitled under the Constitution of the country."

tion that the war would close by midsummer, expressed his belief that the extraordinary expenditure of the Government would soon cease. He, however, made an estimate for the year 1862–63, as follows:

EXPENDITURE.	
Civil list	$23,086,971
Interior Department	4,102,962
War	360,159,986
Navy	45,164,994
Public debt	42,816,330
Total	$475,331,245

REVENUE.		
Customs, etc	$45,800,000	
Direct taxes	50,000,000	
Deficit	379,531,245	
		$475,331,245

The public debt would thus be on the 1st of July, 1863, in round numbers, $900,000,000, which Mr. Chase calculated that the loyal States alone could easily pay in thirty years. The Secretary of the Treasury, however, had in his desire to present a favorable budget, greatly underrated the expenses of the war, which have since been estimated by a competent authority,* at three millions a day. With such an increase of expenditure, to keep the debt within nine hundred millions to the 1st of July, as estimated by Mr. Chase, would require an aggregate taxation of much greater amount than $90,000,000, upon which the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, calculated. The effect of Mr. Chase's exposition and suggestions was to cause an immediate suspension of specie payments by the banks throughout the country, and ever since gold has been quoted at a premium.

The action of the national councils was marked by great unanimity in regard to the war. A joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives was passed, declaring it to be the purpose of Congress to impose taxes to produce $150,000,000 annually, and a tax* bill was introduced, from which it was believed by the more sanguine that one hundred and sixty-three millions might be obtained even in the first year. This, supposing that the war should cease by the 1st of July, would leave a considerable surplus after paying sixty millions of interest upon the national debt and defraying the annual expenses of the Government in peace, estimated at seventy millions. **1862. Jan. 17.**

A treasury-note bill was, after a long debate, finally passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President. By this measure the treasury was authorized to issue $150,000,000 in notes redeemable in five years, or payable in twenty years at the pleasure of the Government. These were declared to be a legal tender, except for duties on imports, which must be paid in coin, which also was payable only for interest on national bonds and notes. Large sums were added to the usual appropriation for the navy; $13,000,000 were appropriated to build iron-clad steamers. **Feb. 25.**

Congress, by eliminating from its body all obnoxious members, seemed resolved upon securing a uniform loyalty to the Government. Not only were those senators and members of Congress, who had since the last session joined the insur-

* Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania.

* The tax bill was finally passed on the 23d June, 1862.

gents, formally expelled, but Senator Bright, of Indiana, charged with having had friendly communication with the President of the Southern Confederacy, was, in spite of his assertions of fidelity to the Union and the report of the Judiciary Committee in his favor, **Feb. 5.** summarily dismissed from the Senate by a vote of thirty-two to fourteen. The newly-elected senator from Oregon, Mr. Starke, moreover, charged with having uttered sentiments favorable to the insurgents, was only admitted to his seat after a severe scrutiny and a vote, with a small majority in his favor.

Congress, in its vigorous efforts at purification, investigated the conduct of public officers with a severe and unexampled scrutiny, and exposed an extent of corruption which gave a great shock to the patriotic sentiment of the country. In the war and navy departments immense sums, it was proved, had been lavished upon favorites and relatives by bestowing upon them contracts which were either unfaithfully performed or unduly paid for.

The pertinacious investigations by Congress into the conduct of the war department are supposed to have led to **Jan. 13.** the resignation of Secretary Cameron, who, however, would seem to have retained the respect of the President, who compensated him for the loss of his secretaryship and public confidence by the appointment of minister to Russia. He was succeeded by the present energetic head of the war department, the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton.* Secretary Welles, though equally beset by congressional inquiry and censure, was more tenacious of office, and contented himself, while clinging to his place, with writing a justification of his conduct.

Slavery was of course the most prominent topic of debate, and notwithstanding the fierce opposition of most of the senators and representatives from the border States, aided by a few Northern Democrats, great progress was made toward emancipation. A bill establishing a new article of war, to the effect that no officer of the army shall return fugitive slaves, was passed by a large majority. The two most important measures, however, were the act adopting the resolution† in favor of

* Edwin M. Stanton, now secretary of war, is forty-five years of age. He was born at Steubenville, Ohio, where he began the practice of law, after having graduated at Kenyon College. He is the author of a portion of the Reports of the Supreme Court of Ohio, which bear his name. In 1848 he removed to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where he at once took his place at the head of the bar. Early in the administration of Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Stanton was selected by Attorney-General Black to represent the Government in the important land cases in California. When Mr. Cass resigned his post as secretary of state, Mr. Black, the only loyal member of the cabinet, was appointed to the place, and at his request the attorney-generalship, which he had vacated, was urged upon Mr. Stanton, who accepted it reluctantly. In the cabinet he associated with Holt and Dix, and to their combined efforts is due the patriotic course which marked the last few weeks of Mr. Buchanan's administration. Mr. Stanton has been throughout life a Democrat, and his nomination and unanimous confirmation as head of the most important department under a President of another party was a proof of the general esteem.

† This was suggested by the President in the following message:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—

"I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies which shall be substantially as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the United States ought to co-operate

compensating those States which should choose to emancipate their slaves, and that

with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

"If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation.

"The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that the Government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such parts will then say, 'The Union, for which we have struggled, being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section.' To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it. As to all the States initiating it, the point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation, but that while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say 'initiation,' because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all.

"In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and the treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of the war would purchase, at a fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the General Government sets up no claim of a right by federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

"In the annual message last December I thought fit to say: 'The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been and continues to be an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem

abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia passed by a vote in the April 11.

indispensable or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle must and will come.

"The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs? While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important results.

"In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The President subsequently (July 14th) submitted a draft of a bill for this purpose:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—

"Herewith is the draft of the bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to each State an amount of six per cent. interest-bearing bonds of the United States, equal to the aggregate value, at —— dollars per head, of all the slaves within such State, as reported by the census of one thousand eight hundred and sixty; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once, if the abolishment be immediate, or in equal annual instalments if it be gradual, interest to begin running on each bond at the time of delivery, and not before.

"*And be it further enacted*, That if any State having so received any such bonds shall, at any time afterward by law, re-introduce or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of abolishment upon which such bonds shall have been received, said bonds so received by said State shall at once be null and void in whosesoever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States all interest which may have been paid on such bonds."

This action of the President led to a conference of the senators and members of Congress of the border States, in the course of which a majority of them decided against all such interference with slavery. The minority, how-

Senate of 29 to 14, and in the House of Representatives of 93 to 39. By this latter act $1,000,000 was appropriated for the compensation of former owners,

ever, promised to put the matter fairly before their constituents.

The following is the correspondence with the President:

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO THE BORDER STATES.

The Representatives and Senators of the border slave-holding States having, by special invitation of the President, been convened at the Executive Mansion on Saturday morning last, Mr. Lincoln addressed them as follows from a written paper held in his hand:

"GENTLEMEN—After the adjournment of Congress, now near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you.

"I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever.

"Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask, 'Can you, for your States, do better than to take the course I urge?' Discarding punctilio and maxims adapted to more manageable times, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the constitutional relation of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institution; and, if this were done, my whole duty, in this respect, under the constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war. The incidents of the war cannot be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event. How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you, as seller, and the nation, as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats!

"I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

"I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be freed. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point.

"Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition; and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world; its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever."

At the conclusion of these remarks some conversation was had between the President and several members of the delegations from the border States, in which it was

and $100,000 for defraying the expenses of colonization of the emancipated negroes who may desire to emigrate.* The President having signed

represented that these States could not be expected to move in so great a matter as that brought to their notice in the foregoing address while as yet the Congress had taken no step beyond the passage of a resolution, expressive rather of a sentiment than presenting a substantial and reliable basis of action.

The President acknowledged the force of this view, and admitted that the border States were entitled to expect a substantial pledge of pecuniary aid as the condition of taking into consideration a proposition so important in its relation to their social system.

It was further represented in the conference, that the people of the border States were interested in knowing the great importance which the President attached to the policy in question, while it was equally due to the country, to the President, and to themselves, that the representatives of the border slaveholding States should publicly announce the motives under which they were called to act and the considerations of public policy urged upon them and their constituents by the President.

With a view to such a statement of their position, the members thus addressed met in council to deliberate on the reply they should make to the President, and, as the result of a comparison of opinions among themselves, they determined upon the adoption of a majority and minority answer.

REPLY OF THE MAJORITY.

The following paper was on the 17th instant sent to the President, signed by the majority of the representatives from the border slaveholding States :

"WASHINGTON, *July* 14, 1862.

"TO THE PRESIDENT :

"The undersigned, representatives of Kentucky, Virginia, Missouri, and Maryland, in the two houses of Congress, have listened to your address with the profound sensibility naturally inspired by the high source from which it emanates, the earnestness which marked its delivery, and the overwhelming importance of the subject of which it treats. We have given it a most respectful consideration, and now lay before you our response. We regret that want of time has not permitted us to make it more perfect.

"We have not been wanting, Mr. President, in respect to you, and a devotion to the Constitution and the Union. We have not been indifferent to the great difficulties surrounding you, compared with which all former national troubles have been but as the summer cloud ; and we have freely given you our sympathy and support. Repudiating the dangerous heresies of the secessionists, we believed, with you, that the war on their part is aggressive and wicked, and the objects for which it was to be prosecuted on ours, defined by your message at the opening of the present Congress, to be such as all good men should approve, we have not hesitated to vote all supplies necessary to carry it on vigorously. We have voted all the men and money you have asked for, and even more ; we have imposed numerous taxes on our people, and they are paying them with cheerfulness and alacrity ; we have encouraged enlistments and sent to the field many of our best men ; and some of our number have offered their persons to the enemy as pledges of their sincerity and devotion to country. We have done all this under the most discouraging circumstances, and in the face of measures most distasteful to us and injurious to the interests we represent, and in the hearing of doctrines avowed by those who claim to be your friends most abhorrent to us and our constituents. But, for all this, we have never faltered, nor shall we as long as we have a Constitution to defend and a Government which protects us. And we are ready for renewed efforts, and even greater sacrifices, yea, any sacrifice, when we are satisfied it is required to preserve our admirable form of government and the priceless blessings of constitutional liberty.

"A few of our number voted for the resolution recommended by your message of the 6th of March last, the greater portion of us did not, and we will briefly state the prominent reasons which influenced our action.

"In the first place, it proposed a radical change in our social system, and was hurried through both houses with undue haste, without reasonable time for consideration and debate, and with no time at all for consultation with our constituents, whose interests it deeply involved It seemed like an interference by this Government with a question which peculiarly and exclusively belonged to our respective States, on which they had not sought advice or solicited aid. Many of us doubted the constitutional power of this Government to make appropriations of money for the object designated, and all of us thought our finances were in no condition to bear the immense outlay which its adoption and faithful execution would impose upon the national treasury. If we pause for a moment to think of the debt its acceptance would have entailed, we are appalled by its magnitude. The proposition was addressed to all the States, and embraced the whole number of slaves. According to the census of 1860, there were then very nearly four million slaves in the country ; from natural increase they exceed that number now. At even the low average of three hundred dollars, the price fixed by the emancipation act for the slaves in this District, and greatly below their real worth, their value runs up to the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions of dollars, and if to that we add the cost of deportation and colonization

* Three hundred dollars per capitem was the amount of compensation, and one hundred dollars the largest sum allowed to defray the expense of each emigrant.

these bills, they became the law of the United States. The bill providing for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Hayti and Liberia, passed April

at one hundred dollars each, which is but a fraction more than is actually paid by the Maryland Colonization Society, we have four hundred millions more. We were not willing to impose a tax on our people sufficient to pay the interest on that sum, in addition to the vast and daily increasing debt already fixed upon them by the exigencies of the war; and, if we had been willing, the country could not bear it. Stated in this form, the proposition is nothing less than the deportation from the country of sixteen hundred million dollars' worth of producing labor, and the substitution in its place of an interest-bearing debt of the same amount.

"But if we are told that it was expected that only the States we represent would accept the proposition, we respectfully submit that even then it involves a sum too great for the financial ability of this Government at this time. According to the census of 1860—

States.	No. of Slaves.
Kentucky had	225,490
Maryland	87,188
Virginia	490,887
Delaware	1,798
Missouri	114,965
Tennessee	275,784
Making in the whole	1,196,112
At the same rate of valuation these would amount to	$358,833,600
And for deportation and colonization $100 each	119,244,533
And we have the enormous sum of	$478,078,133

"We did not feel that we should be justified in voting for a measure which, if carried out, would add this vast amount to our public debt at a moment when the Treasury was reeling under the enormous expenditures of the war.

"Again, it seemed to us that this resolution was but the announcement of a sentiment which could not or was not likely to be reduced to an actual, tangible proposition. No movement was then made to provide and appropriate the funds required to carry it into effect; and we were not encouraged to believe that funds would be provided. And our belief has been fully justified by subsequent events. Not to mention other circumstances, it is quite sufficient for our purpose to bring to your notice the fact that, while this resolution was under consideration in the Senate, our colleague, the senator from Kentucky, moved an amendment appropriating $500,000 to the object therein designated, and it was voted down with great unanimity. What confidence, then, could we reasonably feel that, if we committed ourselves to the policy it proposed, our constituents would reap the fruits of the promise held out; and on what ground could we, as fair men, approach them and challenge their support?

"The right to hold slaves is a right appertaining to all the States of this Union. They have the right to cherish or abolish the institution, as their tastes or their interests may prompt, and no one is authorized to question the right or limit its enjoyment. And no one has more clearly affirmed that right than you have. Your inaugural address does you great honor in this respect, and inspired the country with confidence in your fairness and respect for the law. Our States are in the enjoyment of that right. We do not feel called on to defend the institution, or to affirm it is one which ought to be cherished. Perhaps, if we were to make the attempt, we might find that we differ even among ourselves. It is enough for our purpose to know that it is a right; and, so knowing, we did not see why we should now be expected to yield it. We had contributed our full share to relieve the country at this terrible crisis; we had done as much as had been required of others, in like circumstances; and we did not see why sacrifices should be expected of us from which others, no more loyal, were exempt. Nor could we see what good the nation would derive from it. Such a sacrifice submitted to by us would not have strengthened the arm of this Government nor weakened that of the enemy. It was not necessary as a pledge of our loyalty, for that had been manifested beyond a reasonable doubt, in every form and at every place possible. There was not the remotest probability that the States we represent would join in the rebellion, nor is there now; or of their electing to go with the Southern section in the event of a recognition of the independence of any part of the disaffected region. Our States are fixed unalterably in their resolution to adhere to and support the Union; they see no safety for themselves and no hope for constitutional liberty but by its preservation. They will under no circumstances consent to its dissolution, and we do them no more than justice when we assure you, that while the war is conducted to prevent that deplorable catastrophe, they will sustain it as long as they can muster a man or command a dollar. Nor will they ever consent, in any event, to unite with the Southern Confederacy. The bitter fruits of the peculiar doctrines of that region will for ever prevent them from placing their security and happiness in the custody of an association which has incorporated in its organic law the seeds of its own destruction.

"We cannot admit, Mr. President, that if we had voted for the resolution in the emancipation message of March last the war would now be substantially ended. We are unable to see how our action in this particular has given, or could give, encouragement to the rebellion. The resolution has passed, and if there be virtue in it, it will be quite as efficacious as if we had voted for it. We have no power to bind our States in this respect by our votes here; and whether we had voted the one way or the other, they

24, was another indication of a more liberal sentiment in regard to the African race. A bill authorizing the President to call out the militia for a period

are in the same condition of freedom to accept or reject its provisions. No, sir; the war has not been prolonged or hindered by our action on this or any other measure. We must look for other causes for that lamented fact. We think there is not much difficulty, not much uncertainty, in pointing out others far more probable and potent in their agencies to that end.

"The rebellion derives its strength from the union of all classes in the insurgent States, and while that union lasts, the war will never end until they are utterly exhausted. We know that at the inception of these troubles Southern society was divided, and that a large portion, perhaps a majority, was opposed to secession. Now the great mass of Southern people are united. To discover why they are so we must glance at Southern society and notice the classes into which it has been divided, and which still distinguish it. They are in arms, but not for the same objects; they are moved to a common end, but by different and even inconsistent reasons. The leaders, which comprehend what was previously known as the State Rights party, and is much the lesser class, seek to break down national independence and set up State domination. With them it is a war against nationality. The other class is fighting, as it supposes, to maintain and preserve its rights of property and domestic safety, which it has been made to believe are assailed by this Government. This latter class are not disunionists *per se;* they are so only because they have been made to believe that this administration is inimical to their rights, and is making war on their domestic institutions. As long as these two classes act together they will never assent to a peace. The policy, then, to be pursued is obvious. The former class will never be reconciled, but the latter may be. Remove their apprehensions; satisfy them that no harm is intended to them and their institutions; that this Government is not making war on their rights of property, but is simply defending its legitimate authority, and they will gladly return to their allegiance as soon as the pressure of military dominion imposed by the Confederate authority is removed from them.

"Twelve months ago both houses of Congress, adopting the spirit of your message, then but recently sent in, declared with singular unanimity the objects of the war, and the country instantly bounded to your side to assist you in carrying it on. If the spirit of that resolution had been adhered to, we are confident that we should before now have seen the end of this deplorable conflict. But what have we seen? In both houses of Congress we have heard doctrines subversive of the principles of the Constitution, and seen measure after measure founded in substance on those doctrines proposed and carried through, which can have no other effect than to distract and divide loyal men, and exasperate and drive still farther from us

and their duty the people of the rebellious States. Military officers, following these bad examples, have stepped beyond the just limits of their authority in the same direction, until in several instances you have felt the necessity of interfering to arrest them. And even the passage of the resolution to which you refer has been ostentatiously proclaimed as the triumph of a principle which the people of the Southern States regard as ruinous to them. The effect of these measures was foretold, and may now be seen in the indurated state of Southern feeling.

"To these causes, Mr. President, and not to our omission to vote for the resolution recommended by you, we solemnly believe we are to attribute the terrible earnestness of those in arms against the Government and the continuance of the war. Nor do we (permit us to say, Mr. President, with all respect for you) agree that the institution of slavery is 'the lever of their power,' but we are of the opinion that 'the lever of their power' is the apprehension that the powers of a common government created for common and equal protection to the interests of all, will be wielded against the institutions of the Southern States.

"There is one other idea in your address we feel called on to notice. After stating the fact of your repudiation of General Hunter's proclamation, you add—

"'Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country can not afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point.'

"We have anxiously looked into this passage to discover its true import, but we are yet in painful uncertainty. How can we, by conceding what you now ask, relieve you and the country from the increasing pressure to which you refer? We will not allow ourselves to think that the proposition is, that we consent to give up slavery, to the end that the Hunter proclamation may be let loose on the Southern people, for it is too well known that we would not be parties to any such measure, and we have too much respect for you to imagine you would propose it. Can it mean that by sacrificing our interest in slavery we appease the spirit that controls that pressure, cause it to be withdrawn, and rid the country of the pestilent agitation of the slavery question? We are forbidden so to think, for that spirit would not be satisfied with the liberation of seven hundred thousand slaves, and cease its agitation, while three millions remain in bondage. Can it mean that by abandoning slavery in our States we are removing the pressure from you and the country by preparing for a separation on the line of the cotton States? We are forbidden so to think, because it is known that we are, and we believe that you are, unalterably opposed to

not exceeding nine months, and the employment of negroes in the military service, was passed July 16. An increased tariff and a tax of 3 per cent. on all in-

any division at all. We would prefer to think that you desire this concession as a pledge of our support, and thus enable you to withstand a pressure which weighs heavily on you and the country. Mr. President, no such sacrifice is necessary to secure our support. Confine yourself to your constitutional authority; confine your subordinates within the same limits; conduct this war solely for the purpose of restoring the Constitution to its legitimate authority; concede to each State and its loyal citizens their just rights, and we are wedded to you by indissoluble ties. Do this, Mr. President, and you touch the American heart and invigorate it with new hope. You will, as we solemnly believe, in due time restore peace to our country, lift it from despondency to a future of glory, and preserve to your countrymen, their posterity, and man the inestimable treasure of constitutional government.

"Mr. President, we have stated with frankness and candor the reasons on which we forbore to vote for the resolution you have mentioned; but you have again presented this proposition, and appealed to us with an earnestness and eloquence which have not failed to impress us, to 'consider it, and at the least to commend it to the consideration of our States and people.' Thus appealed to by the Chief Magistrate of our beloved country in the hour of its greatest peril, we can not wholly decline. We are willing to trust every question relating to their interest and happiness to the consideration and ultimate judgment of our own people. While differing from you as to the necessity of emancipating the slaves of our States as a means of putting down the rebellion, and while protesting against the propriety of any extra territorial interference to induce the people of our States to adopt any particular line of policy on a subject which peculiarly and exclusively belongs to them, yet when you and our brethren of the loyal States sincerely believe that the retention of slavery by us is an obstacle to peace and national harmony, and are willing to contribute pecuniary aid to compensate our States and people for the inconveniences produced by such a change of system, we are not unwilling that our people shall consider the propriety of putting it aside.

"But we have already said that we regarded this resolution as the utterance of a sentiment, and we had no confidence that it would assume the shape of a tangible practical proposition, which would yield the fruits of the sacrifice it required. Our people are influenced by the same want of confidence, and will not consider the proposition in its present impalpable form. The interest they are asked to give up is to them of immense importance, and they ought not to be expected even to entertain the proposal until they are assured that when they accept it their just expectations will not be frustrated. We regard your plan as a proposition from the nation to the States to exercise an admitted constitutional right in a particular manner and yield up a valuable interest. Before they ought to consider the proposition, it should be presented in such a tangible, practical, efficient shape as to command their confidence that its fruits are contingent only upon their acceptance. We can not trust anything to the contingencies of future legislation. If Congress, by proper and necessary legislation, shall provide sufficient funds and place them at your disposal to be applied by you to the payment of any of our States or the citizens thereof who shall adopt the abolishment of slavery, either gradual or immediate, as they may determine, and the expense of deportation and colonization of the liberated slaves, then will our States and people take this proposition into careful consideration, for such decision as in their judgment is demanded by their interest, their honor, and their duty to the whole country. We have the honor to be, with great respect,

"C. A. Wickliffe, Chairman.

Garret Davis,	R. Wilson,
J. J. Crittenden,	Jno. S. Carlile,
J. W. Crisfield,	J. S. Jackson,
H. Grider,	John S. Phelps,
Francis Thomas,	Charles B. Calvert,
C. L. L. Leary,	Edwin H. Webster,
R. Mallory,	Aaron Harding,
James S. Rollins,	J. W. Menzies,
Thomas L. Price,	J. W. Dunlap,

Wm. A. Hall."

REPLY OF THE MINORITY.

"Washington, *July* 15, 1862.

"Mr. President:

"The undersigned, members of Congress from the border States, in response to your address of Saturday last, beg leave to say that they attended a meeting on the same day the address was delivered for the purpose of considering the same. The meeting appointed a committee to respond to your address. That report was made on yesterday, and the action of the majority indicates clearly that the response reported, or one in substance the same, can be adopted and presented to you.

"Inasmuch as we cannot, consistently with our own sense of duty to the country under the existing perils which surround us, concur in that response, we feel it due to you and to ourselves to make to you a brief and candid answer over our own signatures. We believe that the whole power of the Government, upheld and sustained by all the influence and means of all loyal men in all sections and of all parties, is essentially necessary to put down the rebellion and preserve the Union and the Constitution. We understand your appeal to us to have been made for the purpose of securing this result. A very large portion of the

comes from $600 to $10,000, and 5 per cent. on those above the latter sum, were established toward the end of the session.

Still further progress toward the recognition of the policy of free labor was manifested by the passage of a bill forever prohibiting slavery in the Terri-

people in the Northern States believe that slavery is the lever power of the rebellion. It matters not whether this belief be well founded or not, the belief does exist. We have to deal with things as they are, and not as we would have them be. In consequence of the existence of this belief, we understand that an immense pressure is to be brought to bear for the purpose of striking down this institution through the exercise of military authority. The Government cannot be maintained in this great struggle if the support and influence of the men who entertain these opinions be withdrawn. Neither can the Government hope for early success if the support of that element called conservative be withdrawn. Such being the condition of things, the President appeals to the border State men to step forward and prove their patriotism by making their first sacrifice. No doubt like appeals have been made to extreme men of the North to meet us half way, in order that the whole moral, political, pecuniary, and physical force of the nation may be firmly and earnestly united in one grand effort to save the Union and the Constitution. Believing that such were the motives that prompted your address, or such the results to which it looked, we cannot reconcile it to our sense of duty in this trying hour to respond in a spirit of faultfinding and querulousness over the things that are past. We are not disposed to seek for the cause of present misfortunes in the errors and wrongs of others, who now propose to unite with us in a common purpose; but, on the other hand, we met your address in the spirit in which it was made, and, as loyal Americans, declare to you and to the world, that there is no sacrifice that we are not ready to make to save the Government and institutions of our fathers. Few of us though there may be, we will permit no man from the North or from the South to go farther than we in the accomplishment of the great work before us. We, in order to carry out these views, will, so far as may be in our power, ask the people of the border States calmly, deliberately, and fairly to consider your recommendation. We are the more emboldened to assume this position from the fact, now become history, that the leaders of the Southern rebellion have offered to abolish slavery among them as a condition to foreign intervention in favor of their independence as a nation. If they can give up slavery to destroy the Union, we can surely ask our people to consider a question of emancipation to save the Union.

"With great respect, your obedient servants,

"JOHN W. NOELL, SAML. Y. CASEY,
GEO. P. FISHER, A. J. CLEMENTS,
WM. G. BROWN, JACOB B. BLAIR,
W. J. WILLEY."

REPLY OF MR. MAYNARD.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *July* 16, 1862.

"SIR: The magnitude and gravity of the proposition submitted by you to representatives from the slave States would naturally occasion diversity, if not contrariety, of opinion. You will not, therefore, be surprised that I have not been able to concur in view with the majority of them. This is attributable, possibly, to the fact that my State is not a border State, properly so called, and that my immediate constituents are not yet disenthralled from the hostile arms of the rebellion. This fact is a physical obstacle in the way of my now submitting to their consideration this or any other proposition looking to political action, especially such as in this case would require a change in the organic law of the State.

"But do not infer that I am insensible to your appeal. I am not. You are surrounded with difficulties far greater than have embarrassed any of your predecessors. You need the support of every American citizen, and you ought to have it, active, zealous, and honest. The union of every Union man to aid you in preserving the Union is the duty of the time. Differences as to policy and methods must be subordinate to the common purpose.

"In looking for the causes of this rebellion, it is natural that each section and each party should ascribe as little blame as possible to itself, and as much as possible to its opposing section and party. Possibly you and I might not agree on a comparison of our views. That there should be differences of opinion as to the best mode of conducting our military operations, and the best men to lead our armies, is equally natural. Contests on such questions weaken ourselves and strengthen our enemies. They are unprofitable and possibly unpatriotic. Somebody must yield, or we waste our strength in a contemptible struggle among ourselves.

"You appeal to the loyal men of the slave States to sacrifice something of feeling and a great deal of interest. The sacrifices they have already made and the sufferings they have endured give the best assurance that the appeal will not have been made in vain. He who is not ready to yield all his material interests, and to forego his most cherished sentiments and opinions for the preservation of his country, although he may have periled his life on the battle-field in her defence, is but half a patriot. Among the loyal people that I represent there are no half patriots.

"Already the rebellion has cost us much, even to our undoing; we are content, if need be, to give up the rest to suppress it. We have stood by you from the beginning of this struggle, and we mean to stand by you, God willing, till the end of it.

tories now existing, or which may at
June 17. any time hereafter be formed or acquired.

A bill, modified by the Senate, confiscating the property of those engaged in the Southern insurrection, was finally, after a brief and excited discussion, passed by the House, July 11th, by a vote of 82 to 42, and by the Senate, July 12th, by 27 to 13.*

"I did not vote for the resolution to which you allude, solely for the reason that, at the time, I was absent at the capital of my own State. It is right.

"Should any of the slave States think proper to terminate that institution, as several of them, I understand, or at least, some of their citizens propose, justice and a generous country require that the country should interpose to aid it in lessening the burden, public and private, occasioned by so radical a change in its social and industrial relations.

"I will not now speculate upon the effect, at home or abroad, of the adoption of your policy, nor inquire what action of the rebel leaders has rendered something of the kind important. Your whole administration gives the highest assurance that you are moved, not so much from a desire to see all men everywhere made free, as from a far higher desire to preserve free institutions for the benefit of men already free; not to make slaves freemen, but to prevent freemen from being made slaves; not to destroy an institution which a portion of us only consider bad, but to save institutions which we all alike consider good. I am satisfied you would not ask from any of your fellow-citizens a sacrifice not, in your judgment, imperatively required by the safety of the country.

"This is the spirit of your appeal, and I respond to it in the same spirit. I am, very respectively, your obedient servant, "HORACE MAYNARD.

"TO THE PRESIDENT."

* *A Bill to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion, to Seize and Confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for Other Purposes.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person who shall hereafter commit the crime of treason against the United States, and shall be adjudged guilty thereof, shall suffer death, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; or he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years and fined not less than $10,000, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; said fine shall be levied and collected on any or all the property, real and personal, excluding slaves, of which the said person so convicted was the owner at the time of committing the said crime, any sale or conveyance to the contrary notwithstanding.

The session was closed by the adjournment of Congress on the 17th of July.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person shall hereafter incite, set on foot, assist, or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid and comfort thereto, or shall engage in, or give aid and comfort to any such existing rebellion or insurrection, and be convicted thereof, such person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, by a fine not exceeding $10,000, and by the liberation of all slaves, if any he have.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That every person guilty of either of the offences described in this act, shall be forever incapable and disqualified to hold any office under the United States.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall not be construed in any way to affect or alter the prosecution, conviction, or punishment of any person or persons guilty of treason against the United States before the passage of this act, unless such person is convicted under this act.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, money, stocks, credits, and effects of the persons hereafter named in this section, and to apply and use the same and the proceeds thereof for the support of the army of the United States, that is to say: —First, of any person hereafter acting as an officer of the army or navy of the rebels in arms against the Government of the United States; secondly, of any person hereafter acting as President, Vice-President, member of Congress, judge of any court, cabinet officer, foreign minister, commissioner or consul of the so-called Confederate States of America; thirdly, of any person acting as Governor of a State, member of a convention or legislature, or judge of any court of any of the so called Confederate States of America; fourthly, of any person who, having held an office of honor, trust, or profit in the United States, shall hereafter hold an office in the so-called Confederate States of America; fifthly, of any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the government of the so-called Confederate States of America, or under any of the several States of the said confederacy, or the laws thereof, whether such office or agency be national, State, or municipal in its name or character: *Provided*, That the persons thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly above described shall have accepted their appointment or election since the date of the pretended ordinance of secession of the State, or shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, or to support the constitution of the so-called Confederate States; sixthly, of any persons who, owning property in any loyal State or Territory of the United States, or in the District

The "permanent" government of the Southern Confederacy was inaugurated at Richmond under the most unfavorable auspices. While Jefferson **Feb. 22.**

of Columbia, shall hereafter assist and give aid and comfort to such rebellion, and all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person within any State or Territory of the United States, other than those named as aforesaid, after the passage of this act, being engaged in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States, or aiding or abetting such rebellion, shall not, within sixty days after public warning and proclamation duly given and made by the President of the United States, cease to aid, countenance, and abet such rebellion, and return to his allegiance to the United States, all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, and credits of such person shall be liable to seizure as aforesaid, and it shall be the duty of the President to seize and use them as aforesaid, or the proceeds thereof. And all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property after the expiration of the said sixty days from the date of such warning and proclamation shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That to secure the condemnation and sale of any such property after the same shall have been seized, so that it may be made available for the purposes aforesaid, proceedings *in rem* shall be instituted in the name of the United States in any District Court thereof, or in any Territorial Court, or in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, within which the property above described or any part thereof may be found, or into which the same, if movable, may first be brought, which proceedings shall conform as nearly as may be to proceedings in admiralty or revenue cases; and if said property, whether real or personal, shall be found to have belonged to a person engaged in rebellion, or who has given aid or comfort thereto, the same shall be condemned as enemies' property, and become the property of the United States, and may be disposed of as the court shall decree, and the proceeds thereof paid into the Treasury of the United States for the purposes aforesaid.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the several courts aforesaid shall have power to make such orders, establish such forms of decree and sale, and direct such deeds and conveyances to be executed and delivered by the marshals thereof, where real estate shall be the subject of sale, as shall fitly and efficiently effect the purposes of this act, and vest in the purchasers of such property good and valid titles thereto. And the said court shall have power to allow such fees and charges of their officers as shall be reasonable and proper in the premises.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That no slaves escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant on pain of being dismissed from the service.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion; and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement, in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the President is hereby authorized, at any time hereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such time and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare. Also, that the President shall have power to

Davis, who had been unanimously* elected President, with Stephens as Vice-President, was being installed, he is said to have received the first intelligence of the capture of Fort Donelson. He, however, in his address, while he confessed that "the tide for the moment was against" his cause, affected a tone of resolute defiance. The great events of the year he thus summed up :

"The first year in our history has been the most eventful in the annals of this continent. A new government has been established, and its machinery put in operation over an area exceeding seven hundred thousand square miles. The great principles upon which we have been willing to hazard everything that is dear to man have made conquests for us which could never have been achieved by the sword. Our confederacy has grown from six to thirteen States ; and Maryland, already united to us by hallowed memories and material interests, will, I believe, when able to speak with unstifled voice, connect her destiny with the South. Our people have rallied with unexampled unanimity to the support of the great principles of constitutional government, with firm resolve to perpetuate by arms the rights which they could not peacefully secure. A million of men, it is estimated, are now standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier of thousands of miles. Battles have been fought, sieges have been conducted, and although the contest is not ended, and the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful.

"The period is near at hand when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred, a debt which in their effort to subjugate us has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burdens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

"We, too, have had our trials and

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restore property seized under the act, to any person who may be found to have been innocent.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That the courts of the United States shall have full power to institute proceedings, make orders and decrees, issue process, and do all other things necessary to carry this act into effect.

After the foregoing act had passed both Houses, it was sent to the President for signature, who, however, disapproved some features and had prepared a veto message, when the following resolution was passed by both Houses in order to remove the President's objections to the bill :

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the provisions of the third clause of the fifth section of an act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes, shall be so construed as not to apply to any act or acts done prior to the passage thereof; nor to include any member of a State Legislature or judge of any State Court, who has not, in accepting or entering upon his office, taken an oath to support the constitution of the so-called Confederate States of America ; nor shall any punishment or proceedings under said act be so construed as to work a forfeiture of the real estate of the offender beyond his natural life.

On the 17th of July the President returned the bill, with the above explanatory resolution appended, and with his signature affixed, whereby it became a law.

* Total number of States voting..... 11
Total number of electoral votes cast..... 109
Of which number Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, received for the office of President of the Confederate States..... 109
Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, received for the office of Vice-President of the Confederate States.. 109

Votes cast by the several States :

Alabama	11	North Carolina	12
Arkansas	6	South Carolina	6
Florida	4	Tennessee	13
Georgia	12	Texas	8
Louisiana	8	Virginia	18
Mississippi	9		
Total	109		

difficulties. That we are to escape them in future is not to be hoped. It was to be expected when we entered upon this war that it would expose our people to sacrifices and cost them much, both of money and blood. But we knew the value of the object for which we struggled, and understood the nature of the war in which we were engaged. Nothing could be so bad as failure, and any sacrifice would be cheap as the price of success in such a contest."

Imposing ceremonies were observed in the inauguration of the new government. At the base of the statue of Washington in Richmond a platform was erected where the President and Vice-President elect, surrounded by judicial, legislative, State, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, took their stations, and prayer being offered up by the Right Reverend Dr. Johns, the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Virginia, Jefferson Davis delivered his inaugural address.

His message addressed to the first Congress under the permanent government, though it acknowledged more fully the disasters which had overtaken the Confederate arms, was not less defiant in its tone than his inaugural address. "Events," he said, "have demonstrated that the government had attempted more than it had power successfully to achieve. Hence in the effort to protect by our arms the whole territory of the Confederate States, seaboard and inland, we have been so exposed as recently to encounter serious disasters."

In regard to the defeats the Confederate arms had met with at Roanoke Island and Fort Donelson, he said, "Enough is known of the surrender of Roanoke Island to make us feel that it was deeply humiliating, however imperfect may have been the preparation for defence. The hope is still entertained that our reported losses at Fort Donelson have been greatly exaggerated, inasmuch as I am not only unwilling but unable to believe that a large army of our people have surrendered without a desperate effort to cut their way through the investing forces, whatever may have been their numbers, and to endeavor to make a junction with other divisions of the army." In general terms he stated that the Confederate force in the field was "four hundred regiments of infantry with proportionate forces of cavalry and artillery."

In regard to the financial condition of his government, he made the flattering and consolatory statement that it had no floating debt, that the credit of the government was unimpaired, and that the total expenditure for the year had been, in round numbers, one hundred and seventy millions of dollars—"less than one-third of the sum wasted by the enemy in his vain effort to conquer us, less than the value of a slight article of export—the cotton crop of the year."

The new Confederate Congress, while freely acknowledging the disasters in the West, showed no abatement of warlike spirit. The management of the war was commented upon with great severity, and the administration of Jefferson Davis so severely censured, that he felt com-

pelled to make a change in his cabinet.* Great unanimity, however, prevailed in the various elections of the congressional officials, and but one determination, that of continuing the struggle with the United States to the last, animated the legislative body.

Resolutions were passed to compel the planters throughout the Southern States to remove their produce—the cotton and tobacco—from wherever it was exposed to seizure, and authorizing the military authorities to burn and destroy whatever could not be removed. The farmers were urged to sow nothing but the seed of corn and other edible products, that the people might have abundance to sustain life, even if deprived of all its luxuries. The spirit of the leaders of opinion in the South may be learned from the following extract from an address to the inhabitants of Georgia:

"The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia. He comes with lust in his eye, poverty in his purse, and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword, at the threshold! With death for him or for yourself! But more than this—let every woman have a torch, every child a firebrand—let the loved homes of our youth be made ashes, and the fields of our heritage be made desolate. Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must, and let a desert more terrible than Sahara welcome the vandals. Let every city be levelled by the flame, and every village be lost in ashes. Let your faithful slaves share your fortune and your crust. Trust wife and children to the sure refuge and protection of God—preferring even for these loved ones the charnel-house as a home than loathsome vassalage to a nation already sunk below the contempt of the civilized world. This may be your terrible choice, and determine at once and without dissent, as honor and patriotism and duty to God require."*

The Southern press was not less earnest in its appeals:

"What can the enemy do with such a people?" wrote the editor of a leading journal.† "If driven from the cities they will retire to the country, and their cities all together could not make a town half the size of New York. To follow them to the country, in the vast territory of the South, would require an army more numerous than that of Xerxes. They will retire to the country and take their arms with them—each man his trusty rifle—and be prepared to seize the first opportunity to reassert their rights. They will at once destroy the cotton and other staples which the North is endeavoring to force

* Richmond, *March* 23, 1862.

The new Cabinet of President Davis has been formed. The Senate confirmed his appointments this morning, as follows:

Secretary of State—J. P. Benjamin, of Louisiana.

Secretary of War—George W. Randolph, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Navy—S. R. Mallory, of Florida.

Secretary of the Treasury—C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina.

Attorney-General—Thomas H. Watts.

Postmaster-General—Mr. Reagan, of Texas.

* This address was signed by Howell Cobb, R. Toombs, M. J. Crawford, Thomas R. R. Cobb.

† Richmond *Dispatch*.

from them by the sword, and will never cultivate them again till they can do so for their own benefit. Every bale of cotton in the Southern States will be burned, and the proprietors will raise wheat and corn and other articles which they have hitherto purchased of the North. They will return to the simple and frugal ways of their forefathers, in dress, furniture, and all the comforts of life, manufacturing for themselves such plain and useful articles as their simple wants and absolute necessities require. If the Yankees choose to hold their cities, and be masters of the only spots where their armies are quartered, these will be but islands in the midst of a vast ocean, and will not affect the freedom and independence of the people so long as they are constant to their cause and true to themselves."

The Confederate Government seemed to be aroused, with the force of despair, to the greatest efforts. Martial law was declared in the principal cities. New levies of men were made, and compulsory drafts ordered, even of the young and old, by which the enemy hoped to bring into the field over 700,000 men! With this powerful array they declared they would no longer remain on the defensive, but carry on an offensive war against the might of the whole North.

The people, especially in the cotton States, seemed animated by the same fierce spirit as their leaders. They made ready to burn and destroy their produce, and proved their devotion by giving liberally of what they possessed to the common cause. The women of Charleston contributed their jewelry toward the construction of iron-clad steamers for the defence of the harbor. The schools, churches, factories, and plantations gave up their bells to be melted into metal for cannon, and the women, having despoiled their households of the brass door-knobs, tops of andirons, kettles, preserve vessels, pendulums of clocks, and linings of tea-chests, offered them as their mites toward supplying the pressing wants of the Confederacy for ordnance.

CHAPTER XII.

Energy of the new Secretary of War.—The President acts as Commander-in-Chief.—A general advance determined upon.—Military orders.—Division of the Department of the Potomac.—Comments.—An early movement.—Opposition.—Increased stringency.—Arrest and Imprisonment of General Stone.—The first movement in Virginia.—Operations of General Lander.—Movement of General Banks on the Upper Potomac.—Retirement of the Enemy.—Occupation of Winchester, etc.—Battle of Winchester.—Strategy of General Shields.—Continued retreat of the Enemy.—Pursuit by Banks.

INSPIRED by the energetic spirit of the new secretary, Mr. Stanton, the Government began to carry on the war with the utmost vigor. The President assumed more directly the responsibilities of his constitutional position of commander-in-chief, and for the first time issued his "war orders." The reorganization of the various military departments and the active prosecution of the war were the purport of Mr. Lincoln's military announcements. He had determined, with a shrewd regard to the patriotic sentiment of the people, to appoint the twenty-second of February* as the day for a simultaneous movement against the enemy. This led to the operations in Kentucky and Missouri, which resulted in the triumphs already recorded at Forts Henry and Donelson, and the march to Nashville. The President's action in regard to the organization and command of the forces on the Potomac, instituting various *corps d'armée*,* and

1862.

Jan. 27.

* THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER—NO. 1.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 27, 1862.

"Ordered, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces.

"That especially

The army at and about Fortress Monroe,
The army of the Potomac,
The army of Western Virginia,
The army near Munfordsville, Ky.,
The army and flotilla at Cairo,
And a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico,

be ready for a movement on that day.

"That all the other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

"That the heads of departments, and especially the secretaries of war and of the navy, with all their subordinates, and the General-in-Chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of the land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for the prompt execution of this order.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

* THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER—NO. 2.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *March* 3, 1862.

"Ordered, first, That the major-general commanding the army of the Potomac proceed forthwith to organize that part of said army destined to enter upon active operations, including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington, into four army corps, to be commanded according to seniority of rank, as follows:

"First corps to consist of four divisions, and to be commanded by Major-General I. McDowell.

"Second corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner.

"Third corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman.

"Fourth corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. L. Keyes.

"2. That the division now commanded by the officers above assigned to the commands of corps shall be embraced in and form part of their respective corps.

"3. The forces left for the defence of Washington will be

finally dividing* the original Department of the Potomac into several, gave rise to much comment, and was thought by many to be a rebuke to the long inaction of General McClellan, who was thus relieved of the chief military control.†

Whatever may have been the motive, the action of the President was followed by an advance on the Potomac, in spite of the reported opinion of four of the six commanders of the army corps against so early a movement.

With this determination on the part of the Administration to hasten action, came a more stringent exercise of the military authority. The telegraphs and press were placed under the strictest surveillance, and severe penalties enact-

placed in command of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, who shall also be a military governor of the District of Columbia.

"4. That this order be executed with such promptness and dispatch as not to delay the commencement of the operations already directed to be undertaken by the army of the Potomac.

"5. A fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-General N. P. Banks, will be formed from his own and General Shields' (late General Lander's) division.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

* THE PRESIDENT'S WAR ORDER—NO. 3.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *March* 11, 1862.

"Major-General McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered, is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac.

"Ordered, further, That the two departments now under the respective commands of Generals Halleck and Hunter, together with so much of that under General Buell as lies west of a north and south line, indefinitely drawn through Knoxville, Tennessee, be consolidated and designated the Department of the Mississippi, and that, until otherwise ordered, Major-General Halleck have command of said department.

"Ordered, also, That the country west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi be a military department, to be called the Mountain Department, and that the same be commanded by Major-General Fremont.

"That all the commanders of departments, after the receipt of this order by them respectively, report severally and directly to the secretary of war, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

† The departments were now defined and their commanders specified thus:

THE LIMITS OF THE NEW MILITARY GEOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENTS.

1. DEPARTMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.—The six New England States. Headquarters at Boston. Commander, Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

2. DEPARTMENT OF NEW YORK.—The State of New York. Headquarters at Albany. Commander, Major-General Edwin D. Morgan.

3. DEPARTMENT OF THE POTOMAC.—The States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, the District of Columbia, and that portion of Virginia east of the Alleghany Mountains and north of James River, except Fortress Monroe and sixty miles around the same. Headquarters at Washington or in the field. Commander, Major-General George B. McClellan.

4. DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA.—Fortress Monroe and sixty miles around the same. Headquarters at the fortress. Commander, Brigadier-General John E. Wool.

5. DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—The States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, Arkansas, the Indian Territory, the Territories of Dacotah, Nebraska, and Colorado to the Rocky Mountains, and that part of Tennessee lying west of a north and south line indefinitely drawn through Knoxville, Tennessee. Headquarters at present at St. Louis. Commander, Major-General H. W. Halleck.

6. THE MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT.—The country west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi. Headquarters at Wheeling. Commander, Major-General John C. Fremont.

7. DEPARTMENT OF NEW MEXICO.—The Territory of New Mexico. Headquarters at Santa Fé. Commander, Colonel E. R. S. Canby.

8. DEPARTMENT OF THE PACIFIC.—The country west of the Rocky Mountains. Headquarters at San Francisco, California. Commander, —— ——.

9. DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA.—That part of the State of Florida not included in the Department of Key West. Headquarters at Fort Pickens. Commander, Brigadier-General Lewis G. Arnold.

10. DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA.—The State of North Carolina. Headquarters in the field. Commander, Brigadier-General A. E. Burnside.

11. DEPARTMENT OF KEY WEST.—Key West, the Tortugas, and the mainland on the west coast, as far as Apalachicola, and to Cape Canaveral, on the east coast. Commander, Brigadier-General J. M. Brennan.

ed in punishment of all attempts to avoid it.* The arrest and imprisonment of General Stone, the leader in the unfortunate attempt at Ball's Bluff, was a further illustration of the rigor of the military rule of the President under the inspiration of his new secretary. The arbitrariness, however, of the imprisonment of General Stone without the formality even of a court-martial, awakened much inquietude and opposition. Petitions were numerously signed and sent to the President invoking him to secure to the imprisoned General "the full benefit of the articles of war (as they have heretofore been uniformly interpreted), and an immediate trial." Congress debated the subject warmly, and some members did not hesitate to pronounce the conduct of the Secretary of War, who was held morally responsible as the adviser of the President, to be arbitrary and unjust.*

Feb. 9.

The first movement in Virginia was made by the force under the command of General Lander. General Jackson, who commanded the extreme left of the enemy's line in northern Virginia, had succeeded in driving the Union troops from Bath and Romney, had shelled Hancock, and destroyed a second time the track of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. General Lander, however, being reinforced, was soon enabled to turn with effect upon Jackson, and causing him to fall back, succeeded in opening the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Hancock. Lander, with characteristic activity, had accomplished this important movement by an extraordinarily rapid march.†

Feb. 13.

With the way thus cleared by Lander, General Banks was enabled to commence a general movement of his force on the upper Potomac. Crossing the

* War Department, Washington City, D. C., *February* 25, 1862.

ORDERED.

First—On and after the twenty-sixth day of February instant, the President, by virtue of the act of Congress, takes military possession of all the telegraph lines in the United States.

Second—All telegraphic communications in regard to military operations not expressly authorized by the War Department, the General Commanding, or the generals commanding in the field, in the several departments, are absolutely forbidden.

Third—All newspapers publishing the military news, however obtained, and by whatever medium received, not authorized by the official authority mentioned in the preceding paragraph, will be excluded thereafter from receiving information by telegraph or from transmitting their papers by railroad.

Fourth—Edwards S. Sandford is made Military Supervisor of telegraphic messages throughout the United States. Anson Stager is made Military Superintendent of all telegraphic lines and offices in the United States.

Fifth—This possession and control of the telegraph lines is not intended to interfere in any respect with the ordinary affairs of the companies or with private business.

By order of the President.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

* The following were supposed to be the charges against General Stone:

First—For misbehavior at the battle of Ball's Bluff.

Second—For holding correspondence with the enemy before and since the battle of Ball's Bluff, and receiving visits from rebel officers in his camp.

Third—For treacherously suffering the enemy to build a fort or strong work, since the battle of Ball's Bluff, under his guns without molestation.

Fourth—For a treacherous design to expose his forces to capture and destruction by the enemy, under pretence of orders for a movement from the Commanding General, which had not been given.

† Lander wrote in his report, dated Pawpaw, Feb. 15, eight P.M.: "Two columns of two thousand men each marched thirty-two miles, and one column forty-three miles, since four P.M. yesterday, besides bridging the river." General Lander, exhausted by the excessive activity of his energetic spirit, and weakened by a wound received at the battle of Ball's Bluff, died at Pawpaw on the 2d of March.

river from Sandy Hook to Harper's Ferry, his troops first occupied this town, and immediately after, without resistance, Bolivar, Charlestown, and Martinsburg. He had thus secured possession not only of these important positions, but a considerable portion of the country on both sides of the Shenandoah. Few of the inhabitants were left, and these were in "a condition bordering on starvation." They all "professed Union sentiments and great delight at being relieved from the thraldom which had oppressed them for the last six months."

Feb. 27. Mar. 3.

The enemy, under General Jackson, had in the mean time retired and concentrated in force at Winchester, while the main body of the Unionists, under General Banks, encamped at Charlestown and applied themselves busily to the reconstruction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. At the same time Colonel Geary had pushed forward with a detachment to Leesburg, which the retreating enemy yielded to him without a blow.

Mar. 8.

The advance of the Union army having taken possession of Berryville, and a reconnoissance in force being made toward Winchester, the enemy retreated from this latter place, making but a slight resistance to General Greene and General Hamilton, as with their combined forces they entered the city. Large stores of provisions and ammunition were found in the place, and an "enthusiastic reception" from the inhabitants who remained welcomed the arrival of the Union troops. General Banks now moved forward his main force to Winchester preparatory to an advance upon the enemy, while General Shields, in command of the advance, made a reconnoissance in force beyond Strasburg. By this he ascertained that Jackson was strongly posted with his troops near Mount Jackson, and within supporting distance of the main body of the enemy under General Johnston. Shields now determined to decoy him from his position, and with this purpose, fell back toward Winchester, "giving the movement all the appearance of a retreat," and marching his whole command nearly thirty miles in one day. On approaching Winchester, Shields posted his force at night in a secluded position, about two miles from that town, on the Martinsburg road.

Mar. 11. Mar. 18, 19. Mar. 20.

The advance of the enemy, Ashby's cavalry, having followed Shields, as he retired, was observed by his pickets on the next day. This was the 21st of March, and on the 22d General Banks' whole command evacuated Winchester *en route* for Centreville, leaving only Shields' division and the Michigan cavalry.

"Ashby's cavalry," says Gen. Shields in his report, "observing* this movement from a distance, came to the conclusion that Winchester was being evac-

* In another and unofficial account by General Shields, he says:

"This movement and the masked position of my division made an impression upon the inhabitants, some of whom were in secret communication with the enemy, that our army had left, and that nothing remained but a few regiments to garrison this place. Jackson was signalized to this effect. I saw their signals and divined their meaning."

uated, and signalized Jackson to that effect. We saw their signal fires, and divined their import. On the 22d, about five o'clock P.M., they attacked and drove in our pickets. By order of General Banks, I put my command under arms and pushed forward one brigade and two batteries of artillery to drive back the enemy, but, to keep him deceived as to our strength, only let him see two regiments of infantry, a small body of cavalry, and part of the artillery. While directing one of our batteries to its position, I was struck by the fragment of a shell, which fractured my arm above the elbow, bruised my shoulder, and injured my side. The enemy being driven from his position, we withdrew to Winchester. The injuries I had received completely prostrated me, but were not such as to prevent me from making the required dispositions for the ensuing day. Under cover of the night, I pushed forward Kimball's brigade nearly three miles on the Strasburg road. Daum's artillery was posted in a strong position to support his brigade, if attacked. Sullivan's brigade was posted in the rear of Kimball's, and within supporting distance of it, covering all the approaches to the town by Cedar Creek, Front Royal, Berryville, and Romney roads. This brigade and Broadhead's cavalry were held in reserve, so as to support our force in front at any point where it might be attacked. These dispositions being made, I rested for the night, knowing that all the approaches by which the enemy might penetrate to this place were effectually guarded.

"I deem it necessary in this place to give a brief description of these approaches, as well as of the field, which next day became the scene of one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Winchester is approached from the south by three principal roads: the Cedar Creek road on the west, the valley turnpike road leading to Strasburg in the centre, and the Front Royal road on the east. There is a little village called Kernstown, on the valley road, about three and a half miles from Winchester. On the west side of this road, about half a mile north of Kernstown, is a ridge of ground which commands the approach by the turnpike and a part of the surrounding country. This ridge was the key point of our position. Here Colonel Kimball, the senior officer in command on the field, took his station. Along this ridge Lieut.-Col. Daum, chief of artillery, posted three of his batteries, keeping one of his batteries in reserve some distance in the rear. Part of our infantry was first placed in position in the rear and within supporting distance of these batteries, well sheltered in the windings and sinuosities of the ridge. The main body of the enemy on the ridge was posted in order of battle about half a mile beyond Kernstown, his line extending from the Cedar Creek road to a little ravine near the Front Royal road, a distance of about two miles. This ground had been so skilfully selected that, while it afforded facilities for manœuvring, it was completely masked by high and wooded ground in front. These woods he filled with skirmishers, sup-

ported by a battery on each flank, and so adroitly had this movement been conducted, and so skilfully had he concealed himself, that at eight o'clock A.M. on the 22d nothing was visible but the same force under Ashby which had been repulsed the previous evening. Not being able to reconnoitre the front in person, I dispatched an experienced officer, Colonel John T. Mason, of the Fourth Ohio Volunteers, about nine o'clock A.M., to the front, to perform that duty and to report to me, as promptly as possible, every circumstance that might indicate the presence of the enemy. About an hour after Colonel Mason returned and reported to me that he had carefully reconnoitered the country in front and on both flanks, and found no indications of any hostile force except that of Ashby's.

"I communicated this information to Major-General Banks, who was then with me, and after consulting together we both concluded that Jackson could not be tempted to hazard himself so far away from his main support. Having both come to this conclusion, General Banks took his departure for Washington, being already under orders to that effect. The officers of his staff, however, remained behind, intending to leave for Centreville in the afternoon. Although I began to conclude that Jackson was nowhere in the vicinity, knowing the crafty enemy we have to deal with, I took care not to omit a single precaution. Between eleven and twelve o'clock A.M. a message from Colonel Kimball informed me that another battery on the enemy's right had opened on our position, and that there were some indications of a considerable force of infantry in the woods in that quarter. On receiving this information I pushed forward Sullivan's brigade, which was placed, by order of Colonel Kimball, in a position to oppose the advance of the enemy's right wing. The action opened with a fire of artillery on both sides, but at too great a distance to be very effective. The initiative was taken by the enemy. He pushed forward a few more guns to his right, supported by a considerable force of infantry and cavalry, with the apparent intention of enfilading our position and turning our left flank. An active body of skirmishers, consisting of the Eighth Ohio, Colonel Carroll, and three companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio, was immediately thrown forward on both sides of the valley road to resist the enemy's advance. These skirmishers were admirably supported by four pieces of artillery, under Captain Jenks, and Sullivan's gallant brigade. This united force repulsed the enemy at all points, and gave him such a check that no further demonstration was made upon that flank during the remainder of the day. The attempt against our left flank having thus failed, the enemy withdrew the greater part of his force to the right, and formed it into a reserve to support his left flank in a forward movement. He then added his original reserve and two batteries to his main body, and then, advancing with this combined column, under shelter of the brigade on his left, on which other bat-

teries had been previously posted, seemed evidently determined to turn our right flank or overthrow it. Our batteries on the opposite ridge, although admirably managed by their experienced chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Daum, were soon found insufficient to check, or even retard, the advance of such a formidable body. At this stage of the combat a messenger arrived from Colonel Kimball, informing me of the state of the field, and requesting direction as to the employment of the infantry. I saw there was not a moment to lose, and gave positive orders that all the disposable infantry should be immediately thrown forward on our right to carry the enemy's batteries, and to assail and turn his left flank, and hurl it back on the centre. Colonel Kimball carried out these orders with promptitude and ability. He intrusted this movement to Tyler's splendid brigade, which, under its fearless leader, Colonel Tyler, marched forward with alacrity and enthusiastic joy to the performance of the most perilous duty of the day. The enemy's skirmishers were driven before it and fell back upon the main body, strongly posted behind a high and solid stone wall, situated on an elevated ground. Here the struggle became desperate, and for a short time doubtful; but Tyler's brigade being soon joined on the left by the Fifth Ohio, Thirteenth Indiana, and Sixty-second Ohio, of Sullivan's brigade, and the Fourteenth Indiana, Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, seven companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio, and three companies of the Eighth Ohio, of Kimball's brigade, this united force dashed upon the enemy with a cheer and yell that rose high up above the roar of battle; and though the rebels fought desperately, as their piles of dead attest, they were forced back through the woods by a fire as destructive as ever fell upon a retreating foe. Jackson, with his supposed invincible stonewall brigade and the accompanying brigades, much to their mortification and discomfiture, were compelled to fall back in disorder upon their reserve. Here they took up a new position for a final stand, and made an attempt for a few minutes to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but again rained down upon them the same close and destructive fire. Again cheer upon cheer rang in their ears. A few minutes only did they stand up against it, when they turned dismayed and fled in disorder, leaving us in possession of the field, the killed and wounded, three hundred prisoners, two guns, four caissons, and a thousand stand of small-arms. Night alone saved them from total destruction. The enemy retreated above five miles, and, judging from his camp fires, took up a new position for the night. Our troops, wearied and exhausted with the fatigues of the day, threw themselves down to rest on the field.

"Though the battle had been won, still I could not have believed that Jackson would have hazarded a decisive engagement at such a distance from the main body without expecting reinforcements. So, to be prepared for such a contingency, I set to work during the night to bring together all the troops within my

reach. I sent an express after Williams' division, requesting the rear brigade, about twenty miles distant, to march all night and join me in the morning. I swept the posts and route in my rear of almost all their guards, hurrying them forward by forced marches to be with me at daylight. I gave positive orders also to the forces in the field to open fire on the enemy as soon as the light of day would enable them to point their guns, and to pursue him without respite and compel him to abandon his guns and baggage or cut him to pieces. These orders were implicitly obeyed as far as possible. It now appears that I had rightly divined the intentions of our crafty antagonist. On the morning of the 23d a reinforcement from Luray of 5,000 reached Front Royal, on their way to join Jackson. This reinforcement was being followed by another body of 10,000 from Sperryville ; but recent rains having rendered the Shenandoah River impassable, they found themselves compelled to fall back without being able to effect the proposed junction. At daylight, on the morning of the 24th, our artillery again opened on the enemy. He entered upon his retreat in very good order, considering what he had suffered. General Banks, hearing of our engagement on his way to Washington, halted at Harper's Ferry, and with remarkable promptitude and sagacity ordered back Williams' whole division, so that my express found the rear brigade already *en route* to join us. The General himself returned here forthwith, and, after making me a hasty visit, assumed command of the forces in pursuit of the enemy. The pursuit was kept up with vigor, energy, and activity until they reached Woodstock, where the enemy's retreat became a flight, and the pursuit was abandoned because of the utter exhaustion of our troops."*

* General Shields gave the following as his estimate of the forces engaged and the losses on both sides :

"The killed, as reported, are 103, and among them we have to deplore the loss of the brave Colonel Murray, of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers, who fell at the head of his regiment while gallantly leading it in the face of the enemy. The wounded are 441, many of them slightly, and the missing are 24. The enemy's loss is more difficult to ascertain than our own : 270 were found dead on the battle-field ; 40 were buried by the inhabitants of the adjacent village, and, by a calculation made by the number of graves found on both sides of the valley road between here and Strasburg, their loss in killed must have been about 500, and in wounded 1,000. The proportion between the killed and wounded of the enemy shows the closeness and terrible destructiveness of our fire, nearly half the wounds being fatal. The enemy admit a loss of between 1,000 and 1,500 killed and wounded. Our forces in infantry, cavalry, and artillery did not exceed 7,000. That of the enemy must have exceeded 11,000. Jackson, who commanded on the field, had, in addition to his own stone-wall brigade, Smith's, Garnett's, and Longstreet's brigades. Generals Smith and Garnett were here in person. The following regiments were known to have been present, and from each of them were made prisoners on the field : the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, Thirty-seventh, and Forty-second Virginia ; First Regiment Provisional Army, and an Irish battalion. None from the reserve were made prisoners. Their force in infantry must have been 9,000. The cavalry of the united brigades amounted to 1,500. Their artillery consisted of thirty-six pieces. We had 6,000 infantry and a cavalry force of 750, and twenty-four pieces of artillery."

The report of Acting Brigadier-General Kimball to General Shields gives the total loss as follows :

Killed	132
Wounded	540
Missing	46
Total	718

General James Shields, the victor at Winchester, was born in the County of Tyrone, Ireland, in 1810. He emigrated to the United States in 1826, at the age of sixteen. In 1832 he settled at Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he became a lawyer. He rapidly advanced politically and professionally. He was successively a member of the State

The enemy of course gave a different version of the motives of their movement and its consequences. They declared it to be the purpose of Jackson to prevent a junction of General Banks with McClellan's army at Centreville, and that accordingly he moved to Winchester with such a show of force as to compel Banks to remain there. The enemy, moreover, declared that their whole number of troops amounted to but six thousand men, of whom only three thousand were engaged, while they claimed to have taken more prisoners and lost fewer in killed than their antagonists. As the enemy retired from Winchester after the battle, General Banks followed them along the valley of the Shenandoah, successively occupying Strasburg, Edenburg, Woodstock, Mount Jackson, and finally New Market and Sparta, of which his advanced guard took possession on the 19th of April. General Jackson, however, fell back from these various points with deliberate caution, keeping his pursuers in check by an occasional charge of his famous cavalry under Colonel Ashby, and obstructing the advance of General Banks, by destroying the bridges and devastating the country.

The enemy were thus driven out of the valley of the Shenandoah, **Apr. 20.** Jackson having retired, as was supposed, with his whole force through the mountains toward Gordonsville with the view of forming a junction with the enemy's force concentrated on the peninsula, between the York and James rivers.

General Geary had, in the mean time, advanced to Middleburg, and **Apr. 14.** after driving out a small force of the enemy from that place, had formed a junction with the main body of General Banks in pursuit of Jackson.

Legislature, a State auditor, and a judge of the Supreme Court. In 1845 he was appointed by President Polk commissioner of the general land office, and removed to Washington. On the breaking out of the Mexican war he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers, and greatly distinguished himself. At Cerro Gordo he was so badly wounded that for a long time his life was despaired of. He finally, however, so far recovered as to resume his command, and being promoted to a major-generalship, continued to serve with distinction until the capture of the Mexican capital. In 1849 he was elected United States senator from Illinois. There being some informality in his election, he was induced to resign, but was again elected. After serving six years in the Senate, where he became prominent as an ardent supporter of the Democratic party, he removed to Minnesota. On this Territory becoming a State, he was chosen United States senator. In 1859, his term—being the short one—expired, and he went to California, where he lived in comparative retirement until the commencement of the present war, when he was made by Congress a brigadier-general, with a commission of the date of August 19, 1861. He at first refused acceptance of the appointment, but finally determined to serve his adopted country, and was given the command of the division of General Banks' *corps d'armée*, previously held by General Lander.

"General Shields is of good personal appearance, about five feet eight inches in stature, with dark hair and complexion. His style of speaking is easy, fluent, and agreeable. He is still, of course, a progressive Democrat, but at the same time is a strong supporter of the Government of the United States in its unity and integrity."

CHAPTER XIII.

Chief interest centred in the movement of McClellan's army.—McClellan's skill in Organization.—Stirring words.—The order to advance hailed with joy.—The advance.—Disappointment.—Retreat of the Enemy from Manassas.—The appearance of the abandoned works.—Quaker Guns.—Diversity of opinion in regard to McClellan's strategy.—Return of McClellan to Washington and Alexandria.—Movement to the Peninsula of Yorktown.—The Lines of the Enemy.—McDowell advances to the Banks of the Rappahannock.—Occupation of Urbana, Tappahannock, and Fredericksburg.—Disembarkation of McClellan on the Peninsula.—Advance against Yorktown.—The Siege of Yorktown.—Reappearance of the Merrimac.—Preparations to receive her.—Great Expectations of a Sea-fight.—Three Union vessels captured by the Enemy.—Retirement of the Merrimac.—General Fremont in command of the Mountain Department.—Movements in that quarter.

THE chief interest of the advance of the Union armies was centred in the movement of the force so long stationary on the Potomac, under General McClellan. Whatever may be the difference of opinion in regard to the plans of this young leader, few will deny him the credit of having, by his skill in organization, formed a great mass of raw recruits into a well-disciplined army. Conscious that the policy of his conduct had been questioned by the disputatious and impatient, McClellan, in his address to his army, justified his long inactivity by a proud allusion to his labors in the camp. He at the same time, now that he was prepared for action, appealed to the martial spirit and patriotism of his troops in stirring words:

1862.

"Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac," he said, "for a long time I have kept you inactive, but not without a purpose. You were to be disciplined, armed, and instructed. The formidable artillery you now have had to be created. Other armies were to move and accomplish certain results. I have held you back that you might give the death-blow to the rebellion that has distracted our once happy country.

"The patience you have shown, and your confidence in your General, are worth a dozen victories. These preliminary results are now accomplished. I feel that the patient labors of many months have produced their fruit. The Army of the Potomac is now a real army, magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, and excellently equipped and armed. Your commanders are all that I could wish. The moment for action has arrived, and I know that I can trust in you to save our country. As I ride through your ranks I see in your faces the sure prestige of victory. I feel that you will do whatever I ask of you. The period of inaction has passed. I will bring you now face to face with the rebels, and only pray that God may defend the right!

"In whatever direction you may

move, however strange my actions may appear to you, ever bear in mind that my fate is linked with yours, and that all I do is to bring you where I know you wish to be—on the decisive battle-field. It is my business to place you there. I am to watch over you as a parent over his children, and you know that your General loves you from the depths of his heart. It shall be my care—it has ever been—to gain success with the least possible loss. But I know that, if it is necessary, you will willingly follow me to our graves for our righteous cause.

"God smiles upon us! Victory attends us! Yet I would not have you think that our aim is to be obtained without a manly struggle. I will not disguise it from you that you have brave foes to encounter—foemen well worthy of the steel that you will use so well. I shall demand of you great, heroic exertions, rapid and long marches, desperate combats, privations, perhaps. We will share all these together, and when this sad war is over we will return to our homes, and feel that we can ask no higher honor than the proud consciousness that we belonged to the Army of the Potomac."

The order to march toward Centre-
Mar. 10. ville and Manassas was hailed with joy by every officer and man in the ranks. General McDowell commanded the advance, and he moved forward with his immense and well-ordered force ready to fight and eager to vindicate the defeat of Bull Run by a victory on the same field. The enemy, however, had fled, and Centreville and Manassas, once supposed to be so formidable, were found abandoned. Nothing was left but the *débris* of destroyed camps, half-burned provisions, the remains of the dead, an extensive line of deserted earth-works, and some "Quaker guns," or trunks of trees so hewn as to bear in the distance the semblance of cannon. A general disappointment was felt not only by our soldiers, who had been for so many months patiently awaiting the opportunity of redeeming the glory lost at Bull Run, but by the people throughout the North. A difference of opinion, however, prevailed in regard to the enemy's retirement. Some contended that it was a precipitate retreat, and the victorious result of General McClellan's consummate strategy, while others insisted that it was a deliberate and triumphant withdrawal by the enemy of a force which had long since been at the mercy of the great Union army on the Potomac, which had failed to move until it was too late. By the former, the strength of the enemy's position at Centreville and Manassas was elaborately magnified, while the latter as carefully lessened it. The newspapers, according to their partisan attachments, gave expression to discordant opinions. A correspondent* of the New York *Tribune*, after visiting Centreville and Manassas, deliberately published these as his conclusions:

"*First.* That the topographical character of the position at Manassas has been wholly misunderstood. Instead of a high

* Bayard Taylor.

plain, with ascending terraces, furnishing concentric lines of defence, it is a low plain, of which the only natural advantage is the stream of Bull Run, with a low bluff bank.

"*Second.* That the position at Centreville, though naturally formidable to an advance from Fairfax, has no flank or rear defences, is imperfectly fortified, and, from all indications, never had any heavy siege guns.

"*Third.* That the three or four small forts near Manassas Junction, on an open plain, do not constitute a strategic position of any importance.

"*Fourth.* That the strongest of the rebel works was inferior, both in construction and armament, to the weakest of our forts on the Virginia side of Washington.

"*Fifth.* That the rebels never had, at any time, in all the camps between Centreville and Manassas, more than 75,000 men.

"*Sixth.* That an advance of our whole army, made any time since the first of November last, would very likely have reached Manassas with as much expedition and as little loss as the advance at this time. It is scarcely likely that the rebels, who have been all along so well informed as to our strength and our contemplated movements, would have hazarded an engagement which *must* have resulted disastrously to them."

A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, on the other hand, wrote: "The best judges who have inspected the quarters at and near Manassas, declare that they would accommodate one hundred and forty thousand men. The barracks have all been recently occupied; and that the army was not lacking for subsistence is proved by plenty of empty champagne and porter bottles and pickle jars left behind in the decampment. Many circumstances show conclusively to the mind of every visitor there who knows anything of camp life, that the evacuation was made hastily. Hundreds of articles have been brought away as trophies which would never have been left behind by the soldiers if they had not been marched away upon short notice. Cooked victuals were found upon some of the tables, and all the quarters at Manassas had the appearance of having been recently occupied and hastily abandoned."

Again, another writer said:

"Military men are invariably struck on reaching Centreville with the great natural strength of the position, and the scientific manner in which it was prepared for an attack."

The fact remained, that the enemy had retired in safety, and were thus enabled, by taking up another position, again to present a formidable front to our armies. McClellan now returned to Washington and Alexandria with his main body, and shifted his military operations to the peninsula of Yorktown, while General McDowell was left to operate against the enemy on the lower Potomac.

The enemy were evidently gradually drawing in their forces in Eastern Virginia closer to Richmond, so as to establish a line extending from Gordonsville

to Yorktown, with its left at the former and its right at the latter place. In order to effect this, they had not only fallen back from the upper Potomac and Manassas, but had abandoned their long succession of batteries bordering the southern bank of the lower Potomac, and thus raised the blockade of that river, which had so long bid defiance to the Federal power.

Mar. 9.

General McDowell advanced cautiously as the enemy withdrew, occasionally skirmishing with their rear-guards and outposts of cavalry. His first advance was to Warrenton Junction, whence, after a delay of several weeks, he made a forced march to the banks of the Rappahannock. The advance of the army is thus minutely described by one who accompanied it:

Mar. 29.

Apr. 17.

"On Thursday, with the first faint light of dawn, the command started. Lieutenant-Colonel Kilpatrick, with the Ira Harris Light Cavalry, led the advance. Before starting, an order was issued directing the instant shooting of any one detected in the act of pillaging, burning, or wantonly destroying property. No occasion was found for the execution of the order. Late in the day the heat compelled the men to relieve themselves of everything not absolutely indispensable, and overcoats and blankets strewed the road.

"Six miles from Catlett's Station, recent tracks of rebel cavalry were discovered. Twelve miles beyond, the enemy's picket was driven in. General Augur pushed rapidly forward with the cavalry, the Brooklyn Fourteenth Regiment, and a section of artillery. A small rebel mounted force was discovered, which retired skirmishing. The chase continued for eight miles, the Brooklyn Fourteenth, without a single straggler, keeping up with the cavalry and artillery. Lieutenant Decker, Company D, of the Ira Harris Light Cavalry, was killed while gallantly leading one of the charges. He was shot through the heart. The rebel by whom he was killed, and fifteen others, were almost at the same instant taken prisoners. Colonel Kilpatrick charged upon the camp of the enemy, driving them like frightened sheep, and captured a large amount of forage. The command bivouacked for the night in the enemy's camp after a march of twenty-six miles.

"Few men were found on the farms along the road. Several of the families expressed Union sentiments, but every man capable of performing military duty had been pressed into the rebel service or made prisoner.

"During the night the Ira Harris Light Cavalry continued to harass the enemy, and in the morning, led by Colonel Kilpatrick, charged gallantly upon the barricades across the road and drove the enemy's advance back with considerable loss.

"At daylight the command moved forward, forcing the enemy across the Rappahannock, and compelled them to retreat beyond the heights south of Fredericksburg. In their flight they set fire to the bridges, upon which had been placed heaps of combustibles. The Chatham and railroad bridges were de-

stroyed. The Hicklen bridge was saved by the strenuous exertions of the Berdan Sharpshooters. The little town of Falmouth, on the north bank of the Rappahannock, immediately opposite Fredericksburg, was found almost entirely deserted. Several Union families remained to welcome the advance of our troops. The people generally received our soldiers in a friendly manner, and expressed surprise when assured that they were to be protected instead of murdered, as they had been assured by the rebels they would be.

"Our occupation of the place was a surprise. The mills were still running, and women and children engaged in ordinary domestic avocations when our cannon belched forth its thunder from the adjacent cliff."

A flotilla of Union gun-boats at the same time sailed from Chesapeake Bay up the Rappahannock River, and after shelling the enemy's batteries, took possession of Urbana and Tappahannock. The boats, however, were prevented from proceeding as far as Fredericksburg in consequence of the obstructions in the river.

On the arrival of the Union forces, the city councillors of Fredericksburg met, and appointed a committee to confer with General Augur, in command of the advance of the Union army, in regard to the surrender of the city. At the same time these civic dignitaries proved the inveteracy of their secessionism by passing a resolution, declaring "that the city, since the adoption of the ordinance of secession, had been unanimously in favor of disunion, and was still firmly attached to the Southern cause, surrendering only upon condition of protection to private property."

General Augur received these emissaries with courtesy, but waiving any discussion, declared that he would leave the treatment of Fredericksburg and its inhabitants to the issue of events.

General McClellan having embarked his large army—estimated at a hundred and twenty* thousand men—at Alexandria and Washington, in an immense fleet of transports, sailed for Hampton. He soon after advanced in the direction of Yorktown, and on making a reconnoissance of the enemy's works, extending across the peninsula between York and James rivers, found the "defences very strong and the approaches difficult." The enemy, in the mean time, had fallen back from Big Bethel, and abandoned Ship Point, on the Poquosin, which empties into the Chesapeake Bay, near the mouth of the York River. McClellan had thus secured a convenient dépôt on the water close to the enemy's fortifications, and a clear sweep for his gun-boats to operate in the outlet of the river York. On the first arrival of the Union troops in force, the enemy were supposed to have had but ten thousand men under General Magruder, to guard the extensive fortifications of the peninsula. They, however, on discovering that McClellan was concentrating his force preparatory to a siege and a grand as-

Apr. 4.

Mar. 27.

* McClellan's army was afterward reinforced until it amounted to over 150,000 men.

sault, rapidly hurried forward abundant reinforcements, and soon numbered within their formidable works a large army led by Johnston.

The formidable Merrimac, whose re-
Apr. 11. appearance had been so long awaited, now defiantly came forward from Norfolk, accompanied by the Jamestown and Yorktown and several small tug and gun boats. The signal-gun at Fortress Monroe was fired, and the garrison ran to their arms and manned the cannon on the parapet. The fleet of transports anchored in the roads, slipped their moorings, and either sailed or were towed out of harm's way. The Monitor, getting ready for action, by clearing her decks, lowering her smoke and steam pipes, and slipping her anchor, moved out into the roads, accompanied by the Naugatuck.* They, however, were restricted in their movements by the order of Commodore Goldsborough, to act strictly on the defensive.

In the mean time, the Merrimac and her consorts approached to within four miles of Fortress Monroe, but took care to keep without the range of the guns of the fort. A large number of steamboats, "crowded with excursionists," had followed the Merrimac from Norfolk with the view, apparently, of being spectators of a fight. Two French war steamers, the Catinat and the Gassendi, and the English gun-boat Rinaldo, had been for some time anchored in Hampton Roads, evidently for the purpose of watching a struggle in which the whole world was interested.

The Merrimac and her consorts had remained almost stationary, only moving to communicate with each other, until about nine o'clock A.M., when "the rebel gun-boat Patrick Henry left the fleet and ran into Hampton Cove by the inside channel, leading from Newport News Point toward Hampton village. At first it seemed to be a manœuvre to induce the Monitor to change her position ; and others supposed the rebel steamer had hostile designs on the Federal camp at Hampton (Camp Hamilton). The sequel to the problem was soon discovered when the rebel craft, subsequently joined by the rebel steamer Teazer, was seen cutting out two Union brigs and a schooner which were at anchor about two miles from shore. The affair was deeply humiliating, and no efforts were made by our fleet to prevent the outrage until after the rebel steamers were escaping with their prizes and under full headway for Norfolk, when the gun-boats Octarora and Naugatuck were sent up Hampton Cove to a point near where the stolen vessels had been anchored.

The Patrick Henry towed her prizes to Norfolk, and returned to join the rebel fleet shortly after twelve.

In the evening the Merrimac and her consorts returned to Norfolk, after having exchanged, without effect on either side, a few shots at long range with the Union gun-boat Octarora and the floating battery Naugatuck. Next morning the Merrimac appeared again with her

* This is a small floating battery presented by Mr. Stevens, of Hoboken, to the Government.

consorts, and having taken their position off Sewall's Point, remained for a long time so stationary that she was supposed to be aground. She, however, returned at night to Norfolk, whence she occasionally reappeared, apparently with the object of covering the entrance to the James River, and thus preventing the Union gun-boats from co-operating with General McClellan in the siege of Yorktown.

General Fremont, it will be recollected, was appointed to the command of the "Mountain Department," including the country west of the "Department of the Potomac," and east of the "Department of the Mississippi." This brought that portion of the scene of war in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee under his control.

Previous to the assumption of this command by Fremont, General Garfield had, after various skirmishes with guerrilla bands, pushed on to Pound Gap, fifty miles beyond Piketon, in Kentucky, where he was encamped, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments on the Cumberland Mountains into Virginia. They, however, continued to hold the strong position at Cumberland Gap, and thus barred the entrance of the Federal troops into East Tennessee. Fremont arrived at Wheeling, his headquarters, on the 29th of March, superseding General Rosecrans, whose command in Western Virginia was now absorbed in the Mountain Department. Fremont immediately ordered an advance, and General Milroy accordingly pushed forward from his encampment on Cheat Mountain. The enemy rapidly retired before him, evacuating Camp Alleghany, Huntersville, and Monterey, where they turned upon Milroy, but being driven back, made for the Shenandoah Mountains, on the crest of which they commenced to intrench themselves.

Mar. 15.

Mar. 24.

Apr. 20.

CHAPTER XIV.

Description of Island No. 10.—Position of General Pope.—Attack by Commodore Foote.—Island No. 10 hard to conquer.—Dispersion of the Enemy at Union City.—The importance of this position.—Pope commands the river communications.—Spirited Enterprise of Colonel Roberts.—A canal cut.—Two Gun-boats pass the Batteries.—General Pope crosses the river.—The capture of Island No. 10.—Movements of Union troops in Tennessee.—Buell advances to Nashville.—The energetic rule of Governor Johnson.—Conduct of the citizens.—Raid of Morgan, the guerrilla chief, on Gallatin.—General Grant at Savannah.—Skirmish in Black Jack Forest.—Grant advances to Pittsburg Landing.—General Beauregard in command of the Department of the Mississippi.—The position of the Enemy at Corinth.—General Johnston forms a junction with Beauregard.—Confidence of Grant's troops.—Heedlessness of the Union Leaders.—Advance of the Enemy.—General Johnston in command.—Plans of the Enemy.—Battle of Shiloh.—First day.—The Union Army saved by the Gun-boats.

THE enemy on the upper Mississippi, when driven by General Pope from their intrenchments at New Madrid, retired to Island No. 10. This island is situated at an elbow of the Mississippi, where that river touches Tennessee after descending southerly from Kentucky, and just before ascending northerly toward New Madrid in Missouri previous to resuming its general course to the south. Thus the island is a few miles farther up the Mississippi than New Madrid, though it lies in a southeasterly direction from it. Its distance from St. Louis is two hundred and fifty miles, from New Orleans nine hundred and fifty, forty-five miles south of Columbus, and twenty-six miles from Hickman, in Kentucky. The Mississippi at Island No. 10 is about two hundred feet above the level of the mouth at the Gulf of Mexico, its depth from ninety to a hundred feet, its breadth from mainland to mainland about nine hundred yards, and its current exceedingly rapid. The island is situated nearer the eastern bank, as it is called, though at this point it is rather the southern, as the river abruptly turns from its ordinary course to the south, and flows toward the northwest.

1862.

The fugitive General Makall having retired from New Madrid to Island No. 10 with his whole force, prepared within its strongly fortified intrenchments to make a resolute defence. General Pope, being without transports or gun-boats, separated from the enemy by the Mississippi and by the island they held, and cut off from communication with Commodore Foote, who was stationed with his flotilla on the upper part of the river, was unable to continue his pursuit. It therefore devolved upon Commodore Foote to begin the attack. He accordingly descended the Mississippi from Cairo with a fleet of gun and mortar boats, and some transports carrying troops.

Mar. 14.

On reaching Hickman, the town was

BOMBARDMENT OF ISLAND N°10

C. Parsons. del.

W. Ridgway, sc

GUN AND MORTAR BOATS ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Engaging the Forts & Batteries, on the Island & Mainland.

Virtue & C° Publishers N Y

taken possession of by the Union troops, having been abandoned by the enemy's mounted picket guards, who, though pursued by Colonel Buford, succeeded in making their escape. The fleet* having anchored for the night off Hickman, **Mar. 15.** moved down early next morning to within three miles of the island. The mortar boats being at once ordered into position, began shelling the battery above the island, but without serious effect. Day after day the gun and mortar boats continued to exchange a heavy fire with the enemy, but with no important result. After four days of ineffectual effort, Commodore Foote confessed his difficulty in this telegram to the Government: "Island No. 10 is harder to conquer than Columbus, as the island shores are lined with forts, each fort commanding the one above it. I am gradually approaching the island, but still do not hope for much until the occurrence of certain events which promise success."

In the mean time, while preparation was being made to direct these "promising events" to a successful issue, the Union troops under Colonel Buford, left at Hickman, advanced to Union City, in Tennessee, surprised the enemy encamped there, and dispersed them. By possession of this important point, Island No. 10 and the forces stationed on the mainland in the neighborhood were outflanked on their right. This particular success had a not unimportant influence upon the general result. **Mar. 31.**

General Pope, too, was enabled by his batteries on the west bank of the Mississippi almost to command the navigation from below, and thus hem in the enemy's gun-boats and transports gathered about Island No. 10.

A spirited enterprise was undertaken and successfully accomplished by a boat expedition fitted out by the squadron of Commodore Foote, and placed under the command of Col. Roberts, of Illinois. This officer landed with a few men, and after spiking the guns of the upper battery of the enemy, returned without injury to a single man. **Apr. 1.**

In the mean time, the "promising event" to which Commodore Foote mysteriously alluded in his dispatch, had been brought to a successful issue. This was the cutting* of a canal across the

* The fleet was thus composed:

Flag-ship Benton, Lieutenant Phelps, acting flag captain.

Gun-boat Cincinnati, Commander R. N. Stembel.

Gun-boat Carondelet, Commander Walke.

Gun-boat Mound City, Commander Kelly.

Gun-boat Louisville, Commander Dove.

Gun-boat Pittsburg, Lieutenant Thompson.

Gun-boat St. Louis, Lieutenant Paulding.

Gun-boat Conestoga, Lieutenant Blodgett, the only boat in the fleet not iron clad, and eight mortar boats.

Each mortar boat carried a mortar weighing seventeen thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds, discharging a round shell weighing two hundred and fifteen pounds without its contents, the mortar being charged with twenty-three pounds of powder. They were made to carry from two to three miles. The following were the officers of the mortar fleet:

Captain H. E. Maynadier, commanding fleet.

Captain E. B. Pike, assistant do.

Sailing Masters—Messrs. Glassford, Gregory, Simonds, and Johnston.

* An interesting account of this work is thus given by one who took part in it:

"After the surrender of the forts at New Madrid, we (Colonel Bissell's engineer regiment) were engaged for four days unspiking guns, changing batteries, establishing new works, and other engineering matters. Then we were sent over by General Pope to ascertain whether it was not practicable to establish batteries opposite Island

peninsular marsh in the bend of the Mississippi, north of Island No. 10, by which a communication by water was established between General Pope and Commodore Foote. The result was thus reported by General Pope in his official dispatch :

"The canal across the peninsula opposite Island No. 10—and for the idea of which I am indebted to General Schuyler Hamilton—was completed by Colonel Bissell's engineer regiment, and four steamers were brought through on the night of the 6th (April). The heavy batteries I had thrown up below Tiptonville completely commanded the lowest point of the high ground on the Tennessee shore, entirely cutting off the enemy's retreat by water; his retreat by land has never been possible through the swamp."

About the time that the canal was opened, two of Commodore Foote's gunboats, the Carondelet (April 4th) and

No. 10, so as to enfilade their works on the Kentucky shore. We spent three days in the swamps in canoes, with darkeys as guides, but found the project impracticable. Colonel Bissell, however, stated that he could by hard labor get steamboats and flatboats through the woods and bayous, and by that means land our forces nearly opposite New Madrid, and take all the enemy's works in the rear. General Pope at once gave him a *carte blanche*, and he sent to Cairo for four steamboats, six flats, and such guns as could be spared. They sent the steamers W. B. Terry, John Trio, Gilmore, and Emma, with the barges, a quantity of lumber, etc., and one eight-inch columbiad, and three thirty-two pounders. Tools we did not need, for the regiment carries everything, from the heaviest ropes and screws, down to fine steel drills for unspiking guns. Our route was about twelve miles long, of which two miles were through thick timber, and the remaining ten through narrow, crooked bayous, grown up full of brush and small trees. We have cut our way right through, the track being fifty feet wide, in which thirty feet are required for the hulls of the boats. The timber is cut four feet below the surface of the water. In one short stretch we cut seventy-five trees thus deep, not one less than two feet through. The machines were rigged from rafts and our lowest flats, and worked each by about twenty men. In the first place three large launches went ahead to cut out and push out of the track the underbrush and driftwood; then three rafts followed, on which were the men, who cut down and cut off the trees; then the saws, then two large barges, then one of the steamboats. Very large lines were provided to run from the capstan of the steamboat and haul out by snatch-blocks what the men could not handle. Then followed the rest of the fleet, men being engaged all the time converting the flatboats into floating batteries. From the river to the levee the distance is about 500 feet; here the water was shallow and the route full of stumps; it took one whole day to pass this. Then the cut in the levee. Here the fall was over two feet, and the rush of water was tremendous. The largest boat was dropped through with five lines out ahead. Then a cornfield, overflowed from a cut in the levee. Here was something of a channel cut by the swift water, and we got along well nearly a quarter of a mile to the woods; here was the labor—two straight and long miles to the nearest point in the bayou. This it took eight days to get through. Then Wilson's Bayou, then East Bayou, then St. John's Bayou, which empties into the Mississippi at New Madrid. If you have never seen a Southern swamp you have no idea how thick it is; a New York elm swamp does not begin. It sometimes took twenty men a whole day to get out a half-sunken tree across the bayou. Such a place as that kept us all back, as none of the rafts or flats could get by, and all had to wait. The water, after we got into the woods, was about six feet deep, with a gentle current setting across the peninsula. In the East Bayou the current was tremendous, and the boats had to be checked down with heavy head lines. Here we found some obstructions, caused by drift heaps, but cutting off one or two logs, would start all down the current.

"This is the hardest job I have ever seen undertaken, but Colonel Bissell is so far down now as to call it successful, for we are in sight of the fences on ''tother side of Jordan.'

"The sag of the saw gives the correct arc of the circle.

"At each end of the saw a rope thirty feet in length is fastened and carried to boats upon which men are stationed. Ten men work each rope.

"When the saw runs right we have cut off a stump two feet in diameter in fourteen minutes. Often it pinched and ran crooked; then a gang would be two or three hours on one of the same size. If there happened to be any brush under water it added much to the labor; it all had to be fished up and got out of the way.

"This canal has been a prodigiously laborious work. It was twelve miles long, six miles of which was through heavy timber, which had to be sawed off by hand four feet under water."

the Pittsburg (April 6th) succeeded in running past the enemy's batteries during the night, without receiving a shot.

With these gun-boats and the transports which had been brought through the canal, General Pope was enabled to command the river, and transport his troops to the opposite shore of Tennessee, in the rear of the enemy. His operations and their triumphant result are best described in his own words :

"The enemy," reported General Pope, "had lined the opposite shore with batteries, extending from Island No. 10 to Tiptonville, Merriweather's Landing, to prevent the passage of the river by this army.

"I directed Captain Walke to run down with the two gun-boats, at daylight on the 7th, to the point selected for crossing, and silence the enemy's batteries near it. He performed the service gallantly, and I here bear testimony to the thorough and brilliant manner in which this officer discharged his difficult duties with me, and to the hearty and earnest zeal with which, at all hazards, he co-operated with me.

"As soon as he signalled me, the boats containing Paine's division moved out from the landing, and began to cross the river. The passage of this wide, furious river by our large force was one of the most magnificent spectacles I ever witnessed. By twelve o'clock that night (the 7th) all the forces designed to cross the river were over, without delay or accident.

"As soon as we commenced to cross, the enemy began to evacuate Island No. 10 and his batteries along the shore. The divisions were pushed forward to Tiptonville as fast as they landed, Paine's leading. The enemy were driven before him, and although they made several attempts to form in line of battle and make a stand, Paine did not at once deploy his columns. The enemy were pushed all night vigorously, until at four o'clock A.M. they were driven back upon the swamps and forced to surrender.

"Three generals, seven colonels, seven regiments, several battalions of infantry, five companies of artillery, over one hundred heavy siege guns, twenty-four pieces of field artillery, an immense quantity of ammunition and supplies, several thousand stand of small-arms, a great number of tents, horses, wagons, etc., have fallen into our hands.

"Before abandoning Island No. 10, the enemy sunk the gun-boat Grampus and six of his transports. These last I am raising, and expect to have ready for service in a few days. The famous floating battery was scuttled and turned adrift with all her guns aboard. She was captured and run aground in shoal water by our forces at New Madrid.

"Our success is complete and overwhelming. Our troops, as I expected, behaved gloriously. I will, in my full report, endeavor to do full justice to all. Brigadier-Generals Paine, Stanley, and Hamilton crossed the river and conducted their divisions with untiring activity and skill. I am especially indebted to them. General Paine, fortunate in having the advance, exhibited unusual vigor and courage, and had the

satisfaction to receive the surrender of the enemy. Of Colonel Bissel, of the Engineer regiment, I can hardly say too much. Full of resources, untiring and determined, he labored night and day, and completed a work which will be a monument of enterprise and skill.

"We have crossed this great river with a large army, the banks of which were lined with batteries of the enemy to oppose our passage; have pursued and captured all his forces and material of war, and have not lost a man or met an accident."

The enemy had boasted of the immense strength of the position at Island No. 10, declaring that it was "not only tenable, but impregnable" against any naval force that could approach it. This assertion was confirmed by Commodore Foote in his report: "These works," he said, "erected with the highest engineering skill, are of great strength, and with their natural advantages would have been impregnable if defended by men fighting in a better cause."*

On capturing Island No. 10, Commodore Foote, with his fleet, and General Pope, with his army, proceeded, after a short delay for preparations, in continued co-operation against the enemy on the Mississippi.

General Halleck, who still remained at his headquarters in St. Louis, was vigorously pushing forward the various divisions of his large army. General Buell had advanced to Nashville, in Tennessee, with his main body, and sent detachments beyond as far as Murfreesboro. General Nelson was placed in command at the former city. Governor Johnson, the new military governor, with the support of the United States troops, exercised an energetic sway over the disaffected people of Tennessee. The city council of Nashville having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, the members were ejected from office, and others more loyal or more compliant were chosen in their place. The newspapers were compelled either to professions of loyalty or to silence, and by the appointment of more subservient postmasters and other officers, the relations of the State with the Federal Government were re-established. Communications by railroad with the North were secured under military surveillance. Such, however, was the activity of the enemy's guerrilla bands, that even the vigilance of armed guards was occasionally eluded. The bold partisan leader, Captain Morgan, audaci-

* Commodore Foote, in his official report, gave this account of the works: "There are eleven earth-works, with seventy heavy cannon, varying in calibre from thirty-two to one hundred-pounders, rifled. The magazines are well supplied with powder, and there are large quantities of shot and shell and other munitions of war, and also great quantities of provisions."

General W. D. McCunn was in command of the enemy at Island No. 10, having superseded as the superior in rank, General Makall, who commanded at New Madrid. McCunn thus addressed his men:

"Soldiers: We are strangers, commander and commanded, each to the other. Let me tell you who I am. I am a general made by Beauregard, a general selected by Beauregard and Bragg for this command, when they knew it was in peril. They have known me for twenty years together. We have stood on the fields of Mexico. Give them your confidence now—give it to me when I have earned it. Soldiers—the Mississippi Valley is intrusted to your courage, to your discipline, to your patience. Exhibit the vigilance and coolness of last night, and hold it."

ously dashed into Gallatin with his troops, and momentarily cut off the communication between Nashville and Louisville.

General Grant was soon able, with his command of the Tennessee River, and with the aid of the fleet of gunboats and transports, rapidly to move forward a large army. Taking possession of Savannah, in the southern part of Tennessee near the borders of Mississippi, he there concentrated his force. As he advanced, his reconnoitring parties engaged in occasional skirmishes with the enemy's cavalry scouts. A Union force, consisting of three hundred and fifty cavalry and some eighty-six infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, was attacked at night in Black Jack Forest, by five hundred of the enemy's troopers, who, however, were driven off. The Union loss was five men wounded, and several horses killed and injured.

Mar. 20.

General Grant finally advanced his main body, consisting of about sixty thousand men, to Pittsburg Landing—an insignificant place with a few houses and a landing place, about eight miles above Savannah, on the Tennessee River—with the view of moving against the enemy's position at Corinth.

General Beauregard, now in command of the Department of the Mississippi, had made great efforts to check the hitherto triumphant advance of the Union forces to the South. In order to cover Memphis and close the Mississippi River and Valley against further inroads, he had carefully guarded the stream with forts and concentrated a large army at Corinth. This place is in Tishemingo County, Mississippi, at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and Mobile and Charleston railroads. The country being hilly is favorable for fortification, and Beauregard's skill as an engineer enabled him to give increased strength to the natural advantages of Corinth.

General Johnston, who had evacuated Bowling Green, retired, after the fall of Fort Donelson, before the Union army under General Buell, to Nashville, and thence to Chattanooga. From this latter place, by a skilful movement, he was enabled to form a junction with General Beauregard at Corinth, where he assumed the chief command of the enemy's forces, now amounting to about sixty thousand men.

The Union troops under General Grant, at Pittsburg Landing, exulting in the late triumphs in Kentucky and Tennessee, were in a high state of confidence, impatient to be led against the enemy, though apparently not unconscious of the strength of the position at Corinth and the largeness of the force concentrated there under such able leaders as Johnston, Beauregard, Bragg, Polk, and Cheatham. The good condition and the confident spirit of the Union army were complacently dilated upon by a chronicler, and also the formidable preparations of the enemy acknowledged:

"A happier, healthier, more efficient army than that now at Savannah and Pittsburg," he wrote, "never probably went to war. Each regiment

Mar. 29.

is burning to win laurels to wear with their companions who got fame and scars at Fort Donelson. Opposed to this noble army is a rebel force of forty-five thousand, lying in wait behind their works, eighteen miles distant. Corinth is a position naturally strong, and formidable defences have been erected there. Rifle-pits, redoubts, abattis, and other means of strength, from behind which to hurl destruction upon an assailing force, have been constructed. The very best military talent, embracing Beauregard, Bragg, and others, is concentrated there, and at Corinth will be fought the great, decisive battle of the Western campaign. Forty heavy guns and a great number of field-pieces are possessed by the enemy, and immense stores of provisions are gathered in. The flower of the South are congregated there to offer battle, and they cannot retreat except by sacrificing everything.

"The road between the Union camps and Corinth is along an excellent turnpike, and the distance can be easily traversed in a day. General Grant has his headquarters at Savannah, while the bulk of the army lies at Pittsburg. Parade grounds and spots for comfortable quarters are being cleared, and everything gives token of a week's longer stay there. During that time General Buell is expected to reach a point from which he can carry out successfully the part assigned him.

"While at Savannah, word reached there that General Lewis Wallace, with fifteen thousand men, having taken a circuitous course, had penetrated to Florence and destroyed rebel communication in that direction with the South.

"Within two weeks measures will have been accomplished that will render retreat by the rebel army at Corinth impossible, and if beaten, they will have to surrender, not escape, to be again met in some other stronghold. Success has failed to make the Union generals rash, and when they move it will be surely. They fully understand the importance of the coming struggle. General Grant, although slightly careworn, is in good health and laboring hard to insure success. General McClernand still suffers somewhat from the exposure at Henry and Donelson.

"Skirmishes with small parties of the enemy occur occasionally, and several have been killed on our side as well as theirs. Some companies of the rebels met have been armed with the best of weapons, but they generally have, as at other places, shot-guns for the cavalry. The long knives, a short time ago so prevalent, have been discarded."

Scouts sent out by the Union army brought in word that after penetrating within the lines of the enemy, they had discovered a force of over seventy thousand men, and that reinforcements were daily arriving, while deserters declared that these were mainly Unionists who were being hastily gathered from the neighboring county, and "forced into the ranks" at Corinth.

Whether from over confidence in themselves from their late triumphs, or contempt for an enemy who had been so frequently beaten, General Grant's

army became unusually neglectful of the ordinary precautions against surprise.

"It will sound strangely," says a correspondent* from Cairo, "to the military ear to learn that no thoroughly organized system of pickets was posted beyond the camp lines when in the very face of the enemy. Equally strange is the admission that no regular reconnoissance was made for some days previous to the battle. Yet there is grave reason to believe that such are the facts.

"The words of an intelligent eye-witness are: 'We had no outer line of pickets. It had not been the practice during our stay in camp. The ordinary picket around the tents was not always very perfect. There were two or three reconnoissances in as many weeks, but none of which I could hear a day or two previous to the battle.' It furthermore appears, as I am well assured, that the loosest system of guard had been adopted. One man, it is confidently asserted, went in and out of the pines every day, going with a bag of grist to the mill in the morning and as regularly returned at night! Another gentleman informs me that a rebel scouting party ventured up within full view of the parade ground while a brigade was being reviewed, and that no notice was taken of it."

The enemy were thus enabled to march out in full force from their intrenchments at Corinth and attack Gen-
Apr. 6. eral Grant's army at Pittsburg before their approach was suspected. "The first intimation we had of the rebels' attack," states one witness, "was by a very heavy salute of grape and canister in our camps." Another declares: "The surprise appears to have been complete. A gentleman who was at the point of attack describes it as being as sudden and thorough as the rush of a summer tornado. General Prentiss' division was the point at which the two armies first touched. Our men were just rising and at breakfast. It was an hour after sunrise. The rebels had been toiling along the painful march since the preceding morning. No warning appears to have been given except by an advance of rebel cavalry some hours before. Thinking it might be a party of rebel scouting cavalry, Major Powell took two companies of infantry out with him with the intention, probably, of waiting in ambush for them. In less than ten minutes the enemy's column was into their camp. The bullets whistled through the tents, the dishes crashed about their ears, and the horses began a regular stampede. On they came, driving our disordered men like sheep before them from the outside. The long roll was called. Half of the men got into line after a fashion, without cartridge or cartridge-boxes, officers without sabres or horses. A line was formed, to be soon broken. The Peabody brigade and some others were soon engaged in a rapid retreat. Crossing a clear space—the parade ground—the enemy poured in a murderous fire, which increased their speed and also that of their pursuers. The scene when they entered our camp is past all powers of descrip-

* New York *World*, April 17, 1862.

tion. Men half dressed, sick, and wounded, were bayoneted. Here and there one would make for the hospital tents, and was as soon driven into the woods. Some, indeed, in the hospitals were shot. The artillery opened in a few minutes, firing indiscriminately through the camps, setting fire to them. The rebels, pouring along every track through the woods at double quick pace, hooted and howled as they ran like so many fiends fresh from hell, with the smoke, the sulphur, and the imprecations still clinging to them."

The enemy had come in great force, estimated at about sixty thousand men. General Johnston was the commander-in-chief. General Beauregard was second in command of the whole army, and Generals Polk, Bragg, and Hardee each commanded one of the three *corps d'armée* into which the army was divided, while General Crittenden commanded the re-

Apr. 3. serve. General Johnston having warmly appealed to the gallantry of his troops, led them out from their intrenchments at Corinth and marched to attack the Union army, twenty miles distant, at Pittsburg Landing.* Conscious that General Buell was advancing with a large force to reinforce Grant, Johnston strove to defeat the latter before the former could arrive. His advance was so skilfully conducted that, as has been stated, he was enabled to throw his whole force upon the Unionists before they were aware of his approach.

The topography of the country, and the position of the Union forces at the moment of the attack, are thus described by an observer* of the conflict:

"Pittsburg Landing is simply a narrow ravine, down which a road passes to the river bank, between high bluffs on either side. There is no town at all. Two log huts comprise all the improvements visible. Back from the river is a rolling country, cut up with numerous ravines, partially under cultivation, but perhaps the greater part thickly wooded with some underbrush. The soil is clayey, and the roads on Sunday morning were good. From the landing a road leads direct to Corinth, twenty miles distant. A mile or two out this road forks; one branch is the lower Corinth road, the other the ridge Corinth road. A short distance out, another road takes off to the left, crosses Lick Creek, and leads back to the river at Hamburg, some miles farther up. On the right, two separate roads lead off to Purdy, and

* GENERAL JOHNSTON'S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS.
HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF MISSISSIPPI, CORINTH, MISS.
April 3, 1862.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI:

I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country, with the resolution and discipline and valor becoming men fighting, as you are, for all worth living or dying for. You can but march to a decisive victory over agrarian mercenaries, sent to subjugate and despoil you of liberties, property, and honor.

Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding lands, the happy homes that will be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and hopes of 8,000,000 people rest upon you. You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your valor and courage, worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your General will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success. (Signed)

A. S. JOHNSTON, General Commanding.

* Cincinnati *Gazette*.

another, a new one, across Snake Creek to Crump's Landing on the river below.

"Besides these," the writer adds, "the whole country inside our lines is cut up with roads leading to our different camps; and beyond the lines is the most inextricable maze of cross roads, intersecting everything and leading everywhere, in which it was ever my ill fortune to become entangled.

"On and between these roads, at distances of from two to four or five miles from Pittsburg Landing, lay five divisions of Major-General Grant's army that Sunday morning. The advance line was formed by three divisions—Brigadier-General Sherman's, Brigadier-General Prentiss', and Major-General McClernand's. Between these and the landing lay the two others—Brigadier-General Hurlburt's and Major-General Smith's, commanded, in the absence (from sickness) of that admirable officer, by Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace.

"Our advance line, beginning at the extreme left, was thus formed: On the Hamburg road, just this side the crossing of Lick Creek, and under bluffs on the opposite bank that commanded the position, lay Colonel D. Stuart's brigade of General Sherman's division. Some three or four miles distant from this brigade, on the lower Corinth road, and between that and the one to Purdy, lay the remaining brigades of Sherman's division, McDowell's forming the extreme right of our whole advance line, Hildebrand's coming next to it, and Buckland's next. Next to Buckland's brigade, though rather behind a portion of Sherman's, lay Major-General McClernand's division, and between it and Stuart's brigade, already mentioned as forming our extreme left, lay Brigadier-General Prentiss' division, completing the line.

"Back of this line, within a mile of the landing, lay Hurlburt's division, stretching across the Corinth road, and W. H. L. Wallace's to his right. Such was the position of our troops at Pittsburg Landing at daybreak on Sunday morning. Major-General Lewis Wallace's division lay at Crump's Landing, some miles below, and was not ordered up till about half-past seven o'clock that day."

The arrangement of the line of the Union army, it thus appears, was singularly defective and favorable to an attack from an enterprising enemy. Nearly four miles intervened between different parts of Sherman's division, and McClernand's was so disposed as to leave a gap between it and General Prentiss' division. The extreme left of the line was commanded by unguarded heights which were easily approached from Corinth.

The plan of Johnston was first to strike and pierce the centre, and then to fall upon the right and left fragments of the second line. The actual attack, however, for some reason or other, was directed more to the left of the centre than was originally intended.*

* The troops thus attacked at the first onset were as follows: The left of Sherman's brigades, that of Colonel Buckland, was composed of the Seventy-second Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Canfield, commanding; Forty-eighth

The attack began with driving in the picket guards of the advanced portion of General Sherman's division, Buckland's brigade, at break of day on Sun-
Apr. 6. day. The enemy followed the fugitives precipitately into the camp, which they found entirely unprepared to meet the assault. Many of the Union officers and men were yet in their beds; some were dressing, some making their toilettes, some cooking, some eating their breakfasts, and all unconscious of their danger until the picket guards came rushing in with wild cries, pursued by the enemy, who were pressing forward in solid columns and firing volley after volley of musketry and artillery. Many of our soldiers, thus taken unawares in their camps, were either bayoneted, shot down in their tents, or captured, while the rest fled precipitately. General Sherman, with a gallant disregard of danger, rode into the *melée*, greatly exposing his life, and succeeded in checking the disordered flight of his troops and forming them into line. General McClernand at the same time threw forward the left of his division to support the fugitives of Buckland's division. Our troops were thus enabled somewhat to check the impetuous advance of the enemy, and to retire before them in better order.

General Prentiss' division on the extreme left, also taken by surprise like Sherman's, stood their ground with more firmness, though with no better result. The troops were formed into line and obstinately held their position until completely surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. General Prentiss and three regiments, the Twenty-third Missouri and the Twelfth and Twentieth Iowa, were obliged to throw down their arms and surrender. They were marched at once to the rear as prisoners. The rest of the division of Prentiss fled in confusion.

McClernand, who had sent forward to the support of Sherman his left and centre brigades, was enabled to keep the enemy for some time at bay.* Those, however, belonging to Sherman's division, after struggling awhile against the impetuous onset, grew irresolute, and finally retreated in such disorder that they could not be rallied.

The enemy now directed their full force upon McClernand's division, which had taken the place of the routed troops of Sherman. McClernand held

Ohio, Colonel Sullivan; Seventieth Ohio, Colonel Cockerell, and Fifty-third Ohio, Colonel Appler.

To the right of this was Colonel Hildebrand's brigade, Seventy-seventh Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding; Fifty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Pfyffe, and the Fifty-third Illinois. And on the extreme right, Colonel McDowell's brigade, Sixth Iowa (Colonel McDowell, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding); Fortieth Illinois, Colonel Hicks; Forty-sixth Ohio, Colonel Thomas Worthington.

General Prentiss' division was composed of the Twelfth Michigan, Sixteenth Wisconsin, Eighteenth Wisconsin, Eighteenth Missouri, Twenty-third Missouri, Twenty-fifth Missouri, and Sixty-first Illinois.

* General McClernand's division was composed as follows: First brigade, Colonel Hare commanding, Eighth and Eighteenth Illinois, Eleventh and Thirteenth Iowa; Second brigade, Colonel C. C. Marsh commanding, Eleventh, Twentieth, Forty-eighth, and Forty-fifth Illinois, Colonels Ransom, Marsh, Haynie, and Smith (the latter is the "Lead Mine Regiment"); Third brigade, Colonel Raitt commanding, Seventeenth, Twenty-ninth, and Forty-ninth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonels Wood, Farrell, and Pease, and Forty-third Illinois, Colonel Marsh. Besides this fine show of experienced troops, they had Schartz's, McAllister's, and Waterhouse's batteries.

his ground firmly for a long time, and even drove back the enemy, who, however, returned to the attack with their reserves, and forced him to retire.

"The soldiers fought bravely to the last," wrote an eye-witness; "let no man question that; but they were at a fearful disadvantage. Gradually they began falling back, more slowly than had Prentiss' regiments, or part of Sherman's, making more determined, because better organized, resistance, occasionally rallying and repulsing the enemy in turn for a hundred yards; then being beaten back again and renewing the retreat to some new position for fresh defence.

"By eleven o'clock the division was back in a line with Hurlburt's. It still did some gallant fighting; once its right swept around and drove the enemy for a considerable distance, but again fell back, and at last it brought up near the position of W. H. L. Wallace's division."

Hurlburt's and Wallace's divisions in their turn manfully sustained the first shock. Falling back from their camp to a better position in the thick woods behind, leaving the open fields before them, Hurlburt's* troops were able to rake with their cannon the advancing enemy.

From ten to half-past three they thus held them in check, and through nearly that whole time were actively engaged. Hurlburt himself displayed the most daring and brilliant gallantry, and his example, with that of the brave officers under him, nerved the men to the sternest endurance.

"Three times during those long hours the heavy rebel masses on the left charged upon the division, and three times were they repulsed with terrible slaughter."

Wallace's division,* too, presented a firm front to the enemy's advance, which it succeeded in checking from ten until four o'clock. For six hours the "musketry fire was absolutely continuous; there was scarcely a moment," testifies the witness already quoted, "that some part of the line was not pouring in their rattling volleys, and the artillery was admirably served, with but little intermission through the entire line.

"Once or twice the infantry advanced, attempting to drive the continually increasing enemy; but though they could hold what they had, their numbers were not equal to the task of conquering any more.

"Four separate times in turn the rebels attempted to charge on them. Each time the infantry poured in its quickest volleys, the artillery redoubled its exertions, and the rebels retreated with heavy slaughter. The division was eager to remain, even when Hurlburt fell back, and the fine fellows with the guns were particularly indignant at not

* Among Hurlburt's troops were the Seventeenth and Twenty-fifth Kentucky, Forty-fourth and Thirty-first Indiana, constituting Lauman's brigade, Third Iowa, Forty-first Illinois, and some others, forming Colonel Williams' brigade.

* Wallace's division included the Second and Seventh Iowa, Ninth and Twenty-eighth Illinois, and several of the other regiments composing Major-General Smith's old division. Wallace had also three excellent batteries—Stone's, Richardson's, and Weber's (all from Missouri)—formerly an artillery battalion, under the general management of Major Cavender.

being permitted to pound away. But their supports were gone on either side; to have remained in isolated advance would have been madness. Just as the necessity for retreating was becoming apparent, General Wallace, whose cool, collected bravery had commanded the admiration of all, was, as it was thought, mortally wounded, and was borne away from the field. At last the division fell back. Its soldiers claim—justly, I believe—the proud distinction of being the last to yield in the general break of our lines that gloomy Sunday afternoon, which, at half-past four o'clock, had left most of our army within half a mile of the landing, with the rebels up to a thousand yards of their position."

The enemy had thus far been victorious, having driven the whole army of Grant from its position, and taken every camp but that of the division of W. H. L. Wallace. The direful result was thus summed up by one who was present:

"We have reached the last act in the tragedy of Sunday," he mournfully declares. "It is half-past four o'clock. Our front line of divisions has been lost since half-past ten. Our reserve line is now gone, too. The rebels occupy the camps of every division save that of W. H. L. Wallace. Our whole army is crowded in the region of Wallace's camps and to a circuit of half to two thirds of a mile around the landing. We have been falling back all day. We can do it no more. The next repulse puts us into the river, and there are not transports enough to cross a single division till the enemy would be upon us."

At this moment of despair, the Union gun-boats Tyler and Lexington, which had been moving restlessly about on the river the whole day seeking an opportunity for service, found it, and came to the rescue. The enemy were still pushing vigorously on the left, with the view of turning it and getting possession of the landing and transports, and, in fact, capturing or driving into the river the whole of Grant's army. They were, however, suddenly checked by the gun-boats, which, entering a creek, found a clear range through a ravine for their guns to bear directly upon the enemy, whose advance now suddenly ceased. Their fire slackened, and as night came on, they gave up any further attempt on that day, but prepared to renew the struggle on the coming morning.*

* General Grant, in his official report, thus acknowledges the services of the gun-boats:

"The enemy having forced the entire line to fall back nearly half way from their camps to the landing, at a late hour in the afternoon a desperate effort was made by the enemy to turn our left and get possession of the landing, transports, etc. This point was guarded by the gun-boats Tyler and Lexington, Captains Gwin and Shirk commanding, with four twenty-four-pounder Parrot guns, and a battery of rifled guns.

"As there is a deep and impassable ravine for artillery or cavalry, and very difficult for infantry, at this point, no troops were stationed here, except the necessary artillerists and a small infantry force for their support. Just at this moment the advance of Major-General Buell's column and a part of the division of General Nelson arrived. The two generals named both being present, an advance was immediately made upon the point of attack and the enemy was soon driven back.

"In this repulse much is due to the presence of the gun-boats Tyler and Lexington and their able commanders, Captains Gwin and Shirk."

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of General Buell at Pittsburg Landing.—Buell assumes the Command.—Second day of Battle of Shiloh.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Pursuit by Sherman.—Its inefficiency.—Disappointment of Beauregard.—Perversion of Words.—Losses.—Death of Johnston—Gallantry on both sides.—Captures by the Enemy.—Official Reports.—The Enemy again at Corinth.—Strengthening Fortifications and awaiting Reinforcements.—The Enemy's Conscription Law.—Halleck at Pittsburg Landing.—Junction of General Pope.—Reorganization.—Advance of Halleck.—Reconnoissances and Skirmishes.—Movements of General Mitchell.—Capture of Huntsville, Florence, Decatur, Tuscumbia, etc.—Possession of Memphis and Charleston Railroad.—Hazardous position of Enemy at Corinth.

WHILE the enemy were kept at bay by the gun-boats on Sunday evening, and checked in their almost successful attempt to capture or destroy the whole force of General Grant, General Buell arrived with his army and cheered the Unionists with a hope of redeeming on the morrow what had been lost on the fatal battle-field of Shiloh.* Reinforcements had begun to arrive even before the close of the first day's struggle. General Buell's† advance and a part of Nelson's division had, in fact, reached the ground in time to give some support to our retreating troops and prevent their utter discomfiture. During the whole night Buell's forces continued to come in. The divisions of General Thomas and General Nelson, which had reached Savannah during the day before, were hurried on board the transports and disembarked at Pittsburg Landing before morning. General Lewis Wallace, who was in command of

1862.

* This seems to be the proper name for the field where the struggle occurred.

† REPORT OF GENERAL BUELL.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO,
FIELD OF SHILOH, *April* 15, 1862.

"CAPTAIN N. H. MCLAIN, Assistant Adjutant-General, Department of the Mississippi:

"SIR—The rear divisions of the army under my command, which had been delayed a considerable time in rebuilding the Duck River Bridge, left Columbia on the 2d inst. I left the evening of that day, and arrived at Savannah on the evening of the 5th. General Nelson, with his division, which formed the advance, arrived the same day. The other divisions marched with intervals of about six miles. On the morning of the 6th, firing of musketry and cannon was heard in the direction of this place. Apprehending that a serious engagement had commenced, I went to General Grant's headquarters to get information as to the means of reaching the battle-field with the division that had arrived. At the same time, orders were dispatched to the divisions in rear to leave their trains and push forward by forced marches. I learned that General Grant had just started, leaving orders for General Nelson to march to the river opposite Pittsburg Landing, to be ferried across. An examination of the roads up the river discovered it to be impracticable for artillery, and General Nelson was directed to leave his to be carried forward by steamers.

"The impression existed at Savannah that the firing was merely an affair of outposts, the same thing having occurred for two or three previous days; but as it continued, I determined to go to the scene of action, and accordingly started with my chief of staff, Colonel Fry, on a steamer which I ordered to get under steam. As we proceeded up the river, groups of soldiers were seen on the west bank, and it soon became evident that they were stragglers from the engaged army. The groups increased in size and frequency until, as we approached the landing, they numbered whole companies and almost regiments; and at the landing the banks swarmed with a confused mass of men of various regiments. There could not have been less than 4,000 or 5,000. Late in the day it became much greater. Finding General Grant at the landing, I requested him to send steamers to Savannah to

a reserve at Camp Landing, only six miles below, though ordered to move up to Pittsburg at eleven o'clock on Sunday, did not, in consequence of tak-

bring up General Crittenden's division which had arrived during the morning, and then went ashore with him. The throng of disorganized and demoralized troops increased continually by fresh fugitives from the battle, which steadily drew nearer the landing, and with these were intermingled great numbers of teams, all striving to get as near as possible to the river. With few exceptions, all efforts to form the troops and move them forward to the fight utterly failed. In the mean time, the enemy had made such progress against our troops that his artillery and musketry began to play into the vital spot of the position, and some persons were killed on the bank and at the very landing. General Nelson arrived with Colonel Ammon's brigade at this opportune moment. It was immediately posted to meet the attack at that point, and with a battery of artillery, which happened to be on the ground and was brought into action, opened fire on the enemy and repulsed him. The action of the gunboats also contributed very much to that result. The attack at that point was not renewed. Night having come on, the firing ceased on both sides. In the mean time the remainder of General Nelson's division crossed, and General Crittenden's arrived from Savannah by steamers. After examining the ground, as well as was possible at night, in front of the line on which General Grant's troops had formed, and as far to the right as General Sherman's division, I directed Nelson's and Crittenden's divisions to form in front of that line, and move forward as soon as it was light in the morning. During the night and early the following morning, Captain Bartlett's Ohio battery and Captains Mendenhall and Terrell's regular batteries arrived. General McCook, by a forced march, arrived at Savannah during the night of the 6th, and reached the field of battle early in the morning of the 7th. I knew that the other divisions could not arrive in time for the action that day.

"The patch of country on which the battles of the 6th and 7th were fought is called Shiloh from the little church of that name, which stands in its midst. It consists of an undulating table-land, elevated some 80 or 100 feet above the road bottom. Along the Tennessee River, to the east, it breaks into abrupt ravines, and toward the south runs along Lick Creek, which empties into Tennessee River, some three miles above Pittsburg Landing, into a range of hills of some height, whose slopes are gradual toward the battle-field, and somewhat abrupt toward Lick Creek. Owl Creek, rising near the source of Lick Creek, flows to the northeast around the battle-field into Snake Creek, which empties into Tennessee River some miles below Lick Creek. The drainage is mainly from Lick Creek Ridge and the table-land into Owl Creek. Coming from Corinth, the principal road crosses Lick Creek at two points, some twelve miles from its mouth, and separates into three or four principal branches, which enter the table-land from the south at a distance of about a mile apart. Generally the face of the country is covered with woods, through which troops can pass without great difficulty, though occasionally the undergrowth is dense. Small farms and cultivated fields, of from 70 to 80 acres, occur here and there, but as a general thing the country is a forest. My entire ignorance of the various roads and of the character of the country at the time, rendered it impossible to anticipate the probable dispositions of the enemy, and the woods were always sufficient to screen his preparatory movements from observation.

"Soon after five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, General Nelson's and General Crittenden's divisions—the only ones yet arrived on the ground—moved promptly forward to meet the enemy. Nelson's division, marching in line of battle, soon came upon his pickets, drove them in, and at about six o'clock received the fire of his artillery. The division was here halted, then Mendenhall's battery brought into action to reply, while Crittenden's division was being put into position on the right of Nelson's. Bartlett's battery was posted in the centre of Crittenden's division in a commanding position, opposite to which the enemy was discovered to be in force. By this time McCook's division arrived on the ground, and was immediately formed on the right of Crittenden's. Skirmishers were thrown to the front, and a strong body of them to guard our left flank, which, though somewhat protected by rough grounds, it was supposed the enemy might attempt to turn, and in fact did, but were repulsed with great loss. Each brigade furnished its own reserve, and in addition Boyle's brigade of Crittenden's division, though it formed at first in the line, was kept somewhat back when the line advanced, to be used as occasion might require. I found upon the ground parts of about two regiments—perhaps 1,000 men—and subsequently a similar fragment came up of General Grant's force. The first I directed to act with General McCook's attack, and the second one was similarly employed on the left. I sent other straggling troops of General Grant's force immediately on General McCook's right, as some firing had already commenced there. I had no direct knowledge of the disposition of the remainder of General Grant's force, nor is it my province to speak of them. I regret that I am unable to name those that came under my direction in the way I had stated, for they rendered willing and efficient service during the day.

"The force under my command occupied a line of about a mile and a half. In front of Nelson's division was an open field, partially screened to his right by a skirt of woods, which extended through the enemy's line with a thick undergrowth in front of the left brigade of Crittenden's division; then an open field in front of Crittenden's

ing a circuitous route, reach it until the first struggle was over. He, however, came in time to share in the second day's fight.

right and McCook's left, and in front of McCook's right woods again with a dense undergrowth. The ground, mainly level in front of Nelson's, formed a hollow in front of Crittenden's, and fell into a small creek which empties into Owl Creek, in front of McCook's. What I afterward learned was the Hamburg road, which crosses Lick Creek a mile from its mouth, passed perpendicularly through the line of battle near Nelson's left. On a line slightly oblique to us and beyond the open field, the enemy was formed, with a battery in front of Nelson's left; a battery commanding the woods in front of Crittenden's left, and flanking the field in front of Nelson; a battery commanding the same woods and the field in front of Crittenden's right and McCook's left, and a battery in front of McCook's right. A short distance in rear of the enemy's left, on high, open ground, were the encampments of McClernand's and Sherman's divisions, which the enemy held.

"While my troops were getting into position on the right, the artillery fire was kept up between Mendenhall's battery and the enemy's second battery with some effect. Bartlett's battery, put in position before the enemy's third battery, opened fire on that part of the line, and when, very soon after, our line advanced with strong bodies of skirmishers in front, the action became general, and continued with severity during the greater part of the day, and until the enemy was driven from the field.

"The obliquity of our line upon the left being thrown forward, brought Nelson's division first into action, and it became very hotly engaged at an early hour. A charge of the nineteenth brigade from Nelson's right, by its commander, Colonel Hazen, reached the enemy's second battery, but the brigade sustained a heavy loss by a cross fire of the enemy's batteries, and was unable to maintain its advantage against the heavy infantry force that came forward to oppose it. The enemy recovered the battery, and followed up his advantage by throwing a heavy force of infantry into the woods in front of Crittenden's left. The left brigade of that division, Colonel W. S. Smith commanding, advanced into the woods, repulsed the enemy handsomely, and took several prisoners. In the mean time, Captain Terrell's battery, which had just landed, reached the field, and was advanced into action near the left of Nelson's division, which was very heavily pressed by the great numbers of the enemy. It belonged properly to McCook's division. It took position near the Hamburg road, in the open ground in front of the enemy's right, and at once began to act with decided effect upon the tide of battle in that quarter. The enemy's right battery was silenced.

"Ammon's brigade, which was on the left, advanced in good order upon the enemy's right, but was checked for some time by his endeavor to turn our left flank, and by his strong centre attack in front. Captain Terrell, who in the mean time had taken an advanced position, was compelled to retire, leaving one caisson, of which every horse was killed or disabled. It was very soon recovered. Having been reinforced by a regiment from General Boyle's brigade, Nelson's division again moved forward and forced the enemy to abandon entirely his position. This success flanked the enemy at his second and third batteries, from which he was soon driven, with the loss of several pieces of artillery by the concentrated fire of Terrell's and Mendenhall's batteries, and an attack from Crittenden's division in front. The enemy made a second stand some 800 yards in rear of this position, and opened fire with his artillery. Mendenhall's battery was thrown forward, silenced the battery, and it was captured by Crittenden's division, the enemy retreating from it. In the mean time the division of General McCook on the right, which became engaged somewhat later in the morning than the divisions on the left, had made steady progress until it drove the enemy's left from the hotly contested field. The action was commenced in this division by General Rousseau's brigade, which drove the enemy in front of it from his first position, and captured a battery. The line of attack of this division caused a considerable widening of the space between it and Crittenden's right. It was also outflanked on its right by the line of the enemy, who made repeated strong attacks on its flanks, but was always gallantly repulsed. The enemy made his last decided stand in front of this division, in the woods beyond Sherman's camp.

"Two brigades of General Wood's division arrived just at the close of the battle, but only one, that of Colonel Wagner, in time to participate actively in the pursuit, which it continued for about a mile, and until halted by my order. Its skirmishers became engaged for a few minutes with skirmishers covering the enemy's rear guard, which made a momentary stand. It was also fired upon by the enemy's artillery on its right flank, but without effect. It was well conducted by its commanders, and showed great steadiness.

"The pursuit was continued no farther that day. I was without cavalry, and the different corps had become a good deal scattered in a pursuit in a country which secreted the enemy's movements, and of the roads of which I knew practically nothing. In the beginning of the pursuit, thinking that the enemy had retired principally by the Hamburg road, I had ordered Nelson's division to follow as far as Lick Creek on that road, from which I afterward learned the direct Corinth road was separated by a difficult ravine which empties into Lick Creek. I therefore occupied myself with examining the ground, getting the different divisions into position, which was not effected until some time after dark.

"The following day, in pursuance of the directions of

"During the night," says General Grant in his brief official report, "all was quiet, and feeling that great moral advantage would be gained by becoming the attacking party, an advance was ordered as soon as day dawned."

General Buell now assumed the command and thus formed his line of battle. On the right was posted General Lewis Wallace; on the left Brigadier-General Nelson, and between them were placed, beginning at the left, Brigadier-Generals Thomas, Crittenden, A. McD. McCook, Hurlburt, McClernand, and Sherman, all at the head of their respective commands,* while in those of the three

General Grant, General Wood was sent forward with two of his brigades, which arrived the previous evening, and a battery of artillery, to discover the position of the enemy, and to press him if he should be found to retreat. General Sherman, with about the same force from General Grant's army, was on the same service, and had a spirited skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, driving it back. The main force was found to have retreated beyond Lick Creek, and our troops returned at night.

"There were no idlers in the battle of the 7th. Every portion of the army did its work. The batteries of Captains Terrell and Mendenhall were splendidly handled and served; that of Captain Bartlett was served with great spirit and gallantry, though with less decisive results.

"I specially commend to the favor of the Government for their distinguished gallantry and good conduct Brigadier-General A. McD. McCook, commanding second division; Brigadier-General William Nelson, commanding fourth division; Brigadier-General T. L. Crittenden, commanding fifth division; Brigadier-General L. H. Rousseau, commanding fourth brigade; Brigadier-General I. T. Boyle, commanding eleventh brigade; Colonel J. Ammon, Twenty-fourth Ohio, commanding tenth brigade; Colonel W. G. Smith, Thirteenth Ohio, commanding fourteenth brigade; Colonel E. N. Kirk, Third Illinois, commanding fifth brigade; Colonel W. H. Gibson, Forty-ninth Ohio, temporarily commanding sixth brigade; Captain W. R. Terrell, Fifth Artillery; Captain J. T. Menhenhall, Fourth Artillery; and Captain Bartlett, Ohio volunteer battery.

"For the many other officers who won honorable distinction, I refer to the reports of the division, brigade, and regimental commanders transmitted herewith, as also for more detailed information of the services of the different corps. I join cordially in the commendation bestowed by these officers on those under their command.

"The loss of the force under my command is 263 killed, 1,816 wounded, 88 missing—total, 2,167. The trophies are twenty pieces of artillery, a greater number of caissons, and a considerable number of small-arms. Many of the cannon were recaptured from the loss of the previous day. Several stands of colors were also recaptured.

"The members of my staff, Colonel James B. Fry, chief of staff, Captain James M. Wright, A. A. G.; Lieutenants C. L. Fitzhugh, Fourth Artillery; A. F. Rockwell, New York Chasseurs; T. J. Bush, Twenty-fourth Kentucky; Aides-de-Camp Captain J. H. Gilman, Nineteenth Infantry, inspector of artillery; Captain E. Gay, Sixteenth Infantry, inspector of cavalry; H. C. Bankhead, Fifth Infantry, inspector of infantry; and Captain N. Michler, Topographical Engineers, were distinguished for gallant bravery throughout the battle, and rendered valuable service. The gallant deportment of my orderlies, A. J. Williamson, Fourth Cavalry, and N. M. Smith, J. R. Hewitt, J. A. Stevenson, V. B. Hammel, of the Anderson Troop, also deserve to be mentioned. I am particularly indebted to Colonel Fry, chief of staff, for valuable assistance in the battle, as well as for the ability and industry with which he has at all times performed the important duties of his position; and Surgeon Murray, medical director, always assiduous in the discharge of his duties, was actively engaged on the field in taking all the care of the wounded that circumstances admitted of.

"Captain Gillem, assistant quartermaster, is entitled to great credit for his energy and industry in providing transportation for the troops from Savannah. Lieutenant-Colonel Oaks, Fourth Cavalry, inspector of cavalry, and Captain C. C. Gilbert, First Infantry, inspector-general, who have rendered zealous and valuable services in their positions, were detained at Savannah, and unable to be present in the action.

"The troops which did not arrive in time for the battle, General Thomas and General Wood's divisions (a portion of the latter, as I have previously stated, took part in the pursuit, and the remainder in the evening), are entitled to the highest praise for the untiring energy with which they pressed forward, night and day, to share the danger of their comrades. General Thomas' division had already, under his command, made its name honorable by one of the most memorable victories of the war—Mill Springs—on which the tide of success seemed to turn steadily in favor of the Union. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, D. C. BUELL, Major-General,

"Commanding Army of the Ohio."

* BRIGADIER-GENERAL NELSON'S DIVISION.

First Brigade—Colonel Ammon, Twenty-fourth Ohio, commanding; Thirty-sixth Indiana, Colonel Gross; Sixth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson; Twenty-fourth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Fred. C. Jones.

Second Brigade—Saunders D. Bruce, Twentieth Ken-

F.O.C. Darley. W. Ridgway.

BATTLE OF SHILOH, TENN.

CHARGE OF GENERAL GRANT.

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latter were included the fragments of regiments that remained of the shattered divisions of Generals W. H. L. Wallace and Prentiss.

At seven o'clock on the morning of Monday, General Lewis Wallace opened fire with his artillery upon the enemy's position on the left, which was responded to from guns they had planted within the cover of some scrub-oak woods, after falling back during the night from a commanding bluff to which they had previously advanced. This "artillery duel" continued until General Wallace moved forward his infantry across a narrow ravine, as if to storm the enemy's position, when, enfiladed by the artillery and threatened in front, they limbered up their cannon and fell back. The enemy's right having been forced back by the gun-boats, was not reached so easily by our left under General Nelson. Nelson moved his division, however, about the same time that General Wallace opened fire, forming in line of battle with Hazen's brigade on his right, Prentiss' in the centre, and Ammon's on the left. As he advanced, the enemy, making but little resistance, retired until they reached the cover of the woods, at about half-past ten o'clock, when they made a firm stand and turned upon their pursuers with fierce impetuosity.

Apr. 7.

"Our forces," wrote a chronicler,* "flushed with their easy victory, were scarcely prepared for the sudden onset where retreat had been all they had been seeing before. Suddenly the rebel masses were hurled against our lines with tremendous force. Our men halted, wavered, and fell back. At this critical juncture Captain Terry's regular battery came dashing up. Scarcely taking time to unlimber, he was loading and sighting his pieces before the caissons had turned, and in an instant was tossing

tucky, commanding; First Kentucky, Colonel Enyart; Second Kentucky, Colonel Sedgwick; Twentieth Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel ———, commanding

Third Brigade—Colonel Hazen, Forty-first Ohio, commanding; Forty-first Ohio, Sixth Kentucky, and Ninth Indiana.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL TOM CRITTENDEN'S DIVISION.

First Brigade—General Boyle; Nineteenth Ohio, Colonel Beatty; Fifty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Pfyffe; Thirteenth Kentucky, Colonel Hobson; Ninth Kentucky, Colonel Grider.

Second Brigade—Colonel Wm. S. Smith, Thirteenth Ohio, commanding; Thirteenth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkins; Twenty-sixth Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell; Eleventh Kentucky, Colonel P. P. Hawkins; with Mendenhall's regular and Bartlett's Ohio batteries.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL McCOOK'S DIVISION.

First Brigade—Brigadier-General Lovell H. Rousseau; First Ohio, Colonel Ed. A. Parrott; Sixth Indiana, Colonel Crittenden; Third Kentucky (Louisville Legion); battalions Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Nineteenth regulars.

Second Brigade—Brigadier-General Johnston; Thirty-second Indiana, Colonel Willich; Thirty-ninth Indiana, Colonel Harrison; Forty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Gibson.

Third Brigade—Colonel Kirk, Thirty-fourth Illinois, commanding; Thirty-fourth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Badsworth; Twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Drum; Thirtieth Indiana, Colonel Bass; Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel Stambaugh.

MAJOR-GENERAL LEWIS WALLACE'S DIVISION—RIGHT OF ARMY.

First Brigade—Colonel Morgan L. Smith, commanding; Eighth Missouri, Colonel Morgan L. Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel James Peckham, commanding; Eleventh Indiana, Colonel George F. McGinnis; Twenty-fourth Indiana, Colonel Alvin P. Hovey; Thurber's Missouri battery.

Second Brigade—Colonel Thayer (First Nebraska) commanding; First Nebraska, Lieutenant-Colonel McCord, commanding; Twenty-third Indiana, Colonel Sanderson; Fifty-eighth Ohio, Colonel Bausenwein; Sixty-eighth Ohio, Colonel Steadman; Thompson's Indiana battery.

Third Brigade—Colonel Chas. Whittlesey (Twentieth Ohio) commanding; Twentieth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel ——— commanding; Fifty-sixth Ohio, Colonel Pete Kinney; Seventy-sixth Ohio, Colonel Charles R. Woods; Seventy-eighth Ohio, Colonel Leggett.

* Cincinnati *Gazette*.

in shell from twenty-four-pound howitzers to the compact and advancing rebel ranks.

"Here was the turning-point of the battle on the left. The rebels were only checked, not halted. On they came. Horse after horse from the batteries was picked off. Every private at one of the howitzers fell, and the gun was worked by Captain Terry himself and a corporal. The rebels seemed advancing. A regiment dashed up from our line and saved the disabled piece. Then for two hours artillery and musketry at close range. At last they began to waver. Our men pressed on, pouring in deadly volleys. Just then Buell, who assumed the general direction of the troops in the field, came up. At a glance he saw the chance. 'Forward at double quick by brigades!' Our men leaped forward as if they had been tied, and were only too much rejoiced to be able to move. For a quarter of a mile the rebels fell back. Faster and faster they ran; less and less resistance was made to the advance. At last the front camps on the left were reached, and by half-past two that point was cleared. The rebels had been steadily swept back over the ground they had won, with heavy loss as they fell into confusion."

The left of our centre also, as it advanced under General Crittenden, found at first but little resistance until it came upon a battery of the enemy in position, when Smith's brigade dashed forward, and after a severe struggle beat off their antagonists and captured their guns. The enemy soon came up again in greater strength and recovered their battery, but our men rallying, wrested it once more from their possession. The enemy now fell back to a new position on the left, but were soon shelled out of it by Mendenhall's battery, and forced to retreat. Brigadier-General Thomas Wood now arrived with the advance brigade of his division; and although too late to take part in the fight, relieved Crittenden's wearied troops by taking their place in pursuit of the enemy. The victory was now won on our left.

The rest of the centre, composed of the fresh division of McCook in front, and the troops of Hurlburt, McClernand, and Sherman—which had borne the brunt of the previous day's fight—in the rear, moved forward firmly with the general advance of the whole line. After a hard struggle with the enemy, they finally succeeded in forcing them to retire, and Sherman's division moved in support of Gen. Lewis Wallace on the right, where the battle was being waged with the greatest vigor. Here the enemy, after having retired before Wallace's artillery and the advance of his infantry, advanced again "some two hundred yards, which brought them to a little elevation, with a broad, open stretch to the front. As the division halted on the crest of the swell, there passed before them a rare vision. Away to the front were woods. Through the edge of the timber, skirting the fields, the head of a rebel column appeared, marching past in splendid style on the double quick. Banner after banner appeared; the

'stars and bars' formed a long line, stretching parallel with Wallace's line of battle. Regiment after regiment appeared; the line lengthened, and doubled, and trebled; the head of the column was out of sight, and still they came. Twenty regiments were counted passing through the woods. The design was plain. The rebels had abandoned the idea of forcing their way through our left, and now the manifest attempt was to turn our right.

"Batteries were now ordered up—Thompson's and Thurber's—and the whole column was shelled as it passed. The rebels rapidly threw their artillery into position, and a brisk cannonading began. After a time, while the fight still rested with the artillery, the rebels opened a new and destructive battery to the right, which our men soon learned to know as 'Watson's Louisiana Battery,' from the marks on the ammunition boxes they forced it from time to time to leave behind.

"Batteries, with a brigade of supporting infantry, were now moved forward over open fields, under heavy fire, to contend against this new assailant. The batteries opened, the sharpshooters were thrown out to the front to pick off the rebel artillerists, the brigade was ordered down on its face to protect it from the flying shell and grape. For an hour and a half the contest lasted, while the body of the division was still delayed, waiting for Sherman. By ten o'clock Sherman's right, under Colonel Marsh, came up. He started to move across the fields. The storm of musketry and grape was too much for him, and he fell back in good order. Again he started on the double and gained the woods. The Louisiana battery was turned; Marsh's position left it subject to fire in flank in front, and then fled. The other rebel batteries at once did the same, and Wallace's division, up in an instant, now that a master move had swept the board, pushed forward. Before them were broad fallow fields, then a woody little ravine, then cornfields, then woods.

"The left brigade was sent forward. It crossed the fallow fields, under ordinary fire, then gained the ravine, and was rushing across the cornfields, when the same Louisiana steel rifled guns opened on them. Dashing forward, they reached a little ground swell, behind which they dropped like dead men, while skirmishers were sent forward to silence the troublesome battery. The skirmishers crawled forward till they gained a little knoll not more than seventy-five yards from the battery. Of course the battery opened on them. They replied, if not so noisily, more to the purpose. In a few minutes the battery was driven off with artillerists killed, horses shot down and badly crippled every way. But the affair cost us a brave man—Lieutenant-Colonel Garber—who could not control his enthusiasm at the conduct of the skirmishers, and in his excitement incautiously exposed himself. All this while rebel regiments were pouring up to attack the audacious brigade that was supporting the skirmishers, and fresh regiments from Wallace's di-

vision came up in time to checkmate game.

"But the battery was silenced. 'Forward!' was the division order. Rushing across the cornfields under heavy fire, they now met the rebels face to face in the woods. The contest was quick, decisive. Close, sharp, continuous musketry for a few minutes, and the rebels fell back.

"Here, unfortunately, Sherman's right gave way. Wallace's flank was exposed. He instantly formed Colonel Wood's (Seventy-sixth Ohio) in a new line of battle, in right angles with the real one, and with orders to protect the flank. The Eleventh Indiana was likewise here engaged in a sharp engagement with the enemy attempting to flank, and for a time the contest waxed fierce. But Sherman soon filled the place of his broken regiments; again Wallace's division poured forward, and again the enemy gave way.

"By two o'clock the division was into the woods again, and for three-quarters of a mile it advanced under a continuous storm of shot. Then another contest or two with batteries, always met with skirmishers and sharp-shooting; then, by four o'clock—two hours later than on the right—a general rebel retreat; then pursuit, recall, and encampment on the old grounds of Sherman's division, in the very tents from which those regiments were driven that hapless Sunday morning.

"The camps were regained; the rebels were repulsed; their attack had failed; we stood where we began; rebel cavalry were within half a mile of us; the retreating columns were within striking distance. But we had regained our camps. And so ended the battle of Pittsburg."

The enemy had thus been driven on the second day from the ground they had won on the first. They had, however, retired in good order and to but a short distance from the battle-field. The Unionists soon gave up the pursuit. "My force," wrote General Grant, "was too much fatigued from two days' hard fighting, and exposure in the open air to a drenching rain during the intervening night, to pursue immediately."

On the third day, however, General Sherman with the cavalry and two brigades of his "fatigued troops" went out on the Corinth road in search of the enemy. He found that "the main part of their army had retreated in good order,"* but overtook their rear guard of cavalry, which he finally succeeded in dispersing.† Apr. 8.

* Grant's Report.

† This is General Sherman's report in full:

"Headquarters Fifth Division, *April* 8, 1862.

"To Major-General Grant Commanding Army in the Field:

"Sir—With the cavalry placed at my command, and two brigades of my fatigued troops, I went this morning out on the Corinth road. The abandoned camps of the enemy lined the road, with hospital flags for their protection. At all of these we found more or less wounded and dead. At the forks of the road I found the head of General Wood's division. At that point I ordered cavalry to examine both roads, and found the enemy's cavalry. Colonel Dickey, of the Illinois Cavalry, asked for reinforcements. I ordered General Wood to advance the head of his column cautiously on the left-hand road, while I conducted the head of the third brigade of the fifth division up the right-hand road. About half a mile from the forks was a clear field, through which the road passed, and immediately beyond it a space of two hundred yards of fallen timber, and beyond that an extensive

General Beauregard, though he had not effected his object, justly claimed the advantage in the first day's conflict, which he took care triumphantly to proclaim,* from "the enemy's camp and on Federal paper." But though he had skilfully withdrawn his army from the dangers of the second day, he was certainly not justified in calling his retreat "a great and glorious victory."† The loss‡

camp of the enemy's cavalry could be seen. After a reconnoissance, I ordered the two advance companies of the Ohio Seventy-seventh, Colonel Hildebrand, to deploy as skirmishers, and the regiment itself to move forward into line within intervals of one hundred yards. In this order I advanced cautiously until the skirmishers were engaged. Taking it for granted that this disposition would clear the camp, I held Colonel Dickey's Fortieth Illinois Cavalry ready to charge. The enemy's cavalry came down boldly to the charge, breaking through the line of skirmishers, when the regiment of infantry, without cause, broke, threw away their guns, and fled. The ground was admirably adapted to a defence of infantry against cavalry, it being miry and covered with fallen timber. As the regiment of infantry broke, Colonel Dickey's cavalry began to charge with their carbines, and fell into disorder. I instantly sent orders to the rear for the brigade to form in line of battle, which was promptly executed. The broken infantry and cavalry rallied on this line, and as the enemy's cavalry came up to it, our cavalry in turn charged and drove them from the field. I then advanced the entire brigade upon the same ground, and sent Colonel Dickey's cavalry a mile farther on the road. On examining the ground which had been occupied by the Seventy-seventh Ohio, we found fifteen dead and about twenty-five wounded. I sent for wagons, and had all the wounded carried back to the camp, and the dead buried. I also ordered the whole camp to be destroyed. Here we found much ammunition for field pieces, which was destroyed; also two caissons, and a general hospital, with about two hundred and eighty Confederates wounded and about fifty of our own troops. Not having the means of bringing them off, Colonel Dickey, by my order, took a surrender, signed by the medical director, Lyle, and all the attending surgeons, and a pledge to report themselves to you as prisoners of war, and also another pledge that our wounded would be carefully attended to, and surrendered to us to-morrow, as soon as ambulances could go out.

"I inclose the within document, and request you to cause to be sent out wagons or ambulances for the wounded of ours to-morrow; also that wagons be sent out to bring in the many tents belonging to us, which are pitched all along the road for miles. I did not destroy them, as I knew the enemy couldn't move them. The roads are very bad, and are strewn with abandoned wagons, ambulances, and limber boxes. The enemy has succeeded in carrying off the guns, but has crippled his batteries by abandoning the hind limber boxes of at least twenty guns. I am satisfied that the enemy's infantry and cavalry passed Lick Creek this morning, travelling all last night, and that he left behind all his cavalry, which has protected his retreat. But the signs of confusion and disorder mark the whole road. The check sustained by us at the fallen timbers delayed our advance, so that night came upon us before the wounded were provided for and the dead buried; and our troops being fagged out by their three days' hard fighting, exposure, and privation, I ordered them back to camp, where all now are. I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

"W. T. Sherman, Brig.-Gen. Commanding Division."

* Battle-Field of Shiloh,
Via Corinth and Chattanooga, *April* 6, 1862.

General S. Hooper, Adjutant General: We have this morning attacked the enemy in strong position in front of Pittsburg, and after a severe battle of ten hours, thanks to Almighty God, gained a complete victory, driving the enemy from every position.

The loss on both sides is heavy, including our commander-in-chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, who fell gallantly leading his troops into the thickest of the fight. G. T. Beauregard, General Commanding.

† Corinth, *Tuesday*, *April* 8, 1862.

To the Secretary of War, Richmond:

We have gained a great and glorious victory. Eight to ten thousand prisoners and thirty-six pieces of cannon. Buell reinforced Grant, and we retired to our intrenchments at Corinth, which we can hold. Loss heavy on both sides. Beauregard.

‡ Cincinnati, *May* 2, 1862.

The *Commercial* has, from its correspondent with the army of General Halleck, the following official figures of our loss at the battle of Pittsburg Landing:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
McClernand's	251	1,351	236
W. H. L. Wallace's	228	1,033	1,163
Lewis Wallace's	43	257	95
Hurlburt's	313	1,449	225
Sherman's	437	1,402	482
Prentiss'	196	562	1,802
Crittenden's	80	410	27
Nelson's	93	612	10
McCook's	94	806	4
Total	1,735	7,882	4,044

The total killed, wounded, and missing is 13,661. About 300 of the wounded have since died. Our burial parties report between 2,500 and 3,000 rebels found dead

on both sides was enormous; that of the Unionists was 1,735 killed, 7,882 wounded, and 4,044 missing, and that of the enemy was estimated to be still greater in killed and wounded, though much less in missing, as few of them were taken prisoners.

The enemy lost on the first day their commander-in-chief, General Sidney A. Johnston, who fell while riding along his lines and inspiriting his troops to the onset. His body was found during the next day by our troops, after driving the enemy from the ground, and Beauregard subsequently confessed the loss of the field by sending a flag of truce with a demand for the remains of the fallen chief.

Great gallantry was displayed by some of the officers and men on both sides. General Sherman,* especially, signalized himself by his skill and daring. He was wounded twice, and had three horses killed under him. General W. B. L. Wallace, who commanded in place of General Smith,† dangerously ill at the time, was mortally wounded on the first day.

Beauregard‡ boasted of having captured thirty-six pieces of artillery, and General Grant, in his official report,

on the field. Beauregard lost not less than 20,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the sick, used up, and panic-stricken, during his movement from Corinth upon Pittsburg Landing.

* He was promoted to a major-generalship.

† General Smith, one of the ablest officers in the army, who greatly distinguished himself at Fort Donelson, subsequently died.

‡ General Beauregard's Official Report of the Great Western Battle.

"Headquarters Army of the Mississippi,
Corinth, Miss., *April* 11, 1862.

"General: On the 2d ult., having ascertained conclusively from the movements of the enemy on the Tennessee River and from reliable sources of information that his aim would be to cut off my communications in West Tennessee with the Eastern and Southern States by operating from the Tennessee River, between Crump's Landing and Eastport, as a base, I determined to foil his designs by concentrating all my available forces at and around Corinth.

"Meanwhile, having called on the Governors of the States of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana to furnish additional troops, some of them—chiefly regiments from Louisiana—soon reached this vicinity, and with two divisions of General Polk's command from Columbus, and a fine corps of troops from Mobile and Pensacola, under Major-General Bragg, constituted the Army of the Mississippi. At the same time, General Johnston, being at Murfreesboro', on the march to form a junction of his forces with mine, was called on to send at least a brigade by railroad, so that we might fall on and crush the enemy should he attempt an advance from under his gun-boats. The call on General Johnston was promptly complied with. His entire force was also hastened in this direction, and by the 1st of April our united forces were concentrated along the Mobile and Ohio Railroad from Bethel to Corinth, and on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad from Corinth to Iuka.

"It was then determined to assume the offensive and strike a sudden blow at the enemy in position under General Grant on the west bank of the Tennessee, at Pittsburg, and in the direction of Savannah, before he was reinforced by the army under General Buell, then known to be advancing for that purpose by rapid marches from Nashville *via* Columbia. About the same time General Johnston was advised that such an operation conformed to the expectations of the President.

"By a rapid and vigorous attack on General Grant, it was expected he would be beaten back into his transports and the river, or captured in time to enable us to profit by the victory and remove to the rear all the stores and munitions that would fall into our hands in such an event before the arrival of General Buell's army on the scene. It was never contemplated, however, to retain the position thus gained, and abandon Corinth, the strategic point of the campaign.

"Want of proper officers, needful for the proper organization of divisions and brigades of an army brought thus suddenly together, and other difficulties in the way of an effective organization, delayed the movement until the night of the 2d inst., when it was heard from a reliable quarter that the junction of the enemy's armies was near at hand; it was then, at a late hour, determined that the attack should be attempted at once, incomplete and imperfect as were our preparations for such a grave and momentous adventure. Accordingly that night, at one o'clock A.M., the preliminary orders to the commanders of corps were issued for the movement.

confessed "the loss of artillery was great, many pieces being disabled by the enemy's shots, and some losing all their horses and many men. There

"On the following morning the detailed orders of movement were issued, and the movement, after some delay, commenced, the troops being in admirable spirits. It was expected we should be able to reach the enemy's lines in time to attack them early on the 5th inst.; the men, however, for the most part, were unused to marching, the roads narrow, and traversing a densely wooded country became almost impassable after a severe rain-storm on the night of the 4th, which drenched the troops in bivouac; hence our forces did not reach the intersection of the roads from Pittsburg and Hamburg, in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, until late Saturday afternoon.

"It was then decided that the attack should be made on the next morning, at the earliest hour practicable, in accordance with the orders of movement—that is, in three lines of battle; the first and second extending from Owl Creek on the left to Lick Creek on the right, a distance of about three miles, supported by the third and the reserve. The first line, under Major-General Hardee, was constituted of his corps, augmented on his right by Gladden's brigade of Major-General Bragg's corps, deployed in line of battle, with their respective artillery, following immediately by the main road to Pittsburg, and the cavalry in rear of the wings. The second line, composed of the other troops of Bragg's corps, followed the first at a distance of five hundred yards in the same order as the first. The army corps under General Polk followed the second line at the distance of about eight hundred yards in lines of brigades, deployed, with their batteries in rear of each brigade, moving by the Pittsburg road, the left wing supported by cavalry; the reserve, under Brigadier-General Breckinridge, followed closely the third line in the same order, the right wing supported by cavalry.

"These two corps constituted the reserve, and were to support the front lines of battle by being employed when required on the right and left of the Pittsburg road, or otherwise act according to the exigencies of the battle.

"At eight A.M. on the 6th inst., a reconnoitring party of the enemy having become engaged with our advanced pickets, the commander of the forces gave orders to begin the movement and attack as determined upon, except that Trabue's brigade, of Breckinridge's division, was detached and advanced to support the left of Bragg's corps and line of battle, when menaced by the enemy; and the other two brigades were directed to advance by the road to Hamburg to support Bragg's right, and at the same time Yancey's regiment, of Polk's corps, was advanced by the same road to reinforce the regiment of cavalry and battery of four pieces already thrown forward to watch and guard Grier's, Banner's, and Borland's Ford on Lick Creek.

"Thirty minutes after five o'clock A.M. our lines and columns were in motion, all animated evidently by a promising spirit. The front line was engaged at once, but advanced steadily, followed in due order with equal resolution and steadiness by the other lines, which were brought successively into action with rare skill, judgment, and gallantry by the several corps commanders as the enemy made a stand with his masses rallied for the struggle for his encampments. Like an Alpine avalanche our troops moved forward, despite the determined resistance of the enemy, until after six o'clock P.M., when we were in possession of all encampments between Owl and Lick creeks, but one. Nearly all of his field artillery, about thirty flags, colors, and standards, over three thousand prisoners, including a division commander (General Prentiss), and several brigade commanders, thousands of small-arms, an immense supply of subsistence, forage, and munitions of war, and a large amount of means of transportation—all the substantial fruits of a complete victory—such, indeed, as rarely have followed the most successful battles, for never was an army so well provided as that of our enemy.

"The remnant of his army had been driven in utter disorder to the immediate vicinity of Pittsburg under the shelter of the heavy guns of his iron-clad gun-boats, and we remained undisputed masters of his well-selected, admirably provided cantonments after over twelve hours of obstinate conflict with his forces, who had been beaten from them and the contiguous covert, but only by a sustained onset of all the men we could bring into action.

"Our loss was heavy, as will appear from the accompanying return, marked 'B.' Our commander-in-chief, General A. S. Johnston, fell mortally wounded, and died on the field at half-past two in the afternoon, after having shown the highest qualities of the commander and a personal intrepidity that inspired all around him, and gave resistless impulsion to his columns at critical moments.

"The chief command then devolved upon me, though at the time I was greatly prostrated and suffering from the prolonged sickness with which I had been afflicted since early in February. The responsibility was one which, in my physical condition, I would have gladly avoided, though cast upon me when our forces were successfully pushing the enemy back upon the Tennessee River, and though supported on the immediate field by such corps commanders as Major-Generals Polk, Bragg, and Hardee, and Brigadier-General Breckinridge, commanding the reserve.

"It was after six o'clock in the evening, as before said, when the enemy's last position was carried, and his forces finally broke and sought refuge behind a commanding eminence covering the Pittsburg Landing, not more than half a mile distant, and under the guns of the gun-boats, which opened on our eager columns a fierce and annoying fire with shot and shell of the heaviest description. Dark-

were probably not less than two hundred horses killed."

The enemy undoubtedly, on the first day, captured a large number of guns,

ness was close at hand; officers and men were exhausted by a combat of over twelve hours without food, and jaded by the march of the preceding day, through mud and water, it was therefore impossible to collect the rich and opportune spoils of war scattered broadcast on the field left in our possession, and impracticable to make any effective dispositions for their removal to the rear.

"I accordingly established my headquarters at the church of Shiloh, in the enemy's encampment, with Major-General Bragg, and directed our troops to sleep on their arms in such positions in advance and rear as corps commanders should determine, hoping from news received by a special dispatch that delays had been encountered by General Buell in his march from Columbia, and that his main forces, therefore, could not reach the field of battle in time to save General Grant's shattered fugitive forces from capture or destruction on the following day.

"During the night the rain fell in torrents, adding to the discomfort and harassed condition of the men; the enemy, moreover, had broken their rest by a discharge, at measured intervals, of heavy shells thrown from the gun-boats; therefore, on the following morning, the troops under my command were not in condition to cope with an equal force of fresh troops, armed and equipped like our adversary, in the immediate vicinity of his dépôts, and sheltered by such an auxiliary as the enemy's gun-boats.

"About six o'clock on the morning of the 7th of April, however, a hot fire of musketry and artillery, opened from the enemy's quarter on our advanced line, assured me of the junction of his forces, and soon the battle raged with a fury which satisfied me that I was attacked by a largely superior force. But from the onset our troops, notwithstanding their fatigue and losses from the battle of the day before, exhibited the most cheering, veteran-like steadiness. On the right and centre the enemy was repulsed in every attempt he made with his heavy column in that quarter of the field; on the left, however, and nearest to the point of arrival of his reinforcements, he drove forward line after line of his fresh troops, which were met with a resolution and courage of which our country may be proudly hopeful. Again and again our troops were brought to the charge, invariably to win the position at issue, invariably to drive back their foe. But hour by hour thus opposed to an enemy constantly reinforced, our ranks were perceptibly thinned under the unceasing, withering fire of the enemy, and by twelve meridian, eighteen hours of hard fighting had sensibly exhausted a large number, my last reserves had necessarily been disposed of, and the enemy was evidently receiving fresh reinforcements after each repulse. Accordingly, about one P.M., I determined to withdraw from so unequal a conflict, securing such of the results of the victory of the day before as was then practicable.

"Officers of my staff were immediately dispatched with the necessary orders to make the best dispositions for a deliberate, orderly withdrawal from the field, and to collect and post a reserve to meet the enemy, should he attempt to push after us. In this connection I will mention particularly my adjutant-general, Colonel Jordan, who was of much assistance to me on this occasion, as he had already been on the field of battle on that and the preceding day.

"About two o'clock P.M., the lines of advance, which had repulsed the enemy in their last fierce assault on our left and centre, received the orders to retire. This was done with uncommon steadiness, and the enemy made no attempt to follow.

"The line of troops established to cover this movement had been disposed on a favorable ridge commanding the ground of Shiloh church. From this position our artillery played upon the woods beyond for awhile, but upon no visible enemy, and without reply. Soon satisfied that no serious pursuit would be attempted, this last line was withdrawn, and never did troops leave the battle-field in better order. Even the stragglers fell into the ranks and marched off with those who had stood more steadily by their colors. A second strong position was taken up about a mile in rear, where the approach of the enemy was waited for nearly an hour; but no effort to follow was made, and only a small detachment of horsemen could be seen at a distance from this last position warily observing our movements.

"Arranging, through my staff officers, for the completion of the movements thus begun, Brigadier-General Breckinridge was left with his command as a rear guard to hold the ground we had occupied the night preceding the first battle, just in front of the intersection of the Pittsburg and Hamburg roads, about four miles from the former place, while the rest of the army passed to the rear in excellent order.

"On the following day, General Breckinridge fell back about three miles to Mickey's, which position we continued to hold, with our cavalry thrown considerably forward in immediate proximity to the battle-field.

"Unfortunately, toward the night of the 7th inst., it began to rain heavily; this continued throughout the night. The roads became almost impassable in many places, and much hardship and suffering now ensued before all the regiments reached their encampments. But, despite the heavy casualties of the two eventful days of the 6th and 7th of April, this army is more confident of ultimate success than before its encounter with the enemy.

"To Major-Generals Polk, Bragg, and Hardee, commanding corps, and to Brigadier-General Breckinridge, commanding the reserve, the country is greatly indebted for the zeal, intelligence, and energy with which all or-

but on the second were forced to abandon some of them, together with the rifles, munitions of war, and camp equipage which had fallen into their hands when

ders were executed—for the foresight and military ability they displayed in the absence of instructions in the many exigencies of the battle, on a field so densely wooded and broken, and for their fearless deportment as they repeatedly led their commands personally to the onset upon their powerful adversary. It was under these circumstances that General Bragg had two horses shot under him; that Major-General Hardee was slightly wounded, his coat rent by balls, and his horse disabled, and that Major-General Breckinridge was twice struck by spent balls.

"For the services of their gallant subordinate commanders, and of other officers, as well as for the details of the battle-field, I must refer to the reports of corps, division, and brigade commanders, which shall be forwarded as soon as received.

"To give more in detail the operations of the two battles resulting from the movement on Pittsburg than now attempted, must have delayed this report for weeks, and interfered materially with the important duties of my position; but I may be permitted to say, that not only did the obstinate conflict for twelve hours on Sunday leave the Confederate army masters of the battle-field, and our adversary beaten, but we left that field on the next day only after eight hours' incessant battle with a superior army of fresh troops, whom we had repulsed in every attack on our lines—so repulsed and crippled, indeed, as to leave it unable to take the field for the campaign for which it was collected and equipped at such enormous expense and with such profusion of all the appliances of war. These successful events were not achieved, however—as before said—without severe loss, a loss not to be measured by the number of the slain or wounded, but by the high social and personal worth of so large a number of those who were killed or disabled, including the commander of the forces, whose high qualities will be greatly missed in the momentous campaign impending.

"I deeply regret to record also the death of the Hon. George M. Johnson, Provisional Governor of Kentucky, who went into action with the Kentucky troops, and continually inspired them by his words and example. Having his horse shot under him on Sunday, he entered the ranks of a Kentucky regiment on Monday, and fell mortally wounded toward the close of the day. Not his State alone, but the whole Confederacy has sustained a great loss in the death of this brave, upright, and able man.

"Another gallant and able soldier and captain was lost to the service of the country when Brigadier-General Gladden, commanding first brigade, Withers' division, third army corps, died from a severe wound received on the 5th inst., after having been conspicuous to his whole corps and the army for courage and capacity.

"Major-General Cheatham, commanding first division, first corps, was slightly wounded, and had three horses shot under him.

"Brigadier-General Clark, commanding first division of the first corps, received a severe wound also on the first day, which will deprive the army of his valuable services for some time.

"Brigadier-General Hindman, engaged in the outset of the battle, was conspicuous for a cool courage efficiently employed in leading his men ever into the thickest of the fray, until his horse was shot under him, and he was unfortunately so severely injured by the fall that the army was deprived, on the following day, of his chivalrous example.

"Brigadier Generals B. R. Johnston and Bowen, most meritorious officers, were also severely wounded in the first combat, but it is hoped will soon be able to return to duty with their brigades.

"To mention the many field officers who died or were wounded while gallantly leading their commands into action, and the many brilliant instances of individual courage displayed by officers and men in the twenty hours of battle, is impossible at this time, but their names will be duly made known to their countrymen.

"The immediate staff of the lamented Commander-in-Chief, who accompanied him to the field, rendered efficient service, and either by his side or in carrying his orders, shared his exposure to the casualties of a well-contested battle-field. I beg to commend their names to the notice of the War Department, namely: Captain H. P. Brewster and N. Wickliffe, of the Adjutant and Inspector-General's Department.

"Captain Thomas O'Hara, Acting Inspector-General.

"Lieutenants George Baylor and Thomas M. Jack, aides-de-camp.

"Volunteer Aides-de-Camp: Colonel William Preston, Major D. M. Hayden, E. W. Munford, and Calhoun Benham.

"Major Albert J. Smith and Captain Wickham, Quartermaster's Department.

"To these gentlemen was assigned the last sad duty of accompanying the remains of their lamented chief from the field, except Captains Brewster and Wickliffe, who remained and rendered valuable services as staff officers on the 7th of April.

"Governor Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, went upon the field with General Johnston, was by his side when he was shot, aided him from his horse, and received him in his arms when he died. Subsequently the Governor joined my staff and remained with me throughout the next day, except when carrying orders or engaged in encouraging the troops of his own State, to whom he gave a conspicuous example of coolness, zeal, and intrepidity.

our troops were driven from their encampment on Sunday morning.

"I am also under many obligations to my own general, personal, and volunteer staff, many of whom have been so long associated with me. I append a list of those present on the field on both days, and whose duties carried them constantly under fire, namely: Colonel Thomas Jordan, Captain Clifton H. Smith, and Lieutenant John M. Otey, Adjutant-General's Department.

"Major George W. Brent, acting inspector-general; Colonel R. B. Lee, chief of subsistence, whose horse was wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel S. W. Ferguson, and Lieutenant A. R. Chisolm, aides-de-camp.

"Volunteer Aides-de-Camp: Colonel Major Thompson, Major Numa Augustin.

"Major H. E. Peyton.

"Captain Albert Ferry.

"Captain B. B. Waddell.

"Captain W. W. Porter, of Major-General Crittenden's staff, also reported for duty, and shared the duties of my volunteer staff on Monday.

"Brigadier-General Trudeau, of Louisiana Volunteers, also, for a part of the first day's conflict, was with me as a volunteer aid.

"Captain E. H. Cunning, signal officer, also was actively employed as a staff officer on both days.

"Nor must I fail to mention that private W. E. Goolsby, Eleventh Regiment Virginia Volunteers, orderly to my headquarters since last June, repeatedly employed to carry my verbal orders to the field, discharged the duty with great zeal and intelligence.

"Other members of my staff were necessarily absent from the immediate field of battle, intrusted with responsible duties at the headquarters, namely: Captain F. H. Jordan, assistant adjutant-general, in charge of general headquarters.

"Major Eugene McLean, chief quartermaster; Captain E. Deslonde, Quartermaster's Department.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, aide-de-camp, early on Monday was assigned to command and direct the movements of a brigade of the second corps.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Gilmer, chief engineer, after having performed the important and various duties of his place with distinction to himself and material benefit to his country, was wounded late on Monday. I trust, however, I shall not long be deprived of his essential services.

"Captain Lockett, Engineer Corps, chief assistant to Colonel Gilmer, after having been employed in the duties of his corps on Sunday, was placed by me on Monday in command of a battalion without field officers. Captain Fremaux, provisional engineer, and Lieutenants Steel and Helm also rendered material and ever dangerous service in the line of their duty.

"Major-General (now General) Braxton Bragg, in addition to his duties of chief of staff, as has been before

Both armies, after the two days' severe conflict on the field of Shiloh, were

stated, commanded his corps—much the largest in the field—on both days with signal capacity and soldiership.

"Surgeon Foard, medical director; Surgeons R. L. Brodie and S. Choppin, medical inspectors, and Surgeon D. W. Yandell, Medical Director of the Western Department with General Johnston, were present in the discharge of their arduous and high duties, which they performed with honor to their profession.

"Captain Tom Saunders, Messrs. Scales and Metcalf, and Mr. Tully, of New Orleans, were of material aid on both days, ready to give news of the enemy's positions and movements, regardless of exposure.

"While thus partially making mention of some of those who rendered brilliant, gallant, or meritorious service in the field, I have aimed merely to notice those whose position would most probably exclude the record of their services from the reports of corps or subordinate commanders.

"From this agreeable duty I turn to one in the highest degree unpleasant—one due, however, to the brave men under me, as a contrast to the behavior of most of the army who fought so heroically. I allude to the fact that some officers, non-commissioned officers, and men abandoned their colors early in the first day to pillage the captured encampments; others retired shamefully from the field on both days while the thunder of cannon and the roar and rattle of musketry told them that their brothers were being slaughtered by the fresh legions of the enemy. I have ordered the names of the most conspicuous upon this roll of laggards and cowards to be published in orders.

"It remains to state that our loss in the two days in the killed outright was 1,728; wounded, 8,012; missing, 959; making an aggregate of casualties of 10,699.

"This sad list tells in simple language of the stout fight made by our countrymen in front of the rude log chapel at Shiloh, especially when it is known that on Monday, from exhaustion and other causes, not twenty thousand men on our side could be brought into action.

"Of the losses of the enemy I have no exact knowledge. Their newspapers report it as very heavy. Unquestionably it was greater, even in proportion, than our own on both days, for it was apparent to all that their dead left on the field outnumbered ours two to one.

"Their casualties, therefore, cannot have fallen many short of twenty thousand men in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing.

"Through information derived from many sources, including newspapers of the enemy, we engaged on Sunday the divisions of Generals Prentiss, Sherman, Hurlburt, McClernand, and Smith, of 9,000 men each, or at least 45,000 men. This force was reinforced on Sunday night by the divisions of Generals Nelson, McCook, Crittenden, and Thomas, of Major-General Buell's army, some 25,000

too wearied with fighting to be able, immediately, to renew the contest. Beauregard accordingly withdrew to his intrenchments at Corinth, further to strengthen his fortifications and to await reinforcements. These came from Price and Van Dorn, who, after the battle of Pea Ridge, had moved across the State of Arkansas to Memphis, and thence by railroad to Corinth. At the same time, by the new conscription law of the Confederate Government, an increased number of recruits from the Southern States were forced into service, to swell* the ranks of Beauregard.

Equal efforts were made by General Halleck, who, after the battle of Shiloh, had proceeded to Pittsburg Landing to assume the command of our great army of the West, in person. General Pope was summoned from the banks of the Mississippi, where he had been co-operating with Commodore Foote, and soon succeeded in adding his effective troops to the forces concentrating at Pittsburg

strong, including all arms. Also General L. Wallace's division of General Grant's army, making at least 33,000 fresh troops, which added to the remnant of General Grant's forces on Monday morning, amounting to over 20,000, made an aggregate force of some 53,000 men at least arrayed against us on that day.

"In connection with the results of the battle, I should state that most of our men who had inferior arms exchanged them for the improved arms of the enemy. Also that most of the property, public and personal, in the camp from which the enemy was driven on Sunday, was rendered useless or greatly damaged, except some of the tents.

"All of which is respectfully submitted through my volunteer aide-de-camp, Colonel Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, who has in charge the flags, standards, and colors captured from the enemy.

"I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant, G. T. Beauregard, General Commanding.

"To General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector-General C. S. A., Richmond, Va."

* The following is the message of President Davis, in accordance with the recommendation of which a conscription law was passed:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States:

"The operation of the various laws now in force for raising armies has exhibited the necessity for reform. The frequent changes and amendments which have been made, have rendered the system so complicated as to make it often quite difficult to determine what the law really is, and to what extent prior amendments are modified by more recent legislation.

"There is also embarrassment from conflict between State and Confederate legislation. I am happy to assure you of the entire harmony of purpose and cordiality of feeling which has continued to exist between myself and the executives of the several States; and it is to this cause that our success in keeping adequate forces in the field is to be attributed.

"These reasons would suffice for inviting your earnest attention to the necessity of some simple and general system for exercising the power of raising armies, which is vested in Congress by the constitution. But there is another and more important consideration. The vast preparations made by the enemy for a combined assault at numerous points on our frontier and sea-board have produced results that might have been expected. They have animated the people with a spirit of resistance so general, so resolute, and so self-sacrificing that it requires rather to be regulated than to be stimulated. The right of the State to demand, and the duty of each citizen to render military service, need only to be started to be admitted. It is not, however, wise or judicious policy to place in active service that portion of the force of a people which experience has shown to be necessary as a reserve. Youths under the age of eighteen years require further instruction; men of matured experience are needed for maintaining order and good government at home, and in supervising preparations for rendering efficient the armies in the field.

"These two classes constitute the proper reserve for home defence, ready to be called out in case of any emergency, and to be kept in the field only while the emergency exists. But in order to maintain this reserve intact, it is necessary that in a great war like that in which we are now engaged, all persons of intermediate ages not legally exempt for good cause should pay their debt of military service to the country, that the burdens should not fall exclusively on the most ardent and patriotic.

"I therefore recommend the passage of a law declaring that all persons residing within the Confederate States, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, and rightfully subject to military duty, shall be held to be in the military service of the Confederate States, and that some plain and simple method be adopted for their prompt enrolment and organization, repealing all of the legislation heretofore enacted which would conflict with the system proposed. Jefferson Davis."

Landing. The following composed the staff of Halleck:

Major-General Halleck.

Brigadier-General Cullum, Chief of Staff and Engineers.

Captain N. H. McLean, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Brigadier-General Smith, Chief of Cavalry.

Colonel Cutts, Chief of Topographical Engineers.

Colonel Callender, Chief of Ordnance.

General DuBois, Chief of Artillery.

Colonel McKibben, Aide-de-Camp and Judge Advocate.

Major Key, Aide-de-Camp.

Captain Smith, Aide-de-Camp.

Assistant Surgeon, Peter V. Schenck.

Lieutenant Price, Aide-de-Camp.

Lieutenant Throckmorton, Aide-de-Camp.

Mr. Weir, Military Telegrapher.

Cairo and Paducah were drawn upon to the utmost of their resources, and immense supplies of men, munitions of war, and prisoners were brought by fleet after fleet of transports and gunboats up the Tennessee, and disembarked at the great Federal encampment. General Halleck finding the troops which had been engaged in the battle of Shiloh much disordered, applied his energies to the necessary reorganization with so much vigor, that he was soon enabled to make an advance and threaten the enemy at Corinth. Reconnoissances in force rapidly succeeded each other. The enemy's outposts were driven back from Pea Ridge (April 26), Monterey (April 29), Purdy (April 30), and from Farmington (May 3), and their communications interrupted by the destruction of the rails and bridges of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

The reconnoissance to Farmington resulted in a serious engagement. General Pope having encamped his division midway between Hamburg and Corinth, sent out at ten o'clock in the morning a detachment consisting of two bri- **May 3.** gades,* under the command of Generals Paine and Palmer, to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Farmington. After a march of about five miles on the road to this place, the enemy's scouts were first encountered. Our sharpshooters being thrown out on the road with flanking parties in the woods, and opening a brisk fire, soon cleared the way, killing six of the enemy's mounted men, wounding eight, and taking eight prisoners. The whole column now pushed on, but the skirmishers had advanced but a short distance when they were momentarily checked by abattis of felled trees strewn across the road, and a severe fire from the enemy behind them. Our men, however, spiritedly charging over the obstructions, drove out their concealed foes, and pursued them for a half a mile through tangled woods and obstructed swamp roads to the open fields near Farmington. The vanguard, thus hindered in its march, and delayed

* These were composed of the following regiments: The Tenth, Sixteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-seventh, Forty-second, and Fifty-first Illinois Volunteers, Tenth and Sixteenth Michigan Volunteers, Yates' Sharpshooters, Illinois; Houghtaling's (Illinois) and Hezcock's (Ohio) batteries, and the Second Michigan Cavalry.

in repairing the bridges and clearing the route, did not complete their hindered march until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy were found prepared for the advance, and had posted four pieces of artillery upon some elevated ground which commanded the road. Our troops were thus unable to reach the open fields except by taking a circuitous course. Colonel Morgan accordingly was sent with the Tenth Regiment to the right, and Yates' Sharpshooters were ordered to the left of the enemy's position. Thus opening fire on either flank, the enemy were dislodged and forced to post themselves elsewhere. Their second position, where they again formed in line of battle, was upon the crest of a hill, to the right of the Farmington road, just in advance of a dense wood with some old buildings on their left, and a deep ravine in their front and on their right. Thus protected, and with their artillery in position, they could defy the direct approach of our infantry, which was unable to reach them except by taking a circuitous route of two miles. While two regiments were dispatched by this route to take the enemy on the flank, one of our batteries (Houghtaling's) being planted upon the elevated ground from which they had first been driven, opened fire, which was spiritedly answered. While this "artillery duel" was in progress, the Union infantry had succeeded in getting on the left flank within three hundred yards of the enemy. Here our men fired such volleys of musketry that the enemy were again forced to shift their position. Their new ground was on the brow of a hill to the right of the road leading from Farmington to Corinth, about three-eighths of a mile, in a northerly direction, from the former place. As the enemy retired, Houghtaling's battery advanced to the position they abandoned, while the other battery (Hezcock's) was posted in an open field in front of Farmington, on the enemy's right. Our artillery now opened such a fire as the enemy were unable to endure, and they fled toward Corinth. The Union loss in this engagement was two killed and eleven wounded; that of the enemy was twenty killed and a hundred wounded. Their force consisted of four regiments of infantry, a battalion of cavalry, and a battery of four pieces of light artillery, all under the command of General Marmaduke.

Though hindered by the ill condition of the roads, from the constant rain, General Halleck had persisted in his advance, in spite of every obstacle, and early in May had pushed within a few miles of the enemy's position at Corinth.

In co-operation with these movements of the great army under General Halleck, in face of the enemy at Corinth, General Mitchell was operating with great success on Beauregard's flank.

The energetic Mitchell had marched through Tennessee, and entered Alabama, where by a rapid move- **Apr. 14.** ment, "after a forced march of incredible difficulty" from Fayetteville, he surprised and took possession of Hunts-

ville, capturing two hundred prisoners, fifteen locomotives, a large amount of passenger and box platform cars, the telegraph apparatus and office, and two Southern mails. He had thus secured a portion of the Charleston and Memphis railroad. "We have at last succeeded," said General Mitchell in his report," in cutting the great artery of railway communication between the Southern States." This important success was followed by rapid movements upon Florence in Tennessee, Decatur and Tuscumbia in Alabama, and Iuka in Mississippi. He was thus enabled still further to interrupt the enemy's communication by the Memphis and
Apr. 15. Charleston Railroad, of which he held or commanded more than a hundred miles.

At Bridgeport, in Alabama, the enemy, under General E. Kirby Smith, made a greater show of resistance, but
Apr. 29. were routed "after half an hour's shelling, with a loss of sixty-three killed and many wounded, and leaving three hundred prisoners and two pieces of artillery behind them as they fled across the Tennessee River."* With General Halleck advancing in front, and Mitchell on the flank, the position of the enemy at Corinth became so hazardous,

* Brigadier-General Mitchell was promoted to a major-generalship for his energetic movements in Alabama.

The following is a sketch of General Mitchell's life, from the N. Y. *Herald:*

"Acting Major-General Ormsby McKnight Mitchell is a native of Kentucky, but entered the Military Academy from the State of Ohio. He became a cadet at West Point in the year 1825, and graduated on the 30th day of June, 1829, standing No. 15 in a class of forty-six, among whom were Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, both generals in the rebel service. On the 1st of July, 1829, he was promoted to a brevet second lieutenancy in the Second United States Artillery, and during the same day received his full commission for that rank. On the 30th day of August, 1829, he was appointed Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics at the Military Academy of West Point, which position he retained until the 28th of August, 1831. He resigned his military rank on the 30th day of September, 1832. He then began the study of the law, and practised as counsellor-at-law in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1832 to 1834. He next became a Professor of Mathematics, Philosophy, and Astronomy at the Cincinnati College, in Ohio, which position he held for ten years—viz., from 1834 to 1844. During that time—viz., from 1836 to 1837—he was the Chief Engineer of the Little Miami Railroad, and in 1841 was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors to the Military Academy at West Point. He became the founder and director of the Observatory in Cincinnati in 1845, and retained the latter position for several years, during which time he edited and published a noted astronomical journal entitled the *Sidereal Messenger*. From 1847 to 1848 he held the position of Adjutant-General of the State of Ohio, and in 1848 was appointed the Chief Engineer of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, which position he held for some length of time. During all these years he resided in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

"Since then he has been for some years connected with the Dudley Observatory at Albany as director, which position he held when, on the occasion of the grand Union meeting at Union Square, he made his noted speech that was rendered so remarkable for its fiery eloquence and strong devotion to the Union. It was in this speech that he said: 'I owe allegiance to no particular State, and never did, and, God helping me, I never will. I owe allegiance to the Government of the United States. A poor boy, working my way with my own hands, at the age of twelve turned out to take care of myself as best I could, and beginning by earning but four dollars per month, I worked my way onward until this glorious Government of the United States gave me a chance at the Military Academy at West Point. There I landed with my knapsack on my back, and, I tell you God's truth, just a quarter of a dollar in my pocket. There I swore allegiance to the Government of the United States. I did not abjure the love of my own State, nor of my adopted State, but high above that was proudly triumphant and predominant my love for our common country.'

"His speech was continued with a fervor that held his hearers enthralled, and amid his remarks the following words also fell from his lips: 'When the rebels come to their senses we will receive them with open arms; but until that time, while they are trailing our glorious banner in the dust, when they scorn it, contemn it, curse it, and trample it under foot, I must smite, and in God's name I will smite, and as long as I have strength

that it was believed they would soon be forced, in order to extricate themselves, either to a desperate encounter or a rapid flight.

CHAPTER XVI.

Investment of Fort Macon by General Burnside.—Position of the Batteries and plan of Siege.—Summons to surrender.—Refusal of the Enemy.—Fire opened.—Co-operation of Gun-boats.—Surrender of Fort Macon.—Losses.—Captures.—Expeditions in North Carolina.—The Expedition to Dismal Swamp Canal.—To Washington.—To Elizabeth City.—Battle of South Mills.—Co-operation of Gun-boats.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, after obtaining possession of Beaufort, in North Carolina, without a blow, proceeded to invest Fort Macon, on Bogue Island. This was an old fortress of the United States which had been seized by the secessionists of North Carolina, at the outbreak of the civil war, and subsequently strengthened and garrisoned by a force of the enemy under Colonel White. Having landed a considerable number of troops, composed chiefly of the Fourth and Fifth Rhode Island, and Eighth Connecticut regiments, on Bogue Spit, at the eastern point of which Fort Macon is situated, General

1862.

I will do it * * * * I am ready, God help me, to do my duty. I am ready to fight in the ranks or out of the ranks. Having been educated in the Academy, having been in the army several years, having served as a commander of a volunteer company for ten years, and having served as an adjutant-general, I feel I am ready for something. I only ask to be permitted to act; and, in God's name, give me something to do!' The cheers that greeted the close of his fervid remarks will long be remembered by those who heard them.

"The rush to arms had commenced, and on the 9th of August, 1861, Ormsby M. Mitchell was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers The honor of his appointment was conferred on the State of New York. He was then ordered to report to the commander of the new Department of the Ohio, which embraced his native State. Many of the loyal Kentuckians rushed to his standard, and we soon find him in command of a brigade, next a division, and next a column of General Buell's forces. He had previously been under the commands of Generals Anderson and Sherman, in that department. The dash with which he made his brilliant entry into the rebels' works at Bowling Green has not yet been forgotten, and circumstances, more than himself, had prevented him from coming more prominently before the public ere this event. By the results it is plain that after the occupation of Nashville he moved down the railroad leading from that city to Chattanooga, where he was doubtless expected; but suddenly, and without any previous notice of his movements, we find his force to have turned on to a branch line to Fayetteville, and, by a grand forced march across the country, he turns up in possession of a point of their main Southern trunk line of railroad—the rebels' principal route of communication—midway between their two principal points of occupation at Chattanooga and Corinth. Here he seized a quantity of rolling stock, and by its aid he secured 'one hundred miles of the railroad.' Although the rebels might have conquered a small force at a junction or railroad station, or might have surmounted the difficulties of a broken or burned railroad bridge, it will not be quite as easy for them to arrange so thoroughly an organized plan that would enable them to regain one hundred miles of road in possession of determined Union troops. But General Mitchell is not done yet. We shall again hear of him.

"General Mitchell, like many of our more prominent generals, is also an author. He has sent forth to the world several of the finest astronomical works, some of which have been reprinted in a popular form in England and on the European continent. His 'Planetary and Stellar Worlds' and his 'Popular Astronomy' (published by Blakeman & Mason) have become text-books, and his 'Astronomy of the Bible' is now in the press. He has also written three other works that we have been made acquainted with, but which we believe have not yet been published."

Parke, who had been chosen by General Burnside for the service, commenced the construction of siege batteries. Captain Williamson, of Burnside's staff, and other engineers, having surveyed the ground, and sites being determined upon, the work began. The site for the first battery—there being three in all—was under the cover of a large sand-hill, about fourteen hundred yards from the fort, near the border of a marsh which forms the northern side of "Bogue Spit." The work was mounted with four ten-inch mortars, and manned by a portion of the First Battery of the Third New York Artillery, under the immediate command of Lieutenant Flagler, an ordnance officer of General Burnside's staff. The second battery was placed about a hundred yards in advance of the first, near the centre of the island. It was mounted with three long thirty-pound siege Parrott guns,* and manned by a detachment of Company C of the First Regiment U. S. Artillery, under the command of Captain Lewis G. Morris. The third and last battery was placed one hundred yards farther in advance than the second, at a distance of twelve hundred yards from the fort. It was mounted with four eight-inch mortars, manned by a detachment of the First Battery of the Third New York Artillery, and commanded by Lieutenant Prouty. Communications between the batteries were established by means of trenches constructed in the sand, and skirting the hillocks. On the flanks and the front, rifle-pits were dug, in which sharpshooters were posted to guard against sorties of the enemy.

These works having been completed, and being ready to open fire, a flotilla of gun-boats, under Commander Samuel Lockwood, bore down and prepared to take a position within range of the fort and bear their part in the bombardment.* Before, however, commencing operations, General Burnside had an interview, under a flag of truce, with Colonel White, the commander of the fort, and summoned him to surrender, which the latter peremptorily refused to do, declaring that he had been placed in command of the fort to defend it, and that he intended to do so to the utmost of his ability.

General Burnside awaited until the next morning, when at six o'clock he ordered the batteries to open fire, and the gun-boats to come within range of the fort. Our batteries, though firing incessantly, received no response for nearly half an hour, when at last the enemy began to answer briskly. Apr. 25.

"The firing on either side," wrote an eye-witness,† "was for some time wild and ineffective. The bursting shells filled the air with wreaths of smoke, or

* The shot used in this battery was of a novel character. Each projectile was made of solid cast iron, conically-shaped, with a blunt point some three inches in diameter, and the more especial object of the battery was to dismount the guns on the fort. For this object the flat impinging surface of the shot was peculiarly adapted, as it was less liable to glance—a fault common with sharp-pointed shot.

* The flotilla was composed of the steamers Daylight, the flag-ship of Commander Lockwood, the State of Georgia, and Chippewa, and the bark Gemsbok.

† Correspondent N. Y. *Herald.*

tossed the sand and water in fountain-like columns. The solid shot from our batteries ricochetted along the surface of the water beyond the fort—those from the enemy glanced harmlessly from one sand-hill to another. But gradually the range on either side was attained with increasing accuracy, and the deadly missiles began to strike frequently and more frequently in the vicinity of the hostile positions. So the work went on till midday, when the terrific fire of our batteries became distinctly visible in its results.

"During the forenoon the eight-inch mortar battery of Lieutenant Prouty bore off the palm of marksmanship. Its shells fell with regularity and precision into the fort, and at each explosion the red dirt and sand of the glacis, slopes, ramparts, parapets, and terrepleins were dashed in a cloud many feet into the air. The flag-staff, with its defiant colors floating at top, was at times completely obscured in the smoke and dust which rose with the bursting of the missiles. The ten-inch mortar battery was not so successful in the morning. The shells from it burst beyond or high in air over the fort, scattering the fragments of iron far and wide into the water, splashing it up with little fountains of spray. This want of success was owing to the slight nature of the timbers used in the traverses. Beams for eight-inch mortars had been supplied, and the concussion from the much weightier metal of the ten-inch mortars first started and then broke the timbers, until the battery was almost unmanageable. With a most creditable perseverance and energy, however, the defect was so remedied that Lieutenant Flagler was enabled to continue the firing without interruption, and in the afternoon the battery played with an effect that was evidenced in the decreased fire from the fort. The shells, too, had been purposely loaded with an unusual quantity of powder, in order to make their explosion all the more terrifying to the doomed garrison, and the prisoners subsequently stated that it was impossible for them to tell whether shells were exploding or their own guns discharging, such was the loudness and shock of the report.

"The battery of Parrott guns under command of Captain Morris, in the mean time, was keeping up an incessant fire upon the ramparts. The difficulty of obtaining accurate range was for some time experienced, and the shots either went over the fort, ricochetting across the water toward Shackleford Banks, or fell short and buried themselves in the sand and glacis on its westerly side. But the range grew better with every shot, and from twelve o'clock until the close of the fight Captain Morris seldom failed to plant those terrible conical balls among the guns, on the edges of the ramparts, and against the walls. The latter were pierced in two places, the balls passing through into the casemates. * * * Wherever these shots struck, they tore through with a force that hurled fragments of iron, particles of brick, stones, grass sods, and sandbags about in every direction. * * *

"The precision attained by the prac-

tice of the forenoon, and the facility of loading and firing, which even the experience of a few hours had given, were now evidenced in the successful results of each shot from our batteries and in the almost incessant nature of the discharges.

"The scene assumed its grandest aspect after two o'clock. A flash and a puff of smoke betokened a discharge; an interval elapsed which terminated with the report of the piece; then came the sonorous hum of the shell as it flew through the air; another puff of smoke soon followed by a second report, and the deadly missile had exploded.*

"With our glasses we could distinctly see every manœuvre in the fort. Their look-out was ensconced behind a pile of sand-bags upon the ramparts, and we almost fancied we could hear him ejaculate the word 'Down!' as he marked the approach of every shot. Its effect was like magic. As he himself disappeared, down out of sight went the crowd of men around the guns, to reappear again when the shot had stopped its motion and accomplished its errand. The men were working like beavers, and one individual in a white shirt attracted particular attention on account of his industry.

"A number of horses and cows that were browsing on the green slope of the fort when the firing commenced, becoming terrified at the noise, had dashed away down the 'spit.' Some of them crossed within our lines and were captured, while others continued to rush up and down in the sand, scared away alternately by the firing from the fort and the firing from our batteries.

"Little remains to tell of the bombardment. The garrison had at first responded with some seven or eight guns, exclusive of carronades, which were made to serve the purpose of mortars. The squads of gunners could be observed passing about alternately with the pieces as they became hot under the discharges. Gradually their fire slackened to four, then to three, and then to two guns."

Commander Lockwood had in the mean time brought his flotilla as close to the front as the shallow water would allow, and opened fire, but finding that the sea, from a southwest wind blowing, caused the vessels to roll so that the guns became unmanageable, he "reluct-

* There was an interesting interlude in the tragic drama of the struggle, which is thus pleasantly told:

"About two o'clock Major Allen went out in a small boat, under a flag of truce, to return the letters written in reply to those received the day before. The men in the fort seemed too busy to attend, and the boat, after standing on and off in the vicinity of Shark Shoal Point, returned. The boat subsequently went out (at the time that a signal for a cessation of hostilities was hoisted by the fort) and delivered them. Many of the letters contained exhortations and entreaties to officers and soldiers to prevail upon Colonel White to surrender the place without resistance. Others exhibited more pluck on the part of the feminine correspondents. They besought their friends to fight a little while, and then surrender, to show that they were not cowards. It must be said that the rebels exhibited considerable bravery. They worked at the guns until the only available ones were dismounted or disabled. A movement was set on foot among the ladies of Beaufort to have a petition signed by them and sent to Colonel White, imploring him to capitulate; but, owing to the brief time allowed for the return of the mail, it did not become general enough to secure anything like combined action. Several wanted to send over flowers and bouquets, but all articles were interdicted save letters."

antly withdrew," after an engagement of about an hour and a quarter.*

The guns of the fort were finally silenced, and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy hoisted a white flag over one of their cannon. Two commissioners came off in a boat with a flag of truce, and after a short negotiation, terms were agreed upon, and Fort Macon surrendered.† The work was immediately occupied by the Federal forces. Its dismantled, ruined condition showed how efficient had been the bombardment, and testified to the gallantry of the garrison, which had not surrendered until resistance had become impossible. The loss of the enemy in men was seven killed and eighteen wounded, while that of the Unionists was but one killed and two wounded. Besides a strong fort commanding the important harbor of Beaufort, the United States captured 20,000 pounds of powder, 150 ten-inch shells, 250 thirty-two pound shot, 150 eight-inch shot, and 400 stand of arms.

General Burnside continued with unabated energy to send out expeditions* from his main basis of operations at

* Commodore Lockwood says in his official report:

"The fire of the enemy on the vessels from guns of greater range was excellent. Their shot and shell fell around us in every direction. Many good line shots passed just over and beyond us as we successively passed their line of fire, and we were exceedingly fortunate in receiving so little damage. The Daylight was struck by an eight-inch solid shot on the starboard quarter, just below the spar-deck, passing through several bulkheads and the deck below to the opposite side of the vessel in the engine-room, about six inches above the machinery, among which it dropped. A splinter fractured the small bone of the right fore-arm of Acting Third Assistant Engineer Eugene J. Wade, and I am happy to state that this was the only casualty that occurred."

† THE TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

The following are the terms of capitulation agreed upon for the surrender, to the forces of the United States, of Fort Macon, Bogue Banks, North Carolina:

"ARTICLE 1. The fort, armament, and garrison to be surrendered to the forces of the United States.

"ART. 2. The officers and men of the garrison to be released on their parole of honor not to take up arms against the United States of America until properly exchanged, and to return to their homes, taking with them all their private effects, such as clothing, bedding, books, etc.

"M. J. WHITE,
"Colonel C. S. A., commanding Fort Macon.
"JOHN G. PARKE,
"Brigadier-General Volunteers, commanding Third Division, Department of North Carolina.
"SAMUEL LOCKWOOD,
"Commander U. S. N., and senior officer.

"FORT MACON, N. C., *April* 26, 1862."

* Another naval expedition, consisting of a single vessel, was dispatched by Commander Rowan to Washington, North Carolina. This, though unopposed, deserves a record for the interesting development of returning loyalty of the people, as stated in the following official report to Commander Rowan:

"UNITED STATES STEAMER LOUISIANA,
WASHINGTON, N. C., *March* 26, 1862.

"SIR—In obedience to your orders of the 20th inst., I proceeded to this place, arriving at the obstructions about five miles below on the morning of the 21st. The naval column consisted of this vessel, the Delaware, Lieutenant Commanding Quackenbush, and the Commodore Perry, Lieutenant Commanding Flusser. We were accompanied to the obstructions by the steamer Admiral, army transport, with eight companies of the Twenty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Stevenson, and a small tug boat. We met with no resistance, the batteries having been abandoned and their armament removed by blasting and other processes. We soon forced a channel through the piles, though they had been driven very deep in triple row, and cut off three feet below the surface.

"At eleven o'clock last night we arrived off the town, the Delaware bringing up from the transport the field officers, two companies, and a regimental band. The authorities, with many of the citizens, met us on the wharf, where I briefly explained to them the object of our visit. The military formed and we proceeded to the court-house, where, with all the ceremonies, we hoisted the 'Flag of the Union.' The troops returned to the Delaware with unbroken ranks.

"I found on further consultation with the authorities, on whom I made my demand for the restoration of the Hatteras Light property, that, underlying an apparent acquiescence of the people of the town and neighborhood in per-

Newbern. A land force having dis-
Apr. 18. embarked at Cobb's Point for the purpose of destroying the locks of the Dismal Swamp Canal, but retiring without accomplishing the object, Commander Rowan was dispatched with a flotilla of steamboats to try their efficiency. He accordingly started from
Apr. 23. his station off Elizabeth City, in the Lockwood, accompanied by the Whitehead and Putnam, each with "an officer and a detachment of men on board." The Lockwood had in tow the schooner Emma Slade with apparatus for blowing up the banks of the canal, with the view of blocking up the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal at the mouth of the North River. The expedition, after sailing, was joined by the Shawshene, towing a schooner filled with sand.

The result of his operations is thus stated by Commander Rowan:

"On the afternoon of the 23d (April), fifty men were landed on each bank, while a launch, with a heavy twelve-pounder, was sent up the canal, and with this force we moved up two miles, examining the banks to find the best place for operation. I concluded to place the obstructions near the mouth, that the men, while at work, might be under cover of the guns of the steamers, and the enemy be prevented from moving it. The schooner was sunk just inside of the canal, and with brush, stumps, rails, trunks of trees, and earth, the passage was obstructed from the schooner about fifty yards above. We were occupied from noon till sunset of the 23d, and from 7.30 A.M. till half an hour after sunset of the 24th. Earth was thrown in by hand as far as could be, but we had no wheelbarrows to carry it into the middle."*

mitting the building of gun-boats and the construction of batteries to repel the approach of the Federal forces, was a deep-rooted affection for the old Union, and not a little animosity for its enemies, the latter element not being diminished by the importation of troops from a distant State. The result of this state of affairs was, as could be anticipated, the abandonment of its defences by the troops, followed by the destruction of what remained of Confederate property by the people. The launched gun-boat had been towed several miles up the river, loaded with turpentine, and fired the night of our arrival. A few hundred bushels of meal and corn left in the commissary store were distributed to the poor by my orders. The most valuable part of the Hatteras Light property, the lenses, have been taken to Farborough, but I have hopes of their recovery through the instrumentality of the people of Washington. The rest of the property is secured with channel buoys and moorings

"In addition to the batteries on either side of the obstructions, the enemy have thrown up breast-works east of the town, joining and extending half a mile. They also had fortified their camp, which commanded the high road. A sketch of the river, from the obstructions to the bridge above the town, is inclosed; it includes all the fortifications.

"The woods and swamps in this and Hyde County are represented as being alive with refugees from the draft; many of them, encouraged by our presence, came in. They are deep and bitter in their denunciations of the secession heresy, and promise a regiment, if called, to aid in the restoration of the flag. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, A. MURRAY,

"Lieutenant Commanding Column.

"To Commander S. C. ROWAN, Commanding Naval Forces, Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, North Carolina."

* "Prof. Maillefort, of the New York Submarine Engineering Company, and his assistants were of the greatest assistance to me," says Commander Rowan; "indeed, I was merely governed by his advice, as he is more familiar with this sort of work than I am. He is of opinion that it will require two or three months' labor with a dredging machine to remove what we have placed in a day and a half. He says it will be easier and cheaper to cut a new outlet than to remove the obstruction. The rebels have, I think, no thought of using the canal, as they have themselves been obstructing it above and below the bridge. It would be well to send a steamer there daily until the lumber is well water-soaked and sunk."

A more imposing expedition, consisting of the Twenty-first Massachusetts, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, portions of the Ninth and Eighty-ninth New York and Sixth New Hampshire, under the command of General Reno, after rendevousing at Roanoke Island, proceeded to Elizabeth City, with the view of making a demonstration against Norfolk. The troops disembarked at midnight, about three miles below, and on the east side of the town. At three o'clock in the morning, Colonel Hawkins advanced with his brigade, consisting of the Ninth and Eighty-ninth New York and Sixth New Hampshire, toward South Mills, while General Reno awaited at the landing to bring up the rest of the troops. At seven A.M. the General began his march for South Mills, and when about twelve miles on his route, overtook the brigade of Colonel Hawkins, who, "by the treachery or incompetency" of his guide, had missed his way, and been thus delayed in his advance. Hawkins' men appearing much jaded by their long march, they were ordered to fall in the rear, and General Reno took the advance himself with the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania regiments, leading the whole force to within a mile and a half of South Mills.

Apr. 19.

"The rebels," states General Reno officially, "opened upon us with artillery before my advanced guard discovered them. I immediately reconnoitred their position, and found that they were posted in an advantageous position in a line perpendicular to the road, their infantry in ditches and their artillery commanding all the direct approaches, and their rear protected by a dense forest. I ordered the Fifty-first Pennsylvania immediately to file to the right and pass over to the edge of the woods to turn their left. I also ordered the Twenty-first Massachusetts to pursue the same course; and when Colonel Hawkins came up with his brigade, I sent him with the Ninth and Eighty-ninth New York to their support. The Sixth New Hampshire were formed in line to the left of the road, and ordered to support our four pieces of artillery. Owing to the excessive fatigue of the men, they could not reach their position for some time. In the mean time the enemy kept up a brisk artillery fire, which was gallantly responded to by our small pieces under charge of Colonel Howard, of the Coast Guard, who, during the entire engagement, displayed most conspicuous gallantry, and rendered very efficient service both during the action and upon the return—he bringing up the rear. As soon as the Fifty-first Pennsylvania and Twenty-first Massachusetts had succeeded in turning their left, they opened a brisk musketry fire, and about the same time the Ninth New York also coming in range, and being too eager to engage, unfortunately charged upon the enemy's artillery. It was a most gallant charge, but they were exposed to a most deadly fire of grape and musketry, and were forced to retire, but rallied immediately upon the Eighty-ninth New York. I then ordered both regiments to form a junction with the Twenty-first Massachusetts. In the mean time the

Fifty-first Pennsylvania and Twenty-first Massachusetts kept up an incessant fire upon the rebels, who now had withdrawn their artillery and had commenced to retreat in good order. The Sixth New Hampshire had steadily advanced in line to the left of the road, and when within about 200 yards, poured in a most deadly volley, which completely demoralized the enemy and ended the battle. Our men were so completely fagged out by the intense heat and their long march that we could not pursue them.

"The men rested on their arms in line of battle until about ten o'clock P.M., when I ordered a return to our boats, having accomplished the principal object of the expedition, conveying the idea that the entire Burnside expedition was marching upon Norfolk. Owing to a want of transportation, I was compelled to leave some sixteen of our most severely wounded men. Assistant Surgeon Warren was left with the men. I sent a flag of truce the next day to ask that they might be returned to us. Commander Rowan kindly volunteered to attend to it. We took only a few prisoners, some ten or fifteen. Most of them belonged to the Third Georgia Regiment. The Ninth New York suffered most severely, owing to their premature charge—our total loss in killed and wounded being about ninety, some sixty belonging to that regiment."

Though General Reno was obliged to leave his dead and wounded on the field, he succeeded in making his return "march in perfect order," there being "few if any stragglers left behind."

The gun-boat under command of Lieutenant Flusser had, in the mean time, rendered good service by proceeding up the river and driving the enemy out of the woods along the banks. "The enemy," declares General Reno, "had from six to ten pieces of artillery, and from 1,800 to 2,000 men. We approached to within about thirty miles of Norfolk, and undoubtedly the defeat of one of their best regiments (the Third Georgia) produced considerable panic at Norfolk." The enemy, on the other hand, asserted that their force "consisted only of Colonel Wright, with a portion of the Third Georgia, and Captain McComa's company of artillery, in all 500 men," and that they "kept the foe at bay several hours;" but admitted that "twenty killed and thirty-one wounded were brought to Norfolk, and that finally, ammunition being exhausted, they fell back to South Mills, and thence to the Half-Way-House, half way to Richmond, where they were awaiting reinforcements."

CHAPTER XVII.

Expedition to New Orleans.—Composition and leaders of land and naval forces.—Rendezvous at Ship Island.—Arrival of General Butler.—Mortar Fleet under Captain Porter.—The Expedition at the mouths of the Mississippi.—Defences of the Enemy.—Forts Jackson and St. Philip.—Defences in the upper part of the river.—Enemy's land force.—Commanders of the Enemy's forts.—Position of the Union fleets.—Fire-rafts.—Their extinguishment.—Fire opened.—Movements of Butler.—Bold resolution of Farragut.—Destruction of the Enemy's *Cheveaux de Frise*.—More Fire-rafts.—Passage of the Enemy's Forts by Farragut.—Naval conflict.—Farragut before New Orleans.—Surrender of the City.—Outrages of the Inhabitants.—Surrender of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.—Condition of the works.—Losses.—Destruction of Property.—General Butler in New Orleans.—Proclamation in regard to blockade by President Lincoln.

1862. THE Federal Government continued to avail itself of its great naval resources by sending immense expeditions to attack the Southern sea-board. The most imposing of these was that sent to the mouths of the Mississippi, with the view of capturing New Orleans. The expedition consisted of a large land force under General Butler, of a fleet of sloops of war and gun-boats, amounting to twenty-three in all, and commanded by Commodore David E. Farragut, and a flotilla* of twenty-one mortar vessels, commanded by Captain David D. Porter.

* The following comprised the fleet:

Flag-ship Hartford, twenty-six guns, Captain Richard Wainwright; Executive Officer, Lieutenant J. S. Thornton.

Steam sloop Brooklyn, twenty-six guns, Captain Thomas T. Craven; Executive Officer, Lieutenant R. B. Lowry.

Steam sloop Richmond, twenty-eight guns, Captain James Alden.

Steam sloop Mississippi, sixteen guns, Captain M. Smith; Executive Officer, Lieutenant Dewey.

Steam sloop Varuna, ten guns, Captain Charles S. Boggs.

Steam sloop Pensacola, twenty-four guns, Captain Henry W. Morris; Executive Officer, Lieutenant Francis Roe.

Steam sloop Oneida. eleven guns, Commander S. Phillips Lee; Executive Officer, Lieutenant Sicord.

Steam sloop Iroquois, nine guns, Commander John De Camp; Executive Officer, David B. Harmony.

Gun-boat Westfield, six guns, Captain Wm. B. Renshaw.

Gun-boat Katahdin, six guns, Lieutenant Commanding George Preble.

Gun-boat Pinola, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding Crosby.

Gun-boat Cayuga, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding Napoleon Harrison.

Gun-boat Clifton, five guns.

Gun-boat Itasca, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding C. H. B. Caldwell,

Gun-boat Kennebeck, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding John Russell.

Gun-boat Kanawha, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding John Febiger.

Gun-boat Sciota, six guns, Lieutenant Commanding Edward Donaldson.

Gun-boat Miami, six guns, Lieutenant Commanding A. D. Harroll.

Gun-boat Owasco, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding John Guest.

Gun-boat Winona, four guns, Lieutenant Commanding Edward T. Nichols; Executive Officer, John G. Walker.

Gun-boat Wissahickon, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding Albert N. Smith.

Gun-boat Kineo, five guns, Lieutenant Commanding George H. Ransom.

Schooner Kittatinny, nine guns, Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Lamson.

The mortar flotilla and some vessels which co-operated with it are comprised in the following list:

Steam gun-boat Owasco, Lieutenant Guest Commanding.

FIRST, OR RED DIVISION.

1. Norfolk Packet, flag-ship of First division—Lieutenant Watson Smith, Commander; Edgar C. Merriman,

The troops had been long mustering at the rendezvous on Ship Island, when Major-General Butler joined them with reinforcements on the 20th of March, and assumed the chief command. This land force, however, remained comparatively inactive, while awaiting the arrival of the fleets with which it was to co-operate. Little was done beyond reconnoitring in force the coasts of Mississippi and Louisiana, and taking possession of Biloxi, Mississippi City, and Pass Christian, at the entrance of the bay of St. Louis, which leads to Lake Borgne.

Commander Farragut,* after a long delay by storms and the low state of the water, was finally prepared, with the co-operation of the mortar flotilla under

Acting Master; A. D. Judson, Assistant Surgeon; W. Ferguson, Captain's Clerk.

2. Oliver H. Lee—Washington Godfrey, Acting Master.
3. Para—George H. Hord, Acting Master.
4. C. P. Williams—Amos R. Langthem, Acting Master.
5. Orletta—Thomas E. Smith, Acting Master.
6. William Bacon—William P. Rogers, Acting Master.

SECOND, OR BLUE DIVISION.

1. T. A Ward, flag-ship of Second division—Lieutenant Walter W. Queen, Commander; J. Duncan Graham, Acting Master; A. A. Hochling, Assistant Surgeon; Archer Tevis, Captain's Clerk.
2. Sidney C. Jones—Robert Adams, Acting Master.
3. Matthew Vassar—Hugh H. Savage, Acting Master.
4. Maria J. Carlton—Charles E. Jack, Acting Master.
5. Orvetta—Francis E. Blanchard, Acting Master.
6. Adolph Hugel—Hollis B. Jenks, Acting Master.
7. George Mangham—John Collins, Jr, Acting Master.

THIRD, OR WHITE DIVISION.

1. Horace Beales, flag-ship of Third division—Lieutenant R. Randolph Breese, Commander; George W. Sumner, Acting Master; Robert T. Ecles, Assistant Surgeon; Albert W. Bacon, Captain's Clerk.
2. John Griffiths—Henry Brown, Acting Master.
3. Sarah Bruin—Abraham Christian, Acting Master.
4. Racer—Alvin Phinney, Acting Master.
5. Sea Foam—Henry E. Williams, Acting Master.
6. Henry James—Lewis Pennington, Acting Master.
7. Dan Smith—George W. Brown, Acting Master.

Steamer Harriet Lane, Lieutenant Wainwright commanding, flag-ship of Commander D. D. Porter, commander of the flotilla.

Schooner T. A. Ward—W. W. Queen, Lieutenant Commanding; A. Travis, Captain's Clerk; J. D. Graham, Acting Master and Executive Officer; J. Van Buskirk, G. W. Wood, and W. Hatch, Master's Mates.

Schooner Sidney C. Jones—Robert Adams, Acting Master commanding; R. M. Metcalf, Master's Mate and Executive Officer; W. C. Graham and T. L. Cortelyou, Master's Mates.

Schooner Matthew Vassar, Jr.—Hugh H. Savage, Acting Master commanding; G. S. Hein, Acting Master and Executive Officer; D. H. Griswold and W. H. Renfield, Acting Master's Mates.

Schooner Maria J. Carlton—Charles E. Jack, Acting Master commanding; Douglas F. O'Brien, Master's Mate and Executive Officer; Jerome B. Johnson and August Adler, Master's Mates.

Schooner Orvetta— ——— Adams, Acting Master commanding; Enos O. Adams, Master's Mate and Executive Officer; Sandford Randall, Master's Mate.

Schooner Adolph Hugel—H. B. Jacks, Acting Master commanding; Peter Decker, Master's Mate and Executive Officer; Silas S. Pardee and Frank Davis, Master's Mates.

Schooner George Mangham—John Collins, Acting Master commanding; J. M. Richards, Master's Mate and Executive Officer; Samuel A. O'Brien and W. Davis, Master's Mates.

Barkentine Horace Beales—K. R. Breese, Lieutenant Commanding; E. W. Sumner, Executive Officer; Ecles, Surgeon.

Schooner John Griffith—Henry Brown, Acting Master commanding; A. M. Camby, Executive Officer; Master's Mates—T. H. Loversaler, E. Booth.

Schooner Sarah Bruen— —— ——, Acting Master commanding; Master's Mates—M. C. Ryder, Sylvester Rowland, J. S. Hyde.

Schooner Racer—Acting Master A. Phinney commanding; Master's Mates—E. T. Martin, H. C. Whitmore, E. C. Corey.

Brig Sea Foam—Acting Master H. E. Williams commanding; Master's Mates—J. L. Perkins, A. Felix, J. Moss.

Schooner Henry Janes—Acting Master L. W. Remington commanding; Master's Mates—R. N. Spates, A. Soper, Z. Predmore.

Schooner Daniel Smith—Acting Master G. W. Brown commanding; Master's Mates—F. W. Town, Executive Officer; E. Gabrielson, R. Sommers.

* Flag-Officer David E. Farragut was born in Tennessee, and was appointed a midshipman for that State. He entered the service on the 17th of December, 1810. He was in the Essex with Commodore Porter in the engagement between that vessel and the British men-of-war the Phœbe and Cherub off Valparaiso during the war of 1812, when, though a mere lad, he greatly distinguished himself. He is now sixty-one years of age, but retains the vigor and spirit of his early life. He has been in the navy fifty-two years.

From a Photograph by Brady.

D. G. Farragut

Entered according to act of Congress in 1865 by Virtue & Yorston in the clerks office of the district court of the United States for the southern district of New Y

Captain D. Porter,* which had in the mean time arrived, to enter the passes of the Mississippi and commence operations upon the formidable defences of the enemy on that river. General Butler at the same time embarked a large force consisting of about six thousand men, and moved down toward the mouth of the Mississippi, prepared to land them at the proper moment for co-operation with the fleet.

The enemy had made formidable preparations for the defence of the approaches to New Orleans. They already possessed in the Federal forts, which had been seized by the insurgents on the secession of Louisiana, two of the most skilfully constructed and strongest works on the American coast. These were Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip. The former is on the right or west bank of the Mississippi, about twenty-five miles from the heads of the passes through which that river flows into the Gulf of Mexico. The work is built of brick, and is bastioned and casemated. It was constructed for one hundred and fifty guns, of which thirty were to be *en barbette*. When seized by the people of Louisiana the work was incomplete, but the enemy diligently strove to perfect its defences. Of vast extent, it is capable of containing a garrison of six to eight hundred men. The United States Government had spent about a million of dollars in its construction.

Fort St. Philip is opposite to Fort Jackson, on the left or east bank of the Mississippi River. It is a strong casemated work, and mounts one hundred and fifty guns. To it are attached a lower and upper exterior battery with twenty-eight guns each. It cost the Government about three hundred thousand dollars. It is capable of holding a garrison of six hundred men. The enemy strengthened it greatly, and substituted a number of columbiads for its old guns.* In addition to these forts commanding the mouths of the Mississippi, there were equally elaborate works constructed by the United States Government, and strengthened by the enemy, to defend the approaches to New Orleans by the bayous and lakes to the southeast of the city. These various fortifications had been repaired and perfected under the skilful supervision of General Beauregard, when serving as an engineer officer in the United States army. Such was their strength and commanding position, that they were reputed to be capable of "beating off any navy in the world."

The enemy had still further guarded the ascent of the Mississippi by stretching diagonally across, below Forts Jackson and Philip, and within command of their fire, a chain supported by rafts

* Commander David D. Porter was born in Pennsylvania. His father was the gallant Commodore Porter of the Essex, whose cruise in the Pacific and fierce fight with the British men-of-war off Valparaiso became so memorable. Commander Porter entered the navy on the 2d of February, 1829, since which he has been in various service, scientific and naval. He served in the Gulf of Mexico during the Mexican war, was an officer of the coast survey, etc, commanded the mail steamer Panama in 1850, and subsequently the steamer Georgia. He has been in the navy thirty-three years.

* Fort St. Philip is a comparatively old fortification. It was bombarded in 1815 by the British, when held by a garrison under the command of Major Overton, the maternal uncle of Governor Moore, of Louisiana.

and vessels, and defended by earth-works at each end on the banks of the river. Just above were kept moored rafts and hulks laden with pitch and turpentine, ready to send down with the flow of the river against any vessels attempting to ascend.

Beyond Forts St. Philip and Jackson, toward New Orleans, there was a series of batteries and earth-works, but of little importance. In addition to these stationary means of defence, the enemy had a considerable flotilla of vessels of war. These numbered about fifteen in all, among which there were the Manassas "ram," the Louisiana, a floating battery, and several iron-clad gun-boats.

A considerable force of troops, supposed to be about ten thousand strong, was encamped in and about New Orleans, under the command of Mansfield Lovell, a native of the District of Columbia, formerly an officer in the United States army, now a brigadier-general in the Confederate service. The general command of the river defences was held by Johnson K. Duncan, a native of Pennsylvania, also a former officer of the United States army, and now a general in the service of the enemy. The immediate commander of Forts St. Philip and Jackson was Edward Higgins, by birth a Virginian, formerly a lieutenant in the United States navy, and now a lieutenant-colonel of artillery in the Confederate army.*

* These three officers were well known at the North, having been employed in the city of New York in various civil capacities. Lovell and Duncan were in the Street Commissioner's Department, and Higgins commanded the passenger steamers the Hermann and Vanderbilt.

After the fleets had remained for over a month at the head of the passes of the Mississippi, engaged in reconnoitring, sounding, testing the range of the guns, and otherwise preparing for an attack upon the enemy, they finally moved up the Mississippi, and took a position about two miles below Forts Jackson and St. Philip. Fourteen of the mortar boats were arranged in line close to the margin of the western bank of the Mississippi, where a dense strip of forest extends, which with the aid of the bend of the river served to hide them somewhat from the forts. To render the boats still less discernible, the hulls were daubed with the mud of the turbid Mississippi, and the masts and spars hung with boughs of trees. Six of the mortar boats were stationed on the east bank of the river, where there was a long and open stretch of level swamp. The first schooner in the line on the western side was stationed a little less than a mile and three-quarters from Fort Jackson, and the thirteen others lay astern of her, with the bowsprit of each overlapping the taffrail of the one immediately in advance. The vessels across the river were in full view of Fort St. Philip, whence they were distant nearly two miles and a half. The frigates and gun-boats, with the latter in advance, kept nearer the centre of the Mississippi, between the long line of mortar boats under the western bank, and the seven on the eastern.

When the fleets had taken their position, the enemy commenced to send down the rapid current of the river

Apr. 18.

their fire-rafts, consisting of flat boats heaped with blazing pine wood, resin, and other combustibles. These were, however, easily disposed of by Commander Porter before they effected any mischief. A number of small boats were got out, manned, fitted with grapnel ropes, fire buckets, and axes, ready to seize upon the burning rafts, arrest their dangerous progress, and extinguish the flames.

After this preliminary and unsuccessful attempt with their rafts, the enemy opened fire from Fort Jackson at nine o'clock in the morning, which was instantly returned by the mortar fleet and the gun-boats. The shot of the enemy at first fell short, but after an hour's practice they exceeded the range. The cannonade on both sides increased in intensity, and continued unabated the whole day. The six mortar vessels on the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi were towed next morning to the opposite side of the river, and stationed in the rear of the rest of the flotilla. Three of them had been struck, but not a man on board injured. The gun-boats in advance with the sloop-of-war Iroquois seemed to be selected as the special target of the enemy, and were subjected to the hottest of the fire. They escaped, however, with only a man or two wounded.

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The fire on our side was kept up so briskly that the enemy were hardly able to stand to their barbette guns, and some wood-work in Fort Jackson was for a time in a blaze. In the mean time General Butler had entered the mouths of the Mississippi with his transports, carrying about ten thousand troops,* ready to land and assist in the capture of the forts. Butler had left Ship Island on the 16th of April, and arrived off Pass à l'Outre on the next day; but as there was not sufficient water for the large vessels to cross the bar, they were dispatched to the Southwest Pass, where all, with the exception of the Great Republic, entered the Mississippi on the 18th.

Apr. 18.

The engagement between the Union fleets† and the enemy's forts having con-

* The following is a list of the transports and troops:

On the steam-transport Mississippi—Major-General Butler and staff. Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Jones; Thirty-first Massachusetts, Colonel Gooding; Everett's Sixth Massachusetts battery.

On the steam-transport Matanzas—Brigadier-General Phelps and staff. Ninth Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Cahill, and Holcomb's Second Vermont battery.

On the sailing-transport Great Republic—Brigadier-General Williams and staff. Twenty-first Indiana Regiment, Colonel McMillen; Fourth Wisconsin Regiment, Colonel Paine, and the Sixth Michigan Regiment, Colonel Cortinas.

On the sailing-transport North America—Thirtieth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Dudley; one company Reed's and one company of Durivage's cavalry.

On the transport-ship E. Wilde Farley—Twelfth Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Deming.

† The following was the order promulgated:

"GENERAL ORDER.

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD, MISSISSIPPI RIVER, *April* 20, 1862.

"The Flag-Officer having heard all the opinions expressed by the different commanders, is of the opinion that whatever is to be done will have to be done quickly, or we will be again reduced to a blockading squadron, without the means of carrying on the bombardment, as we have nearly expended all the shells and fuses, and material for making cartridges. He has always entertained the same opinions which are expressed by Commander Porter—that is, that there are three modes of attack, and the question is, which is the one to be adopted? His own opinion is, that a combination of the two should be made, viz.: The forts should be run—and when a force is once above the forts to protect the troops, they should be landed at Quarantine from the Gulf side, by bringing them through the bayou;

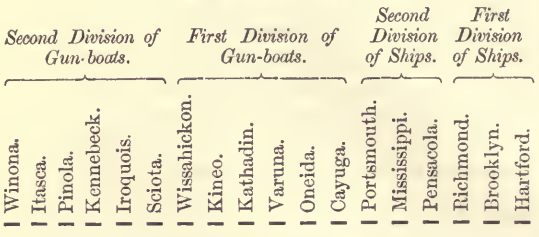
tinued for two days and nights, during which the fire was kept up briskly on both sides, without apparently producing any decisive result on either, Commodore Farragut on the third day came to the bold decision to run the gauntlet of the forts and pass up to the city of New Orleans, in spite of their guns.

and then our forces should move up the river, mutually aiding each other, as it can be done to advantage.

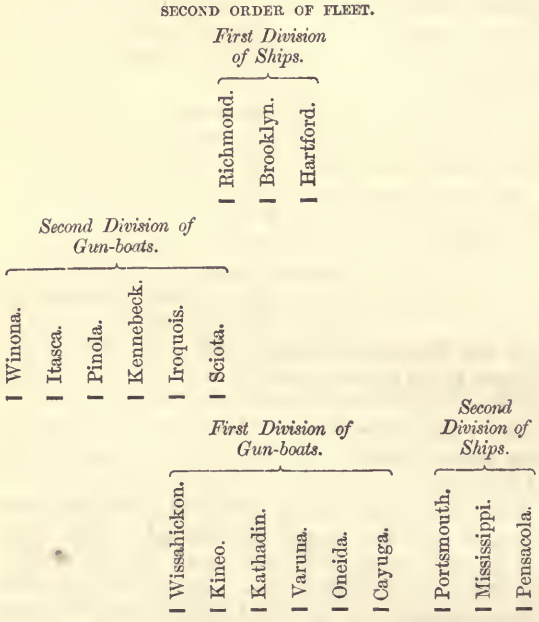
"When, in the opinion of the Flag-Officer, the propitious time has arrived, the signal will be made to weigh and advance to the conflict. If in his opinion, at the time of arriving at the respective positions of the different divisions of the fleet, we have the advantage, he will make the signal for 'close action,' and abide the result, conquer or to be conquered, drop anchor or keep under weigh, as in his opinion is best. Unless the signal above-mentioned is made, it will be understood that the first order of sailing will be formed after leaving Fort St. Philip, and we will proceed up the river, in accordance with the original opinion expressed.

"The programme of the orders of sailing accompanies this general order, and the commanders will hold themselves in readiness for the service as indicated.

FIRST ORDER OF FLEET—LINE AHEAD



SECOND ORDER OF FLEET.



"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"D. G. FARRAGUT, Flag-Officer,

"Western Gulf Blockading Squadron."

Previous, however, to making the daring attempt of running past the forts, it was necessary to get rid of the chain which the enemy had stretched across the river. Accordingly, during the night of the 20th of April, Captain Bell, with two gun-boats, the Itasca and Pinola, provided with apparatus and material for explosion under water, in charge of M. Maillefort, famous for his submarine operations, was sent up to destroy the chain. The vessels arrived at their destination in safety, and succeeded in cutting adrift two of the hulks to which the chain was attached, but the intended explosion failed in consequence of some derangement of the apparatus. In the mean time the mortar flotilla kept up a continuous bombardment of the forts, in order to divert them from the operations on the chain. One of the gun-boats was for a while ashore, but succeeded finally by throwing overboard her guns in getting afloat, and both returned in safety to the fleet below. Their object had been only partially accomplished. Apr. 20.

Before dawn of day on the next morning, the enemy sent down another fire-raft, which with a favorable wind and the strong current of the river descended with great speed, and threatened with its burning mass much mischief. Coming in contact with one Apr. 21.

of the gun-boats, it slightly injured her; but the raft was soon grappled with by the guard-boats and towed out of harm's way. As the morning advanced, one of the enemy's gun-boats came down, apparently in search of the hulk that had been cut adrift from the chain, with the view of returning it to its place, but was soon forced back by the fire of the Union fleet without accomplishing her purpose.

The fire was still kept up hardly without ceasing between the forts and the fleets. The mortar boats had already on the fourth day thrown about four thousand shells, each firing about eighty a day. The forts were hardly less busy, and their shots fell thickly and constantly among the Federal vessels, but without effecting any damage beyond sinking one of the mortar schooners, though fortunately without the loss of a single man. Various attempts of the enemy to repair their chain were prevented by the well-aimed fire of the Union gun-boats and mortar fleet, and their armed vessels were compelled to keep out of range above the forts, while one of their supply steamers was blown up by a shell.

On the fifth day there was again the same constant firing, in the course of which the Oneida was struck on the deck by a shell, which exploded and tore off the left leg and arm of the signal quartermaster. In the course of the day a raft of logs with iron cables attached came floating down the river, supposed to have been connected with the chain, which appeared thus to be falling to pieces. In order to complete its destruction a gun-boat was sent at night, under the guidance of a deserter from the enemy, to try again the effect of the submarine apparatus for explosion, and to cut the levee or dyke of the river above the forts. This expedition, however, returned without effecting anything.

Apr. 22.

During the next day, the sixth of the bombardment, the enemy, though they sent down another fire-raft, which, like the others, did no damage, kept so silent with their guns that it seemed as if the forts were abandoned. They sent down, however, a small steamer to reconnoitre the Union fleets, evidently expecting some momentous movement, and twelve of the enemy's armed vessels could be seen hovering about above the forts, as if on the alert for an attack. Their suspicions were well founded. Commodore Farragut was about carrying out his daring manœuvre of passing the forts. We quote from a chronicler* who was on board the flag-ship, and witnessed every incident of this magnificent feat of naval warfare:

Apr. 23.

"At about eleven o'clock (night of April 23d) the Itasca signalized that the chain was clear, and that we could go ahead when ready. Everything was quiet around the fleet, save the hissing sound of the steam escaping from the boilers. The night was moderately dark, and a gentle southerly wind made the weather rather hazy. The mortar vessels kept up an incessant roar, and bright globes ascended high aloft to

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

again descend in fury at the forts. The second division, under Captain Baily (of the Colorado), formed on the left bank of the river, while the third division was in centre of the lines, the first division lying on the right bank of the river.

"The fleet were to sail in the following order:

First Division—Flag-Officer Farragut commanding.
- Hartford.
- Brooklyn.
- Richmond.

Second Division—Captain Baily commanding.
- Cayuga.
- Pensacola.
- Mississippi.
- Oneida.
- Varuna.
- Katahdin.
- Kineo.
- Wissahickon.
- Portsmouth.

Towed by J. P. Jackson.

Third Division—Captain Bell commanding.
- Sciota.
- Iroquois.
- Pinola.
- Itasca.
- Winona.
- Kennebeck.

"At one o'clock all hands were called, hammocks stowed, and everything put in readiness to weigh anchor at two o'clock.

"It was a solemn time, I assure you. The hour seemed but a few moments. The memories of a score of years flitted through the mind, and all the courage we possessed was screwed up for the event.

"At two o'clock two red lights at our peak announced the time to get under weigh. I had the honor to hoist the signal with my own hands. Owing to some unforeseen delays the second division did not start at the signal; and as they had the longest route to travel, it was necessary for us to wait until they started. At three o'clock the moon rose, and a silvery path was marked out on the swift waters of the river, so soon to be the stage on which the greatest naval fight has ever transpired. The moon had lifted itself above the horizon just thirty minutes when away we went for the battle-ground. In the dim distance could be seen the signal-fires of the enemy, built to light up the river and reveal our position to him. On we steamed, with hearts big with expectation.

Apr. 24.

"At precisely twenty minutes of four o'clock the enemy opened fire from Fort St. Philip. At that moment I hoisted our largest star-spangled banner at the peak, and then hastening forward decked the fore and main each with an emblem of power and justice. Three American ensigns were floating in a gentle breeze. full speed was given to the ship, the engineers did their duty nobly, and on we went, as it were, into the jaws of death. At the time the enemy opened fire the mortar vessels went to work, and the rapidity with which they threw shells at the rebels was truly wonderful.

"At five minutes of four o'clock our bow-gun belched forth fire and smoke, and a messenger in the shape of a nine-inch shell was sent to Fort Jackson—the work, by the way, which we went to attend to. In a few minutes more the broadside firing was commenced. Both forts were replying as fast as they could. Broadside after broadside was being delivered to them in rapid succession, while

CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.—THE FLEET PASSING FORTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

C. Parsons, del

W. Ridgway sc

FORT ST. PHILIP Brooklyn Pawnee *FORT JACKSON* Louisiana *(iron plated, battery exploding)*

Varuna *(fighting through iron clad gunboats)* Hartford *(flag ship)* *fireraft alongside* Pensacola Mississippi Manassas *(Ram)*

MORTAR VESSELS IN THE DISTANCE SHELLING THE FORTS.

Virtue Yorston & Co Publishers, N.Y.

Entered according to Act of Congress A.D. 1868 by Virtue Yorston & Co in the

the mortar vessels were adding to the dreadful noise.

"Shot, shell, grape, and canister filled the air with deadly missiles. It was like the breaking up of a thousand worlds—crash—tear—whiz! Such another scene was never witnessed by mortal man. Steadily we steamed on, giving them shell, the forts firing rifle-shot and shell, ten-inch columbiads, forty-two, thirty-two, and twenty-four pounder balls; and, to add to this state of affairs, thirteen steamers and the floating battery Louisiana of the enemy were pouring into and around us a hail-storm of iron perfectly indescribable. Not satisfied with their firing, fire-raft after fire-raft was lit and set adrift to do their work of burning. The ram was busy at work trying to shove them under the bows of our vessel.

"As we drew near abeam of the forts we intermingled grape with shell, which had the effect to silence in a measure the barbette guns. The shot from the enemy, which for some time had gone over us, now began to cut us through.

"While in the port mizzen rigging the flag-officer narrowly escaped being hit with a rifle-shell. A shell burst on deck, and the concussion stunned Lieutenant George Heisler, of our marine corps, so that for a time his life was despaired of. I started to go forward to see how things were working there, and the wind of a huge rifle-shell knocked the cap off my head. It was a time of terror; our guns were firing as rapidly as possible, and the howitzers in the tops were doing excellent execution.

"The rebel steamers were crowded with troops, who fired volleys of rifle-balls at us, most of which did us no harm. One of them came near us, and I think I am safe in saying she contained two hundred men. Our howitzers opened on them, and Captain Broome, of the marine corps, opened into her with two nine-inch guns. An explosion—terrific yells—a careen, and that fellow was done for. Their steamers were bold and fearless; but no sooner did they come in sight of our gunners than they were sunk. The Varuna sunk six of them one after another.

"In the midst of this awful scene down came a tremendous fire-raft, and the ram shoved her under our port quarter. The flames caught our rigging and side, and for a moment it seemed we must fall a prey to the ravages of fire. A fire was also burning on the berth-deck. The fire hose was on hand, and we soon subdued the flames, and gave the ram a dose of rifle-shell. She, however, came up for us again; but some other vessel tackled her and she hauled off. During this stage of affairs we grounded, and our fate seemed sealed; but our men worked like beavers, and the engineers soon got the ship astern and afloat. It defies the powers of my brain to describe the scene at this time. The river and its banks were one sheet of flame, and the messengers of death were moving with lightning swiftness in all directions. Steadily we plied shell and grape, interspersed with shrapnell. Rebeldom began to quake; her boats were fast being riddled by well-directed

broadsides, and they who were able made for the shore to run them on, so that they could save their lives. Some were on fire, and others were sinking. Our boys were cheering with a hearty good-will; and well they might, for we had almost won the day, and we were nearly past the forts. Our ship had been on fire three times, and she was riddled from stem to stern. The cabin was completely gutted, the starboard steerage all torn up, and the armory all knocked into 'pi.' My clothing was strewn abaft decks, and I was obliged to pick it up piece by piece. The manuscript of the bombardment came near to destruction by a rifle-shell, which tore up my room and killed one man.

"After being under a terrific fire for one hour and twenty minutes we were past the forts, badly cut up, a shot hole through mainmast, two in stern, and several through us. I frankly confess I am unable to describe the scene. Words cannot express any adequate idea of the engagement. Wrapped up in smoke, firing and being fired at, shot and shell whistling like locomotive demons around, above, before, and in the rear of you; flames from fire-rafts encircling you, splinters flying in all directions, and shells bursting overhead! Can you imagine this scene? If you can, it is more than I can describe as I would wish to.

"At half-past five o'clock no less than eleven rebel steamers were in flames along each side of the river. We steamed up to the Quarantine to anchor, when lo! the ram made her appearance, and saucily fired at the Richmond.

"The Mississippi being near at hand, about ship for the black devil, and at him she went with the idea of running him down. The ram ran, but finding the Mississippi gaining on him he ran his nose into the bank of the river, and immediately about thirty men came up out of the hatch and ran on shore. The Mississippi fired two or three broadsides into her and boarded her, but finding she was of no earthly account, again fired into her, and she drifted down the river, sinking very fast. On reaching Quarantine, we found that the Varuna had been sunk, and that, after her brave exploits, she fell, crippled in a glorious cause.

"Captain Boggs, of the Varuna, finding that a steamer was about to run into him, put the vessel in such position that in being damaged he could repay it with interest. On came a large steamer, all clad with iron about the bow, and hit the Varuna in the port waist, cutting and crushing in her side. She dropped alongside, and cleared out to butt again. She hit the Varuna a second time, and while in a sinking condition the Varuna poured the eight-inch shells into her so fast that the rebel was set on fire and driven on shore.

"No sooner had the Varuna cleared herself of this customer—and while endeavoring to reach the river bank—than the steamer Governor Moore (formerly the Morgan), commanded by Lieutenant Beverly Kennon, came along in a crippled condition, and endeavored to run away up the river. The Oneida gave chase, and she surrendered to her. She

was then found to be on fire, and before the flames could be subdued she was burned up.

"The Varuna's exploits rank among the brightest of those of the engagement. She fought her guns until a portion of the gun-carriages were submerged in the water. Captain Boggs saved all his wounded, but his dead went down with the vessel. The stars and stripes were waving from her mast-heads as she sunk.*

"Opposite the Quarantine we found several companies of rebel sharpshooters belonging to the Chalmette Regiment, who were waving white flags, while others were leaving as fast as they could. This camp fell a prize to Captain Baily's flag-ship, the Cayuga. The officers were brought on board here and put on their parole. Our fleet was found to be all present except the Winona, Itasca, and Kennebeck."

These three vessels had been repeat-

* The following is Captain Boggs' report of the exploits of his gun-boat:

"UNITED STATES STEAMER BROOKLYN, OFF NEW ORLEANS, *April* 29, 1862.

"SIR: I have the honor to report that after passing the batteries, with the steamer Varuna under my command, on the morning of the 24th, finding my vessel amid a nest of rebel steamers, I started ahead, delivering her fire both starboard and port at every one that she passed. The first on her starboard beam that received her fire appeared to be loaded with troops. Her boiler was exploded, and she drifted to the shore. In like manner three other vessels, one of them a gun-boat, were driven on shore in flames, and afterward blew up. At six A.M. the Varuna was attacked by the Morgan, iron-clad about the bow, commanded by Beverly Kennon, an ex-naval officer. This vessel raked us along the port gangway, killing four and wounding nine of the crew. Butting the Varuna on the quarter and again on the starboard side, I managed to get three eight-inch shells into her abaft her armor, as also several shot from the after rifled gun, when she dropped out of action, partially disabled. While still engaged with her, another rebel steamer, iron-clad, and with a prow under water, struck us in the port gangway, doing considerable damage. Our shot glancing from her bow, she backed off for another blow, and struck again in the same place, crushing in the side; but by going ahead fast the concussion drew her bow around, and I was able with the port guns to give her, while close alongside, five eight-inch shell abaft her armor. This settled her, and drove her ashore in flames. Finding the Varuna sinking I ran her into the bank, let go the anchors, and tied her up to the trees. During all this time the guns were actively at work crippling the Morgan, she making feeble efforts to get up steam. This fire was kept up until the water was over the gun-trucks, when I turned my attention to getting the wounded and crew out of the vessel. The Oneida, Captain Lee, seeing the condition of the Varuna, had rushed to her assistance, but I waved her on, and the Morgan surrendered to her, the vessel in flames. I have since learned that over fifty of her crew were killed and wounded, and she was set on fire by her commander, who burned his wounded with his vessel. I cannot award too much praise to the officers and crew of the Varuna for the noble manner in which they supported me, and their coolness under such exciting circumstances, particularly when extinguishing fire, having been set on fire twice during the action by shell.

"In fifteen minutes from the time the Varuna was struck she was on the bottom, with only her topgallant forecastle out of water.

"The officers and crew lost everything they possessed, no one thinking of leaving their station until driven thence by the water. I trust the attention of the Department will be called to this loss, and compensation made to those who have lost their all.

"The crew were taken off by the different vessels of the fleet as fast as they arrived, and are now distributed through the squadron.

"The wounded were sent to the Pensacola.

"I would particularly commend to the notice of the Department, Oscar Peck, second class boy and powder boy of the after rifle, whose coolness and intrepidity attracted the attention of all hands. A fit reward for such services would be an appointment at the Naval School.

"The marines, although new recruits, more than maintained the reputation of that corps. Their galling fire cleared the Morgan's rifled gun, and prevented a repetition of their murderous fire. Four of the marines were wounded, one I fear mortally.

"So soon as the crew were saved I reported to you in person, and within an hour left in the only remaining boat belonging to the Varuna, with your dispatches for General Butler, returning with him yesterday afternoon.

"Very respectfully yours, CHARLES S. BOGGS,
"Commander United States Navy.

"To Flag-Officer D. G. FARRAGUT, Commanding Western Gulf Blockading Squadron."

edly struck by shots from the forts, and being more or less damaged, were forced to retire. A ball from Fort St. Philip had pierced the boiler of the Itasca, and so disabled her that she could not proceed. Only two men, however, were injured—one by a splinter, and the other by the escaping steam. On the Winona, a boatswain's mate was cut in two by a shot, and five others of the crew badly wounded. On the Kennebeck, though frequently struck, not a man was hurt.

Anchoring his fleet for the night off the Quarantine, Commodore Far-
Apr. 24. ragut moved next morning toward the city of New Orleans, leaving the gun-boats Kineo and Wissahickon to guard the Quarantine and command the canals leading seaward. As the fleet proceeded up the river, the inhabitants on the bank showed a disposition to conciliate the visitors by displays of white flags and the national ensigns. The negroes, especially, exhibited an excited interest, leaving their hoes in the plantation-fields, and running down to the levees, where they gathered in gangs, and tossing their hats and shouting, sent a welcome to the triumphant fleet. On approaching the city a great volume of smoke and a blaze of light rose in the distance, and Commander Farragut, thinking that these might arise from fire-ships, discreetly came to anchor for the night about eighteen miles below New Orleans. Next morn-
Apr. 25. ing he again moved up the river, when it was discovered that the smoke and flame had arisen from five cotton ships which had been set on fire by the enemy, and were now burnt nearly to the water's edge. No opposition had yet been met since the successful conflict with the enemy's flotilla, but now the Chalmette batteries, one on each side of the river, although they had no flag flying, opened fire. These were soon silenced by broadsides from the fleet, which, however, lost a man or two in the engagement. Commodore Farragut then continued on his course to the city.

"The river," says an eye-witness on board the flag-ship, "was filled with ships on fire, and all along the levee were burning vessels, no less than eighteen vessels being on fire at one time, and the enemy were firing others as fast as they could apply the torch. Such vandalism never was heard of. The atmosphere was thick with smoke and the air hot with flames. It was a grand but sad sight. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property was being wantonly destroyed. At the levee, just by the Custom House, lay a burning ram (the Anglo-Norman). The unfinished frames of two or three more were on the stocks at Algiers. A terrible rain squall came on, and after dodging around the river for some time we came to anchor. It was then one o'clock.

"The view from our decks was one such as will never in all human probability be witnessed again. A large city lay at our mercy. Its levee was crowded by an excited mob. The smoke of the ruins of millions worth of cotton and shipping at times half

concealed the people. While men were hastening up the levee, firing ships and river craft as fast as possible, the people were rushing to and fro. Some of them cheered for the Union, when they were fired upon by the crowd. Men, women, and children were armed with pistols, knives, and all manner of weapons. Some cheered for Jeff Davis, Beauregard, etc., and used the most vile and obscene language toward us and the good old flag. Pandemonium was here a living picture. Order was to them a thing past and forgotten, and the air was rent with yells of defiance."

When Commodore Farragut arrived off the city, he dispatched his second in command, Captain Theodorus Baily, of the gun-boat Cayuga, with a flag of truce to communicate with the authorities on shore. As the boat drew near the levee, "the mob cursed the flag and everything pertaining to it. It was with the greatest difficulty that the naval officers reached the City Hall, where the City Council, the Mayor, and Major-General Lovell were awaiting the arrival of our communications."*

The message of Commodore Farragut, demanding the surrender of New Orleans, with assurances of the protection of the United States, was met by General Lovell, with the answer, "I will never surrender the city." He, however, consented to transfer the command of New Orleans to the civil authorities, while he himself took the occasion to evacuate the city with his ten thousand troops, which were already on the railroad prepared to fly. Captain Baily and his aide-de-camp now returned, amid the insults of the excited population, to the levee, and pushed off to the flag-ship to report the results of his interview.

In the mean time the people of New Orleans continued their work of destruction, burning immense quantities of cotton, the armed "ram" Mississippi which came drifting down the river all ablaze, and other vessels which remained unfinished on the stocks.

Next morning Commodore Farragut sent a final demand for the surrender of the city to the Mayor, who confessed his powerlessness to resist, but at the same time refused to act, while he and the Common Council declared that they would not haul down the State flag from the City Hall.* **Apr. 26.**

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

* The following is the official report of Commodore Farragut:

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD, AT ANCHOR OFF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, *May* 6, 1862.

"SIR: I have the honor herewith to forward my report, in detail, of the battle of New Orleans. On the 23d of March I made all my arrangements for the attack on, and passage of, Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

"Every vessel was as well prepared as the ingenuity of her commander and officers could suggest, both for the preservation of life and of the vessel, and perhaps there is not on record such a display of ingenuity as has been evinced in this little squadron. The first was by the engineer of the Richmond, Mr. Moore, by suggesting that the sheet cables be stopped up and down on the sides in the line of the engines, which was immediately adopted by all the vessels. Then each commander made his own arrangements for stopping the shot from penetrating the boilers or machinery that might come in forward or abaft by hammocks, coal, bags of ashes, bags of sand, clothes bags, and in fact every device imaginable. The bulwarks were lined with hammocks by some, by splinter nettings made with ropes by others. Some rubbed their vessels over with mud, to make their ships less visible, and some whitewashed their decks, to make things more visible by

Farragut, in spite of the Mayor's passive resistance, sent a boat ashore and hoisted the United States flag on the Mint, informing the people that if it was haul-

night during the fight, all of which you will find mentioned in the reports of the commanders. In the afternoon I visited each ship, in order to know positively that each commander understood my orders for the attack, and to see that all was in readiness. I had looked to their efficiency before. Every one appeared to understand their orders well, and looked forward to the conflict with firmness, but with anxiety, as it was to be in the night, or at two o'clock A.M.

"I had previously sent Captain Bell, with the petard man, with Lieutenant Commanding Crosby, in the Pinola, and Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell, in the Itasca, to break the chain which crossed the river, and was supported by eight hulks, which were strongly moored. This duty was not thoroughly performed, in consequence of the failure to ignite the petards with the galvanic battery, and the great strength of the current. Still it was a success, and, under the circumstances, a highly meritorious one.

"The vessel boarded by Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell appears to have had her chains so secured that they could be cast loose, which was done by that officer, and thereby making an opening sufficiently large for the ships to pass through. It was all done under a heavy fire and at a great hazard to the vessel, for the particulars of which I refer you to Captain Bell's report, marked A. Upon the night preceding the attack, however, I dispatched Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell to make an examination, and to see that the passage was still clear, and to make me a signal to that effect, which he did at an early hour. The enemy commenced sending down fire-rafts and lighting their fires on the shore opposite the chain, about the same time, which drew their fire on Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell, but without injury. At about five minutes of two o'clock A.M., April 24, signal was made to get under way (two ordinary red lights, so as not to attract the attention of the enemy), but owing to the great difficulty in purchasing their anchors, the Pensacola and some of the other vessels were not under way until half-past three. We then advanced in two columns, Captain Baily leading the right in the gun-boat Cayuga, Lieutenant Commanding Harrison, he having been assigned to the first division of gun-boats, which was to attack Fort St. Philip, in conjunction with the second division of ships, and the Hartford, the left; Fleet-Captain Bell leading the second division of gun-boats in the Sciota; Lieutenant Commanding Donaldson to assist the first division of ships to attack Fort Jackson, as will be shown by the general order and diagram sent herewith. The enemy's lights, while they discovered us to them, were, at the same time, guides to us. We soon passed the barrier chains, the right column taking Fort St. Philip, and the left Fort Jackson. The fire became general, the smoke dense, and we had nothing to aim at but the flash of their guns; it was very difficult to distinguish friends from foes. Captain Porter had by arrangement moved up to a certain point of the Fort Jackson side with his gun-boats, and I had assigned the same post to Captain Swartwout, in the Portsmouth, to engage the water batteries to the southward and eastward of Fort Jackson, while his mortar vessels poured a terrific fire of shells into it. I discovered a fire-raft coming down upon us, and in attempting to avoid it ran the ship on shore, and the ram Manassas, which I had not seen, lay on the opposite side of it, and pushed it down upon us. Our ship was soon on fire half way up to her tops, but we backed off, and through the good organization of our fire department, and the great exertions of Captain Wainwright and his first lieutenant, officers, and crew, the fire was extinguished. In the mean time our battery was never silent, but poured in its missiles of death into Fort St. Philip, opposite to which we had got by this time, and it was silenced, with the exception of a a gun now and then. By this time the enemy's gun-boats, some thirteen in number, besides two iron-clad rams, the Manassas and Louisiana, had become more visible. We took them in hand, and in the course of a short time destroyed eleven of them. We were now fairly past the forts and the victory was ours; but still here and there a gun-boat making resistance. Two of them had attacked the Varuna, which vessel, by her greater speed, was much in advance of us; they ran into her and caused her to sink, but not before she had destroyed her adversaries, and their wrecks now lie side by side, a monument to the gallantry of Captain Boggs, his officers, and crew. It was a kind of guerrilla; they were fighting in all directions. Captains Baily and Bell, who were in command of the first and second divisions of gun-boats, were as active in rendering assistance in every direction as lay in their power. Just as the scene appeared to be closing, the ram Manassas was seen coming up under full speed to attack us. I directed Captain Smith, in the Mississippi, to turn and run her down; the order was instantly obeyed by the Mississippi turning and going at her at full speed. Just as we expected to see the ram annihilated, when within fifty yards of each other, she put her helm hard aport, dodged the Mississippi, and ran ashore. The Mississippi poured two broadsides into her, and sent her drifting down the river a total wreck. Thus closed our morning's fight.

"The Department will perceive that after the organization and arrangements had been made, and we had fairly entered into the fight, the density of the smoke from guns and fire-rafts, the scenes passing on board our own ship and around us (for it was as if the artillery of heaven were playing upon the earth), that it was impossible for the Flag-Officer to see how each vessel was conducting itself, and can only judge by the final results and their special reports, which are herewith inclosed; but I feel

ed down, the ships would fire upon the offenders.

that I can say with truth that it has rarely been the lot of a commander to be supported by officers of more indomitable courage or higher professional merit.

"Captain Baily, who had preceded me up to the quarantine station, had captured the Chalmette Regiment, Colonel Szymanski; and not knowing what to do with them, as every moment was a great loss to me, I paroled both officers and men, and took away all their arms, munitions of war, and public property, and ordered them to remain where they were until the next day. I sent some of the gun-boats to precede me up the river, to cut the telegraph wires in different places.

"It now became me to look around for my little fleet, and to my regret I found that three were missing—the Itasca, Winona, and Kennebeck. Various were the speculations as to their fate, whether they had been sunk on the passage or had put back. I therefore determined immediately to send Captain Boggs, whose vessel was now sunk, through the Quarantine Bayou, around to Commander Porter, telling him of our safe arrival, and to demand the surrender of the forts, and to endeavor to get some tidings of the missing vessels. I also sent a dispatch by him to General Butler, informing him that the way was clear for him to land his forces through the Quarantine Bayou, in accordance with previous arrangements; and that I should leave gun-boats there to protect him against the enemy, who I now perceived had three or four gun-boats left at the forts—the Louisiana, an iron-clad battery of sixteen guns, the McCrea, very similar in appearance to one of our gun-boats, and armed very much in the same way, the Defiance, and a river steamer transport.

"We then proceeded up to New Orleans, leaving the Wissahickon and Kineo to protect the landing of the General's troops. Owing to the slowness of some of the vessels, and our want of knowledge of the river, we did not reach the English Turn until about half-past ten A.M. on the 25th; but all the morning I had seen abundant evidence of the panic which had seized the people in New Orleans. Cotton-loaded ships on fire came floating down, and working implements of every kind, such as are used in ship yards. The destruction of property was awful. We soon descried the new earth-work forts on the old lines on both shores. We now formed and advanced in the same order, two lines, each line taking its respective work. Captain Baily was still far in advance, not having noticed my signal for close order, which was to enable the slow vessels to come up. They opened on him a galling fire, which caused us to run up to his rescue; this gave them the advantage of a raking fire on us for upward of a mile with some twenty guns, while we had but two nine-inch guns on our forecastle to reply to them. It was not long, however, before we were enabled to bear

This having been accomplished, and it being Sunday, the church pennant

away and give the forts a broadside of shells, shrapnell, and grape, the Pensacola at the same time passing up and giving a tremendous broadside of the same kind to the starboard fort; and by the time we could re-load, the Brooklyn, Captain Craven, passed handsomely between us and the battery and delivered her broadside and shut us out. By this time the other vessels had gotten up and ranged in one after the other, delivering their broadsides in spiteful revenge for their ill-treatment of the little Cayuga. The forts were silenced, and those who could run were running in every direction. We now passed up to the city and anchored immediately in front of it, and I sent Captain Baily on shore to demand the surrender of it from the authorities, to which the Mayor replied that the city was under martial law, and that he had no authority. General Lovell, who was present, stated that he should deliver up nothing, but in order to free the city from embarrassment, he would restore the city authorities and retire with his troops, which he did. I then seized all the steamboats and sent them down to quarantine for General Butler's forces. Among the number of these boats is the famous Tennessee, which our blockaders have been so long watching, but which you will perceive never got out.

"The levee of New Orleans was one scene of desolation. Ships, steamers, cotton, coal, etc., were all in one common blaze, and our ingenuity was much taxed to avoid the floating conflagration.

"I neglected to mention my having good information respecting the iron-clad rams which they were building. I sent Captain Lee up to seize the principal one, the "Mississippi," which was to be the terror of these seas, and no doubt would have been to a great extent; but she soon came floating by us all in flames, and passed down the river. Another was sunk immediately in front of the Custom House; others were building in Algiers, just begun.

"I next went above the city eight miles, to Carrollton, where I learned there were two other forts; but the panic had gone before me. I found the guns spiked and the gun-carriages in flames. The first work, on the right, reaches from the Mississippi nearly over to Pontchartrain, and has twenty-nine guns; the one on the left had six guns, from which Commander Lee took some fifty barrels of powder, and completed the destruction of the gun-carriages, etc. A mile higher up there were two other earth-works, but not yet armed.

"We discovered here, fastened to the right bank of the river, one of the most herculean labors I have ever seen—a raft and chain to extend across the river to prevent Foote's gun-boats from descending. It is formed by placing three immense logs of not less than three or four feet in diameter and some thirty feet long; to the

was raised on every ship, and in accordance with the order of the Commodore the officers and crew assembled for religious worship, and "to return thanks to Almighty God for His great goodness and mercy in permitting us to pass through the events of the last two days with so little loss of life and blood." While the whole Union fleet was thus solemnly occupied, the people of New Orleans "tore down the flag on the Mint and trailed it in the dust." As soon as this outrage was discovered, the Pensacola fired a shot at the perpetrators, and killed one man and wounded others.

In the afternoon four of the larger vessels of Commodore Farragut's fleet sailed up the Mississippi for some distance beyond New Orleans, but met with no resistance, for the formidable batteries which had been erected at Carrollton and elsewhere on the river were found abandoned. **Apr. 26.**

After the successful passage of the forts by the fleet of gun-boats under Farragut, and the victory over the enemy's war vessels above, Forts St. Philip and Jackson were considered no longer tenable, their communications with New Orleans having been cut off, besides being threatened on the land side by General Butler, who had succeeded in disembarking his troops in the rear by transporting them on launches through a canal leading from the mouths of the Mississippi to the river beyond. General Duncan and Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins accordingly, after their long and obstinate resistance, determined to surrender. White flags were hung out from Forts St. Philip and Jackson, and a parley was at once established between their commanders and

centre a one or two inch chain is attached, running lengthwise the raft, and the three logs and chain are then frapped together by chains from one-half to one inch, three or four layers, and there are ninety-six of these lengths composing the raft; it is at least three-quarters of a mile long.

"On the evening of the 29th Captain Baily arrived from below, with the gratifying intelligence that the forts had surrendered to Commander Porter, and had delivered up all public property, and were being paroled; and that the navy had been made to surrender unconditionally, as they had conducted themselves with bad faith, burning and sinking their vessels while a flag of truce was flying and the forts negotiating for their surrender, and the Louisiana, their great iron-clad battery, blown up almost alongside of the vessel where they were negotiating; hence their officers were not paroled, but sent home to be treated according to the judgment of the Government.

"General Butler came up the same day, and arrangements were made for bringing up his troops.

"I sent on shore and hoisted the American flag on the Custom House, and hauled down the Louisiana State flag from the City Hall, as the Mayor had avowed that there was no man in New Orleans who dared to haul it down; and my own convictions are that if such an individual could have been found he would have been assassinated.

"Thus, sir, I have endeavored to give you an account of my attack upon New Orleans from our first movement to the surrender of the city to General Butler, whose troops are now in full occupation, protected, however, by the Pensacola, Portsmouth, and one gun-boat, while I have sent a force of seven vessels, under command of Captain Craven, up the river, to keep up the panic as far as possible. The large ships, I fear, will not be able to go higher than Baton Rouge, while I have sent the smaller vessels, under Commander Lee, as high as Vicksburg, in the rear of Jackson, to cut off their supplies from the West.

"I trust, therefore, that it will be found by the Government that I have carried out my instructions to the letter and to the best of my abilities, so far as this city is concerned, which is respectfully submitted.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"D. G. Farragut,

"Flag-Officer Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.

"Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C."

Commander Porter, which resulted in a capitulation.*

* ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

UNITED STATES SHIP HARRIET LANE, FORTS JACKSON AND ST. PHILIP, MISSISSIPPI RIVER, *April* 28, 1862.

By articles of capitulation entered into this 28th day of April, 1862, between David D. Porter, Commander, United States Navy, commanding United States mortar flotilla, of the one part, and Brigadier-General J. R. Duncan, commanding the coast defences, and Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Higgins, commanding Forts Jackson and St. Philip, of the other part, it is mutually agreed :

1. That Brigadier-General Duncan and Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins shall surrender to the mortar flotilla Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the arms, munitions of war, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging, together with all public property that may be under their charge.

2. That Brigadier-General Duncan and Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins, together with the officers under their command, shall be permitted to retain their side arms, and that all private property shall be respected. Furthermore, that they shall give their parole of honor not to serve in arms against the United States until they are regularly exchanged.

3. It is furthermore agreed by Commander David D. Porter, commanding the mortar flotilla, on the part of the United States Government, that the non-commissioned officers, privates, and musicians shall be permitted to retire on parole, their commanding and other officers becoming responsible for them, and that they shall deliver up their arms and accoutrements in their present condition, provided that the expenses of the transportation of the men shall be defrayed by the Government of the United States.

4. On the signing of these articles by the contracting parties, the forts shall be formally taken possession of by the United States naval forces, comprising the mortar fleet, the Confederate flag shall be lowered, and the flag of the United States hoisted on the flag-staffs of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

In the agreement of the above, we, the undersigned, do herewith set our hands and seals.

DAVID D. PORTER,
Commanding Mortar Flotilla.
W. B. RENSHAW,
Commodore U. S. Navy.
J. M. WAINWRIGHT,
Lieut. Com'd'g Harriet Lane.
J. R. DUNCAN, Brigadier-General,
Commanding Coast Defences.
EDWARD HIGGINS, Lieut.-Col. C. S. A.,
Com'd'g Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

Witnesses :
EDW. NICHOLS, Lieutenant Commanding Winona
J. H. RUSSELL, Lieutenant Commanding Kanawha.

The forts, upon being occupied, were found "not materially damaged." Apr. 28. Fort Jackson had suffered most, one or two of its casemates having been broken, the citadel destroyed, and the external brick-work much defaced. Fort St. Philip was comparatively unharmed, the shells from the mortar fleet having been aimed too high. A large portion of the garrison of Fort Jackson, after the successful passage of Commodore Farragut, considering the persistence of their officers in further holding out to be a reckless exposure of their lives, mutinied. This was believed to have hastened the surrender. The loss of life on the part of the United States forces was small in proportion to the length and severity of the struggle, being only thirty-six killed and one hundred and twenty-three wounded. The enemy's loss* was computed at "from one thou-

* Official dispatch of Captain Baily, which is here given in full :

"FORTRESS MONROE, *May* 8, 1862.

"To Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy :

"I have the honor to announce that, under the providence of God, which smiles upon a just cause, the squadron under Flag-Officer Farragut has been vouchsafed a glorious victory and triumph in the capture of the city of New Orleans, Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Livingston, and Pike, the batteries below and above New Orleans, as well as the total destruction of the enemy's gunboats, steam rams, floating batteries (iron-clad), fire-rafts and obstructions, booms and chains.

"The enemy with their own hands destroyed from eight to ten millions of cotton and shipping.

"Our loss is thirty-six killed and one hundred and twenty-three wounded. The enemy lost from one thousand to one thousand five hundred, besides several hundred prisoners.

"The way is clear, and the rebel defences destroyed from the Gulf to Baton Rouge, and probably to Memphis. Our flag waves triumphantly over them all.

"I am bearer of dispatches, THEODORUS BAILY,
"Captain of Gun-boat Cayuga, and Second in Command of Attacking Force."

sand to one thousand five hundred, besides several hundred prisoners." Of the Federal fleets there were but two destroyed, one gun-boat, the Varuna, and the mortar schooner Maria J. Carleton. The enemy's fleet was totally exterminated, partly by the fire of the Federal vessels, and partly by themselves. The floating iron-plated battery, the Louisiana, which Commander Porter reported to be "almost as formidable a vessel as the Merrimac," was burned and blown up during the preliminary negotiations which led to a surrender of the forts. The destruction of property by the enemy was enormous, including over one thousand bales of cotton, a large number of trading steamers and sailing vessels, and several gun-boats and iron-plated batteries in the course of construction.

General Butler having proceeded to
May 1. New Orleans with his troops proclaimed martial law, and held the unruly people of that city with a firm hand. Some of the gun-boats moved up the Mississippi, to operate against Baton Rouge and extend their conquests in that direction, while others, in conjunction with the mortar fleet of Commander Porter, sailed to attack the enemy on the Gulf coast.

To give full assurance to the world of the completeness of the Federal victories on the Southern sea-board, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, declaring
May 12. the termination, on June 1st, of the blockade of the ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans, under certain restrictions.

The following is Captain Porter's official report:

"U. S. Steamer Harriet Lane, Forts Jackson and St. Philip, *April* 30, 1862.

"Sir: I have the honor to lay before you a report of the proceedings of the mortar flotilla under my command since the day the vessels entered the Mississippi River.

"On the 18th of March all the mortar fleet crossed 'Pass à l'Outre' bar, towed by the Harriet Lane, Owasco, Westfield, and Clifton, the two latter having arrived that morning. I was ordered by Flag-Officer Farragut to proceed to Southwest Pass, which I accordingly did; there we awaited orders, being at any moment ready to go to work on the forts.

"As yet only the Brooklyn and Hartford had crossed the bar; a short time after the Richmond passed over; and then the Mississippi and the Pensacola came from Ship Island to try their hand at getting through; there was not at the time a great depth of water, and their pilots were not at all skilful or acquainted with the bar. I volunteered my services with the steamers belonging to the mortar flotilla, and, after eight days' laborious work, succeeded in getting the ships through and anchored them at Pilot Town. I do not hesitate to say, but for the exertions of Commander Renshaw, Lieutenant Commanding Baldwin, and Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright, that the two latter ships would never have got inside; the Miami, Lieutenant Commanding Harrell, also rendered assistance, but as

his vessel was an unmanageable one, he could do no more than act as a stream anchor to heave the ships ahead by.

"Too much praise cannot be awarded to the commanders of the Westfield and Clifton (Renshaw and Baldwin) for the exertions they displayed on this occasion; they knew that the success of the expedition depended on getting these ships over, and they never once faltered in their duty, working against adverse circumstances, and impeded by a fog of eight days' duration, which obscured a vessel at the distance of fifty yards; the Harriet Lane also did all she could with her small power, and in the end the united power of these vessels succeeded in getting over the bar the heaviest vessels that ever entered the Mississippi River.

"When the ships were all ready to move up, I directed Mr. Gerdes (assistant on the Coast Survey) to proceed in the Sachem and make a minute survey from 'Wiley's Jump' up to the forts. He detached Mr. Oltmanns and Mr. Harris, the first an assistant on the Coast Survey, the latter sent out by the superintendent (Mr. Archibald Campbell) of the northwestern boundary to perform what might be required of him; the work was performed in boats; Lieutenant Commanding Guest, in the Owasco, being detailed by me for the purpose of protecting them. These two gentlemen, Messrs. Harris and Oltmanns, performed their duty most admirably: in three days they had surveyed and triangulated over seven miles of the river, their observations taking in Forts Jackson and St. Philip; much of this time they were under fire from shot and shell at a distance of 2,600 yards, and were exposed to concealed riflemen in the bushes. On one occasion Mr. Oltmanns was fired upon from the bushes while surveying in one of the Owasco's boats, one of the balls striking an oar, but the boat's crew drove the enemy off with their rifles, and Mr. Oltmanns proceeded with his work, establishing the positions the mortar vessels were to occupy with great coolness and precision. I deem it due to these gentlemen to mention their names honorably as a tribute to the Coast Survey—the utility of which is not properly appreciated—and as a mark of high satisfaction with them for their invaluable services.

"The survey being completed, and marked positions being assigned to the vessels when their distance from the fort could be known to a yard, I brought up three of the schooners to try their range and durability at a distance of three thousand yards. I found the range satisfactory, and had no reason to doubt the durability of the mortar beds and foundation. I received but little encouragement from any one about the success of the mortars, it having been confidently predicted that 'the bottoms of the schooners would drop out at the tenth fire.' I had no doubts myself about the matter, having perfect confidence in the schooners. Lieutenant Commanding John Guest guarded the Coast Survey party while they were employed, returning the enemy's fire whenever he thought he could do so with effect.

"On the 16th, Flag-Officer Farragut moved up the fleet, and I was told to commence operations as soon as I was ready. The schooners sailed up partly or were towed by the steamers, and on the morning of the 18th they had all reached their positions ready to open fire. Previous to taking their places I had directed the masts to be dressed off with bushes, to make them invisible to the enemy and intermingle with the thick forest of trees and matted vines behind which they were placed; this arrangement proved to be an admirable one, for never once during the bombardment was one of the vessels seen from the forts, though their *approximate* position was known. As the bushes were blown away during the bombardment they were renewed, and the masts and ropes kept covered from view. The place I selected for the mortar vessels was under the lee of a thick wood closely interwoven with vines, and presenting in the direction of Forts Jackson and St. Philip an impenetrable mass for three hundred yards, through which shot could scarcely pass. From our mastheads the forts could be plainly seen, though observers there could not see us in return. The head vessel of the first division, Lieutenant Commanding Watson Smith, was placed at this point, 2,850 yards from Fort Jackson, 3,680 from St. Philip; the vessels were then dropped in a line close to each other, their positions having been marked by the Coast Survey party, and Messrs. Oltmanns and Harris superintending personally that each one was acquainted with the proper distance. Next to Lieutenant Commanding Smith's division of seven vessels (Norfolk Packet, Lieutenant Commanding Watson Smith; Oliver H. Lee, Acting Master Washington Godfrey; Para, Acting Master Edward G. Furber; C. P. Williams, Acting Master Amos R. Langthorne; Arletta, Acting Master Thomas E. Smith; William Bacon, Acting Master William P. Rogers; Sophronia, Acting Master Lyman Bartholomew) was placed the six vessels of the third division, under Lieutenant Commanding R. K. Breese (John Griffith, Acting Master Henry Brown; Sarah Bruen, Acting Master Abraham Christian; Racer, Acting Master Alvin Phinney; Sea Foam, Acting Master Henry E. Williams; Henry James, Acting Master Lewis W. Pennington; Dan. Smith, Acting Master George W. Brown), and one vessel, the Orvetta, Acting Master Blanchard, all lying in line close together.

"All the vessels mentioned were anchored and secured to spring their broadsides, as occasion might require. In the mean time Lieutenant Commanding John Guest was sent ahead in the Owasco to clear the bushes of riflemen which had been found to lurk there, and cover the vessels from the fire of the forts when it should open; the Westfield, Clifton, and Miami being engaged in towing the vessels to their posts.

"I placed six vessels of the second division, under command of Lieutenant W. W. Queen, on the northeast shore of the river, the headmost one 3,680

yards from Fort Jackson, to which the division was directed to turn its attention. The following vessels and acting masters composed this division :

"T. A. Ward, W. W. Queen, commanding second division.

"M. J. Carleton, Charles E. Jack, acting master.

"Matthew Vassar, Hugh H. Savage, acting master.

"George Mangham, John Collins, acting master.

"Orvetta, Francis E. Blanchard, acting master.

"Sydney C. Jones, J. D. Graham, acting master.

"When the divisions were all placed, signal was made to 'commence action,' and they opened in order, each one firing every ten minutes. The moment the mortars opened, Forts Jackson and St. Philip responded with all their guns that could bear, but for some time did not appear to get the right range ; the hulls of the vessels on the northeast shore, being covered with weeds and willows, deceived them somewhat, though their shot and shell went over. The fire of the enemy was rapid, and as the shell and shot began to grow rather hot I sent to the Flag-Officer, asking that some of the gun-boats should be sent to draw their fire. For one hour and fifty minutes Lieutenant Commanding Guest had, at the head of the mortar fleet, borne the fire of the forts uninjured, and only left there to get a supply of ammunition. After I went on board his vessel and ordered him to retire, the mortar vessels having been reinforced by the gun-boats sent up by the Flag-Officer, by midday the fire on the vessels on the northeast shore (Lieutenant Commanding Queen's division) became so rapid, and the shot and shell fell so close, that I went on board to move them. One large 120-pound shell had passed through the cabin and damaged the magazine of Lieutenant Commanding Queen's vessel, the T. A. Ward, coming out near the water-line, her rigging was cut, and shot flying over her fast. The George Mangham, Acting Master John Collins, had received a ten-inch shot near her water-line, so I moved them both (contrary to the wishes of the officers) two hundred yards farther astern, throwing the enemy out of his range, which he did not discover for two or three hours. At five o'clock in the evening the fort was discovered to be in flames, and the firing from the enemy ceased. We afterward learned that the citadel had been fired by our bomb-shells, and all the clothing of the troops and commissary stores had been burnt up, while great distress was experienced by the enemy owing to the heat and danger to the magazine. Had I known the extent of the fire, I should have proceeded all night with the bombardment ; but the crews had had nothing to eat or drink since daylight. I knew not how much the mortar beds and vessels might have suffered. Night firing was uncertain, as the wind had set in fresh, and not knowing how long a bombardment I might have to go through with, I deemed it best to be prudent. A little after sunset I ordered the firing to cease, and made the only

mistake that occurred during the bombardment. The fire in the forts blazed up again at night, but I thought it one of the fire-rafts they lighted up every night at the fort.

"The first and third divisions, under Lieutenants Commanding Smith and Breese, acquitted themselves manfully that day, and though the shot and shell fell thick about them, behaved like veterans. We fired on this day over 1,400 shell, many of which were lost in the air, owing to bad fuses. No accident of any kind occurred from careless firing, and after a careful examination the vessels and mortar-beds were found to be uninjured. On that night, at two o'clock, I ordered Lieutenant Commanding Queen to drop out of the line of fire, and I placed him on the south shore, in a safer and closer position, though not one where he could work to such advantage, the fort being plainly visible from his late position, and the effect of the shells could be more plainly noted. On the south shore the pointing of the mortars could only be done from sights fixed to the mastheads, and many curious expedients were resorted to to obtain correct firing, expedients very creditable to the intelligence of the commanders of the vessels. We heard afterward that our first day's firing had been more accurate than that of any other day, though it was all good.

"On the morning of the 19th we opened fire on the enemy again, when he tried his best to dislodge us from behind our forest protection without effect; our fire was kept up as rapidly as the men could carefully and properly load, the enemy returning it with what heavy guns he could bring to bear on us, most of his shot going over us among the shipping and gun-boats, which were on guard and employed drawing the fire away from us. About nine o'clock in the second morning the schooner Maria J. Carleton, Charles Jack, master, was sunk by a rifle-shell passing down through her deck, magazine, and bottom. I happened to be alongside at the time and had nearly all the stores saved, also the arms. As she went down the mortar was fired at the enemy for the last time, and that was the last of the 'Carleton.' We hauled her on to the bank when we found that she was sinking, and were thus enabled to save many of her stores; but she finally slipped off the bank into deeper water, and nothing was left visible but her upper rail. Two men were wounded in the Carleton. Acting Master Charles Jack came out in this vessel from New York; he lost his mainmast in a gale off Cape Hatteras, but persevered until he arrived in Key West, and sailed with the flotilla to Ship Island. He went through another gale, but got into port safe. He was almost always up with the rest in working up the river under sail with his one mast; and when his vessel sunk, he volunteered his services on board the vessel of Lieutenant Commanding Queen, to whose division he belonged. On the second day the firing from the forts was rather severe on the masts and rigging of the first division. I wanted to remove them a little farther

down, but was prevented from doing so at the request of Lieutenant Commanding Smith, who seemed determined not to withdraw until something was sunk. He had one man killed in the 'Arletta,' Acting Master Smith, by a ten-inch shot striking between the stop of the mortar-bed and the mortar, which disabled it for a time only; it was repaired in two or three hours; the men meanwhile under fire, without any occupation to keep up their interest. One or two men were wounded this day. We had another conflagration in the fort; the shells having set fire to some quarters put up for officers on the northwest angle of the works, they were all consumed. The firing seemed to be good this day, though some said the shells went over, and others said they fell short. The proof of accuracy was that the batteries were silenced every time the shells were concentrated on any one point. The fuses being so bad I gave up the plan of timing them, and put in *full-length fuses*, to burst after they had entered the ground. In some respects this was disadvantageous, but we lost but few by bursting before time in the air. The ground being wet and soft, the shells descended eighteen and twenty feet into the ground, exploding after some time, lifted the earth up and let it fall back into its place again, not doing a great deal of harm, but demoralizing the men, who knew not what the consequences might be. The effect, I am told, was like that of an earthquake. When the shells hit the ramparts they did their work effectually, knocking off large pieces of the parapet and shattering the casemates. On the third and fourth day the ammunition on board began to grow short, and the steamers had to be sent down to bring it up, the boats of the squadron also assisting all they could in the strong current to supply the vessels. The steamers laid close to the mortar vessels while the shot and shell were flying all about; but strange to say not a vessel was struck, though I expected to see some of them injured. The employment of them in that way could not be avoided. Everything was conducted with the greatest coolness, and the officers and men sat down to their meals as if nothing was going on—shells bursting in the air and falling alongside, and shot and rifle-shell crashing through the woods and tearing the trees up by the roots. On the fifth day the fire from the forts on the head of the first division was very rapid and troublesome. One hundred and twenty-five shots fell close to the vessels in one hour and thirty minutes, without, however, doing them any damage beyond hitting the Para, the headmost vessel, and cutting up the rigging and masts. The fire of the enemy had been attracted to the mastheads of one of the large ships which had been moved up, and which they could see over the woods. I deemed it prudent to move three of them two or three lengths, much to the annoyance of the officers, who seemed indisposed to yield an inch; still, my duty was to look out for the vessels and not have them destroyed. The Norfolk Packet got a piece of a shell through her decks, and had her

rigging and cross-trees cut away, and one man wounded. For three days and nights the officers and men had had but little repose and but few comfortable meals, so I divided the divisions into three watches of four hours each, firing from one division about 168 times a watch, or altogether, during twenty-four hours, 1,500 shell. This I found rested the crews and produced more accurate firing. Overcome with fatigue, I had seen the commanders and crews lying fast asleep on deck with a mortar on board the vessel next to them, thundering away and shaking everything around them like an earthquake. The windows were broken at the Balize, thirty miles distant. It would be an interminable undertaking, sir, if I was to attempt to give a minute account of all the hard work performed in the flotilla, or mention separately all the meritorious acts and patient endurance of the commanders and crews of the mortar vessels. *All* stuck to their duty like men and Americans; and though some may have exhibited more ingenuity and intelligence than others, yet the performance of all commanded my highest admiration. I cannot say too much in favor of the three commanders of divisions, Lieutenants Watson Smith, W. W. Queen, and R. K. Breese. I can only say I would like always to have them at my side in times of danger and difficulty. They were untiring in their devotion to their duties, directing their officers, who could not be supposed to know as much about their duties as they did. I left the entire control of these divisions to themselves, trusting implicitly that they would faithfully carry out the orders which I had given them previous to the bombardment, and knowing that no powder or shell would be thrown away if they could help it. The end justified my confidence in them. During a bombardment of six days they were constantly exposed to a sharp fire from heavy guns. If they sustained no serious damage to their vessels it was no fault of the enemy, who tried his best to destroy them, and who, after I had withdrawn the vessels of Lieutenant Commanding Queen from a very exposed position, reported that he had sunk them.

"After bombarding the fort for three days I began to despair of taking it, and, indeed, began to lose my confidence in mortars; but a deserter presented himself from Fort Jackson, and gave me such an account of the havoc made by our mortar practice that I had many doubts at first of his truth; he represented hundreds of shells falling into the fort, casemates broken in, citadel and outbuildings burnt, men demoralized and dispirited, magazine endangered, and the levee cut; we went to work with renewed vigor, and never flagged to the last.

"On the night of the 20th an expedition was fitted out, under Commander Bell, for the purpose of breaking the chain; it was composed of the gun-boats Pinola and Itasca; it was arranged that *all* the mortars should play upon the fort while the operation was going on, which they did as fast as they could

safely load and fire, nine shells being in the air frequently at one time. The vessels were discovered, and the forts opened fire on them at a distance of three and eight hundred yards. Lieutenant Crosby informed me that but for the rapid and accurate fire of the mortars the gun-boats would have been destroyed. The mortars silenced the batteries effectually, and Colonel Higgins ordered the men into the casemates, where they were in no way loth to go. These facts have been obtained from prisoners. The Itasca, Lieutenant Caldwell, slipped the chain of one vessel, and was swept ashore by the current, when the Pinola, Lieutenant Commanding Crosby, got her off, both remaining in that position over thirty minutes, though seen by the enemy and seldom fired at.

"On the 23d I urged Flag-Officer Farragut to commence the attack with the ships at night, as I feared the mortars would not hold out, the men were almost overcome with fatigue, and our supply ships laid a good way off. The enemy had brought over two heavy rifle guns to bear on the head of our line, and I was aware that he was daily adding to his defences and strengthening his naval forces with iron-clad batteries. The 23d was appointed, but the attack did not come off. I had fortunately dismounted with a shell on that day the heaviest rifle gun they had on St. Philip, breaking it in two, and it annoyed us no more. I did not know it at the time, but thought the ammunition had given out. On the 23d the order was given to move at two o'clock, in the order which the Flag-Officer will mention in his report. The steamers belonging to the mortar flotilla were assigned the duty of enfilading a heavy water-battery of six guns and the barbette of guns which commanded the approach to the forts; and the mortars having obtained good range during the day were to try and drive the men from the guns by their rapid fire, and bursting shell over the parapets. The flotilla steamers, composed of the Harriet Lane, Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright, leading; Westfield, Commander Renshaw; Owasco, Lieutenant Commanding Guest; Clifton, Lieutenant Commanding Baldwin; and Miami, Lieutenant Commanding Harrell, moved up (when the Flag-Officer lifted his anchor), seventy fathoms apart, and took position under the batteries; the leading vessel five hundred yards off, the others closing up as the fire commenced. Then, as soon as the Hartford, Brooklyn, and Richmond passed, they opened with shrapnell on the forts, having received the fire ten or fifteen minutes before replying to it. As the fire was high, and they were close in shore, nearer the forts than the enemy supposed, they occupied, as it turned out, a safer position than the vessels farther out, there being only one killed and one wounded on board the Harriet Lane, while the other steamers remained untouched. The commanders of all the vessels on this occasion did their duty, coolly kept their vessels close up, fired rapidly and accurately, and the signal was not made to retire until the last vessel of our gallant squadron passed through the flames,

which seemed to be literally eating them up ; every man, spar, or rope was plainly seen amid the light, and every movement of the ships noted ; that last vessel, the gallant Iroquois, would provokingly linger and slow her engines opposite the forts to give the rebels a taste of her formidable battery. When she also disappeared in the smoke our signal was hung out to retire, our duty having been accomplished, and the fort turning its entire attention to our little force. It could not, however, do us much harm, as the rain of mortar shells almost completely silenced them ; never in my life did I witness such a scene, and never did rebels get such a castigation. Colonel Higgins ordered the men from the batteries into the casemates to avoid the mortar shells, which fell with particular effect on that night, while grape-shot and shrapnell from the ships gave them but few opportunities to fire from their casemates. The ships had gone by, the back-bone of the rebellion was broken, the mortars ceased their fire, and nothing was heard for a time but the booming of guns as our fleet went flying up the river, scattering the enemy's gun-boats and sinking them as they passed. We all sat down to rest and speculate on the chances of seeing our old friends and brother officers again.

"I was very hopeful myself, for I knew that the enemy had been too much demoralized during the last week by mortar practice to be able to stand against the fire of our ships. I gave the ships, when they started, forty-five minutes to pass the forts ; they were only seventy from the time they lifted their anchors. I lost the services of a well-armed and useful vessel, the Jackson, for the attack on the batteries. Her commander, Lieutenant Commanding Woodworth, during the affair was appointed to tow the Portsmouth ahead of the mortar steamers, but was carried down the stream. He persisted, however, in taking her into her berth after the battle was over and the steamers had retired, and anchored her, I believe, within nine hundred yards of the fort. His reception and that of the Portsmouth was a warm one, for the east batteries opened on them ; and after escaping miraculously, the Portsmouth, with some shots in her hull and rigging, and one or two killed and wounded, coolly drifted out from under the guns and took her old position. Had the rebels not been overcome with despair she would have fared badly.

"Immediately on the passage of the ships, I sent Lieutenant Commanding Guest up with a flag of truce, demanding the surrender of the forts. The flag of truce was fired on, but apologized for afterward. The answer was, 'The demand is inadmissible.' Giving the men that day to rest, I prepared to fill up the vessels with ammunition and commence the bombardment again. Having in the mean time heard from Flag-Officer Farragut that he had safely passed the batteries, I determined to make another attempt on these deluded people in the forts to make them surrender, and save the further effusion of blood. Flag-Officer Farragut had un-

knowingly left a troublesome force in his rear, consisting of four steamers and a powerful steam-battery of four thousand tons and sixteen heavy guns, all protected by the forts. I did not know in what condition the battery was, only we had learned that she had come down the night before, ready prepared to wipe out our whole fleet. If the enemy counted so surely on destroying our whole fleet with her, it behooved me to be prudent, and not let the mortar vessels be sacrificed like the vessels of Norfolk. I commenced, then, a bombardment on the iron-clad battery, supposing it lay close under Fort Jackson, and also set the vessels to work throwing shells into Fort Jackson again, to let them know that we were still taking care of them; but there was no response; the fight had all been taken out of them. I sent the mortar vessels below to refit and prepare for sea, as also to prevent them from being driven from their position in case the iron battery came out to attack them. I felt sure that the steamers alone could manage the battery. Six of the schooners I ordered to proceed immediately to the rear of Fort Jackson and blockade all the bayous, so that the garrison could not escape or obtain supplies. I sent the Miami and Sachem to the rear of Fort St. Philip to assist in landing troops. These vessels all appeared at their destination at the same time, and when morning broke, the enemy found himself hemmed in on all sides. It was a military necessity that we should have the forts. Our squadron was cut off from coal, provisions, and ammunition; our soldiers had but little chance to get to New Orleans through shallow bayous; the enemy in the city would hesitate to surrender while the forts held out; communication was cut off between them, and neither party knew what the other was willing to do. So I demanded a surrender again through Lieutenant Commanding Guest, offering to let them retain their side-arms and engage not to serve against the United States during the rebellion until regularly exchanged, provided they would honorably deliver up, undamaged, the forts, guns, muskets, provisions, and all munitions of war, the vessels under the guns of the fort, and all other public property. The answer was civil, and hopes were held out that, after being instructed by the authorities of New Orleans, they would surrender. In the mean time their men became dissatisfied at being so surrounded; they had no hope of longer holding out with any chance of success, and gave signs of insubordination. On the 28th a flag of truce came on board the Harriet Lane, proposing to surrender Jackson and St. Philip on the terms proposed, and I immediately proceeded to the forts, with the steamers Westfield, Winona, and Kennebeck in company, and sent a boat for General Duncan and Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins, and such persons as they might see fit to bring with them. These persons came on board, and, proceeding to the cabin of the Harriet Lane, the capitulation was drawn up and signed, the original of which I have had the honor of forwarding to the Department by

Captain Baily, no opportunity occurring to send it through Flag-Officer Farragut without loss of time. The officers late commanding the forts informed me that the vessels would not be included in the capitulation, as they (the military) had nothing to do with the naval officers, and were in no way responsible for their acts. There was evidently a want of unanimity between the different branches of the rebel service. I afterward found out that great ill-feeling existed, the naval commander having failed, in the opinion of the military, to co-operate with the forts; the true state of the case being that they were both sadly beaten, and each laid the blame on the other. While engaged in the capitulation, an officer came below and informed me that the iron floating battery (the Louisiana) had been set on fire by two steamers which had been lying alongside of her. This was a magnificent iron steam floating battery of four thousand tons, and mounting sixteen heavy guns, and perfectly shot-proof. She had been brought down from New Orleans the day before, and on it the hopes of their salvation seemed to depend, as will appear by the following letter from General Duncan, taken in the fort:

"FORT JACKSON, LOUISIANA,
April 22, 1862.

"CAPTAIN: Your note of this date relative to the steamer Louisiana, the forwardness of her preparations for attack, the dispositions to be made of her, etc., has been received.

"It is of vital importance that the present fire of the enemy should be withdrawn from us, which you alone can do. This can be done in the manner suggested this morning, under the cover of our guns, while your work on the boat can still be carried on in safety and security. Our position is a critical one, dependent entirely on the powers of endurance of our casemates, many of which have been completely shattered, and are crumbling away by repeated shocks, and therefore I respectfully, but earnestly, again urge my suggestions of this morning upon your notice. Our magazines are also in danger. Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

"J. R. DUNCAN,
"Brigadier-General.

"Captain J. K. MITCHELL,
"Com. Nav. Forces Lower Miss. River."

"I was in hopes of saving this vessel as a prize, for she would have been so materially useful to us in all future operations on the coast, her batteries and strength being sufficient to silence any fort here, aided by the other vessels. Seeing her lying so quiet, with colors down, and the two steamers under our guns, I never dreamed for a moment that they had not surrendered. The forts and ourselves had flags of truce flying, and I could not make any movement without violating the honor of the United States and interrupting the capitulation which was being drawn up. The burning of the vessels was done so quietly that no one suspected it until the battery was in a blaze. I merely remarked to the commanders of the forts that the act was in no way creditable to the rebel commander. The reply was,

'We are not responsible for the acts of these naval officers.' We proceeded with the conference, and while so engaged an officer came to inform me that the iron-clad battery was all in flames and drifting down on us, having burned the ropes that had fastened her to the bank. I inquired of the late commanders of the forts if they knew if the guns were loaded, or if she had much powder on board. The answer was, 'I presume so, but we know nothing about the naval matters here.' At this moment the guns, being heated, commenced going off, with a probability of throwing shot and shell amid friend and foe. I did not deign to notice it further than to say to the military officers, 'If you don't mind the effects of the explosion which is soon to come, we can stand it.' If the ever-memorable Commander Mitchell calculated to make a stampede in the United States vessels by his infamous act he was mistaken; none of them moved or intended to move, and the conference was carried on as calmly as if nothing else was going on, though proper precautions were taken to keep them clear of the burning battery. A good Providence, which directs the most unimportant events, sent the battery off toward Fort St. Philip, and as it got abreast of that formidable fort it blew up with a force which scattered the fragments in all directions, killing one of their own men in Fort St. Philip, and when the smoke cleared off it was nowhere to be seen, having sunk immediately in the deep water of the Mississippi. The explosion was terrific, and was seen and heard for many miles up and down the river. Had it occurred near the vessels it would have destroyed every one of them. This, no doubt, was the object of the arch traitor who was the instigator of the act. He failed to co-operate, like a man, with his military confederates, who looked to the means he had at his disposal to save them from destruction, and who scorned alike his want of courage in not assisting them, as well as the unheard-of and perfidious act which might, in a measure, have reflected on them.

"How different was the course of the military commanders, who, though engaged in so bad a cause, behaved honorably to the end! Every article in the fort was delivered up undamaged. Nothing was destroyed, either before the capitulation or while the capitulation was going on, or afterward. The most scrupulous regard was paid to their promises. They defended their works like men, and had they been fighting for the flag under which they were born instead of against it, it would have been honor enough for any man to have said he had fought by their side.

"After the capitulation was signed, I sent Commander W. B. Renshaw to Fort Jackson, and Lieutenant Commanding Ed. Nichols to Fort St. Philip to receive the surrender of the forts. The rebel flag was hauled down and the stars and stripes once more floated over the property of the United States. The sun never shone on a more contented and happy-looking set of faces than those of the prisoners in and about the forts.

Many of them had not seen their families for months, and a large portion had been pressed into a service distasteful to them, subject to the rigor of a discipline severe beyond measure. They were frequently exposed to punishments, for slight causes, which the human frame could scarcely endure, and the men who underwent some of the tortures mentioned on a list of punishments I have in my possession, must have been unable afterward to do any duty for months to come. Instead of the downcast countenances of conquered people, they emerged from the fort (going home on their parole) like a parcel of happy school-boys in holiday times, and no doubt they felt like them also.

"When the flags had been exchanged, I devoted my attention to Commander Mitchell, who was lying a half mile above us with three steamers, one of which he had scuttled. Approaching him in the Harriet Lane, I directed Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright to fire a gun over him, when he lowered his flag. I then sent Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright on board to take possession and receive the unconditional surrender of the party, consisting of fourteen naval officers and seven engineers, temporarily appointed; the crew of the iron-clad battery consisted of three hundred men and two companies of marine artillery, nearly all from civil life, and serving much against their will, so they said. Commander Mitchell and the other naval officers were transferred to the Westfield as prisoners of war, and as soon as time would allow, the marines and sailors were sent in one of the captured vessels to Flag-Officer Farragut, at New Orleans. The captured military officers were sent up to New Orleans on their parole; and thus ended the day on which the great Mississippi rejoiced once more in having its portals opened to the commerce of the world. The backbone of the rebellion was broken, and from the appearance and talk of the soldiers we might soon hope to see the people united again under the folds of the flag of the Union. While the capitulation was going on I sent the steamer Clifton down to bring up troops, and when General Phelps came up I turned the forts, guns, and munitions of war over to his keeping. My next step was to visit Forts Jackson and St. Philip. Never in my life did I witness such a scene of desolation and wreck as the former presented; it was plowed up by the thirteen-inch mortars; the bombs had set fire to and burned out all the buildings in and around the fort; casemates were crushed and were crumbling in, and the only thing that saved them were the sand-bags that had been sent from New Orleans during the bombardment, and when they began to feel the effects of the mortars. When the communication was cut off between them and the city, this resource of sand-bags could avail them no longer. It was useless for them to hold out; a day's bombardment would have finished them; they had no means of repairing damages; the levee had been cut by the thirteen-inch bombs in over a hundred places, and the water had entered the casemates, making

it very uncomfortable, if not impossible, to live there any longer. It was the only place the men had to fly to out of reach of the bombs. The drawbridge over the moat had been broken all to pieces, and all the causeways leading from the fort were cut and blown up with bomb-shells, so that it must have been impossible to walk there or carry on any operations with any degree of safety. The magazine seems to have been much endangered, explosions having taken place at the door itself, all the cotton bags and protections having been blown away from before the magazine door. Eleven guns were dismounted during the bombardment, some of which were remounted again and used upon us. The walls were cracked and broken in many places, and we could scarcely step without treading into a hole made by a bomb-shell; the accuracy of the fire is, perhaps, the best ever seen in mortar practice; it seems to have entirely demoralized the men and astonished the officers. A water battery, containing six very heavy guns, and which annoyed us at times very much, was filled with the marks of the bombs, no less than 170 having fallen into it, smashing in the magazine, and driving the people out of it. On the night of the passage of the ships this battery was completely silenced, so many bombs fell into it and burst over it. It had one gun in it, the largest I have ever seen, made at the Tredegar works. I would not pretend to say how many bombs fell in the ditches around the works, but soldiers in the forts say about three thousand; many burst over the works, scattering the pieces of shell all around. The enemy admit but fourteen killed and thirty-nine wounded by the bombardment, which is likely the case, as we found but fourteen fresh graves, and the men mostly stayed in the casemates, which were three inches deep with water, and very uncomfortable. Many remarkable escapes and incidents were related to us as having happened during the bombardment. Colonel Higgins stated an instance where a man was buried deep in the earth, by a bomb striking him between the shoulders, and directly afterward another bomb exploded in the same place, and threw the corpse high in the air. All the boats and scows around the ditches and near the landing were sunk by bombs; and when we took possession, the only way they had to get in and out of the fort to the landing was by one small boat to ferry them across. All the lumber, shingles, and bricks used in building or repairs were scattered about in confusion and burned up, and every amount of discomfort that man could bear seemed to have been showered upon those poor deluded wretches.

"I was so much struck with the deserted appearance of what was once a beautiful spot, that I ordered Mr. Gerdes and his assistants on the Coast Survey to make me an accurate plan of all the works, denoting every bomb that fell, and (as near as possible) the injury the fort had sustained, every distance being accurately measured by tape-line and compass, and the comparative size

of fractures noted. The work has been executed with great zeal and accuracy, though it will only give a faint idea of the bombs that fell about the fort; many are lost sight of in the water which has been let in by the cut levees; many burst over the fort; but enough have been marked to indicate the wonderful precision of fire and the endurance of the forts. Had the ground been hard instead of being soft mud, the first day's bombardment would have blown Fort Jackson into atoms; as it is, it is very much injured, and will require thorough repair before it can be made habitable.

"Fort St. Philip received very little damage from our bombs, having fired at it with only one mortar, and that for the purpose of silencing a heavy rifled gun which annoyed us very much. We were fortunate enough to strike it in the middle and break it in two, and had not much more annoyance from that fort; two guns were capsized by a bomb at one time, but without injuring them; they were soon replaced; some trifling damage was done to the works, though nothing to affect the efficiency of the batteries. It was from Fort St. Philip that our ships suffered most, the men and officers there having had, comparatively, an easy time of it. I felt sure that St. Philip would surrender the moment Jackson hauled down the secession flag, and consequently directed all the attention of the mortar schooners to the latter fort. The final result justified me in coming to this conclusion.

"I trust that you will excuse me, sir, for dwelling so minutely on matters relating to this important victory, though I have endeavored to make my report as short as possible.

"Every little incident in this ever-to-be-remembered drama will be interesting to the true lovers of our Union, who will rejoice over the fact, that the great river which is the main artery of our country is once more in our possession, and that we may soon hope to see the stars and stripes floating over every hut and hamlet along its banks. It only remains for me, sir, to do justice to the officers who have been under my command during this arduous and sometimes unpleasant service. Commander Renshaw, Lieutenant Commanding Guest, Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright, Lieutenant Commanding Harrell, Lieutenant Commanding Baldwin, Lieutenant Commanding Woodworth, are the officers commanding steamers connected with the flotilla. Their duties were various and arduous—towing, supplying, and getting under the guns of the fort when opportunities offered, or they were permitted to expose their vessels. In the attack on the water batteries, Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright commanded the Harriet Lane (as I noticed) coolly and bravely; and his officers and crew did their duty, all the vessels lying quietly under the heavy fire for fifteen minutes, until it was time to open their batteries, which they did with effect, until the time came to retire. Commander Renshaw made his rifle gun tell with effect, keeping his vessel in close order. Lieutenant Commanding Guest, with his zealous crew, who had fired

over 200 shell at the forts at different times, kept his shell flying as fast as usual, bursting (as I witnessed) with good effect in the midst of the batteries. Lieutenant Commanding Baldwin, who I have always found ready for any duty, no matter how arduous or thankless, was in no way behind any one; his heavy battery of nine-inch and thirty-two-pounders rattled through the outer works of the fort, helping to keep Jackson quiet while our heavy ships were forcing their way through logs chained together, fire-rafts, rams, to say nothing of the enemy's gun-boats, iron batteries, and forts built to dispute the passage of any fleet which might be sent against them. The steamer Jackson, Lieutenant Commanding Woodworth, towed the Portsmouth gallantly into fire, though his position was more gallantly than wisely taken; he was fortunate that his vessel and the Portsmouth were not cut to pieces. I have been so struck with the energy and zeal of Lieutenants Commanding Woodworth and Baldwin, that I hope the Navy Department will reward them by reappointing them as permanent officers in the service (if they will accept it), for while the navy is composed of such men it will never be defeated in equal contests. Lieutenant Commanding Harrell, of the Miami, has had under his command a most wretched and unmanageable vessel, and has not had an opportunity to do himself full justice; he was always ready to do any service required of him, and on the night of the attack, with the rest, worked his battery with effect. As soon as the forts had been passed, on account of his light draft, I sent him to co-operate with General Butler, in landing troops outside, which duty he performed to my entire satisfaction.

"If the efforts of the mortar flotilla have not met your expectations in reducing the forts in a shorter time, it must be remembered that great difficulties existed, first in the soil, which allowed the bombs to sink at least twenty feet, by measurement, before exploding, the difficulty of seeing the fort, as it is not much above the surrounding bushes, and the endurance of the casemates, which were deeply covered with earth, and better constructed than supposed; but I am firmly of opinion that the moral effect of this bombardment will go far toward clearing all forts of rebels, and I draw attention to the case of Fort Livingston, which held out a flag of truce the moment three mortar vessels appeared before it. Flag-Officer Farragut has ordered me to repair to Ship Island to await the arrival of the larger vessels, but not to commence any operations until he arrives.

"I herewith inclose the reports of the commanders of steamers in relation to the conduct of those under their command.

"I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"DAVID D. PORTER,
"Commanding Flotilla.

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"Secretary of the Navy."

CHAPTER XVIII.

New Mexico a trophy of the Mexican War.—Invasion by General Sibley.—The Federal Posts.—Colonel Canby.—The Union force.—Its position.—Advance of the Texans.—Demonstration against Fort Craig.—A struggle with the Enemy.—Retreat of Union troops.—Battle of Valverde.—Attack on McCrea's Battery.—Gallantry of McCrea.—Albuquerque and Santa Fé occupied by the Enemy.—Movements of Colonel Hough.—Movements of Canby.—The Enemy retire from New Mexico.—Intrigues of the Enemy in Sonora and Chihuahua.—Movements in Arkansas.—Retrograde movement of General Curtis.—Generals Price and Van Dorn form a junction with Beauregard.—Return of General Curtis to Arkansas.—March toward the Capital.—Proclamation of the Governor of Arkansas.—His Censure of the Confederate Government.—Action of that Government.—General Roane in command.—Guerrillas in Missouri.—Movements of Jeff. Thompson.—His retreat from New Madrid.—Disastrous condition of Missouri.—Guerrillas.—Meeting of Emancipation Convention.

THE Territory of New Mexico, so lately won by the united people of the Republic, had now become a ground of contention between those who had fought side by side in wresting it from the common enemy. **1861.**

The apparently defenceless condition of New Mexico was a tempting opportunity that the bold marauders of Texas—which had united its destiny with that of the Confederate Government—eagerly availed themselves of. General Sibley, a native of Louisiana, and formerly an officer of dragoons in the service of the United States, mustered a considerable force, principally composed of Texan Rangers, and marched into New Mexico with the avowed purpose of wresting that Territory from the authority of the United States.

The Federal Government had already established several military posts to defend the frontiers and to protect the native Mexicans and new settlers from the raids of the merciless Navajoes, Apaches, and other tribes of savages. The principal of these military stations were Santa Fé, Albuquerque, Forts Larned, Craig, Fillmore, and Union, garrisoned by a few companies of United States regulars. When, however, it became manifest that the secessionists were about to invade the Territory, the Government of the Union made an effort to increase its force there. A military department was at once established, embracing the whole Territory, and placed under the command of Colonel Canby,* a native of Kentucky, and **Nov. 9.**

* Colonel Edward Richard Sprigg Canby was born in the State of Kentucky, and entered the Military Academy in the year 1836. He is between forty and forty-five years of age. He graduated on the 30th day of June, 1839, standing No. 30 in his class, in which we find the names of General Halleck, General Stevens, General Paine, General Ord, Captain Ricketts, and other noted officers. He was promoted on the 1st of July, 1839, to the rank of second lieutenant of the Second United States Infantry, and on the 18th of June, 1846, was further promoted to the first lieutenantcy. During that year he held the regimental adjutantcy, and on the 3d of March, 1847, was appointed an assistant adjutant-general, with the brevet rank of captain on the staff. He was brevetted major in

an officer of repute in the United States army. The regulars being increased in number, and the New Mexicans, who were mostly loyal to the Union, having freely volunteered their services on the invitation of Governor Conolly, there was soon mustered a force of about five thousand men. To these could be added a considerable number of militia ready, when called, to aid in the defence of the Territory.

On the reported approach of the Texans, energetic preparations were made to resist them. Kit Carson,* the famous guide and companion of Fremont in his explorations across the Rocky Mountains, was stationed with a thousand New Mexicans and some friendly Indians at Albuquerque. A garrison of twenty-six companies occupied Fort Craig, whose defences were strengthened by sand-bags, trenches, and abattis. Martial law was established at Santa Fé and Albuquerque, at which important posts there were numerous adventurers and stragglers whose loyalty could not be relied upon, and other precautions taken to guard against surprise and treachery.

Toward the end of December the Texans were reported by the Indian spies to be advancing into New Mexico in two divisions—one on the Pecos River, under the command of Sibley, and the other on the Jornada, under Baylor. Colonel Canby, however, felt confident, though the enemy's force was expected to be large, of being able to hold his position. On the 7th of February, the insurgent leader **1862.** reached Fort Thorne, *en route* to Fort Craig, and about fifty miles from that post, having heralded his advance by an inflammatory proclamation* addressed to the New Mexicans.

The enemy continuing to advance, reached the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, and made a demonstration against Fort Craig, on the opposite side.

August, 1849, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, in Mexico, and was also distinguished in the battle of Cerro Gordo. This brevet rank dated from August 20, 1847. In March, 1851, he was further brevetted a lieutenant-colonel for gallant conduct at the Belen Gate, the brevet dating from September 13, 1847. He held these ranks while in the adjutant-general's department. In June, 1851, he was promoted to the full rank of captain in the Second United States Infantry, and relinquished his rank in the line. On the 3d of March he was appointed major of the Tenth Infantry, which position he held in the "Army Register" of January, 1861. On the 14th of May, 1861, he was further promoted to the colonelcy of the newly-formed Nineteenth Regiment of United States Infantry, and on the 9th of November was appointed to the charge of the Department of New Mexico.

* "Romantic young ladies," says a chronicler, "would be quite disappointed with the appearance of the hero, could they see him. He is below the medium height, chunky, has small, gray, twinkling eyes, with a heap of wrinkles branching from their corners; a full, smooth-shaved, well-turned face; a good forehead, irregularly placed teeth, and light auburn hair that reaches to the collar of his coat, and is slightly silvered, covers his ears, is cut square all round, and half turned under at the ends. His voice is soft, his words all spoken very slowly and deliberately; his laugh is a decided treble; his talk is full of 'thars' and 'whars,' and his whole appearance reminds you of some good substantial Methodist minister; and, like all persons who possess true merit and genius, he is very quiet, modest, and unassuming."

* PROCLAMATION OF SIBLEY.

"The existing war is one most wickedly waged by the United States upon the Confederate States for the subjugation and oppression of the latter by force of arms. It has already failed. Victory has crowned the arms of the Confederate States wherever an encounter worthy of being called a battle has been joined. Witness the battles of Bull Run, of Manassas, of Lexington, of Leesburg, of Columbus, and the capture in the Mesilla Valley of the whole force of the enemy by scarce half their number."

Crossing the river, they threw forward a column of infantry a thousand strong, **Feb. 18.** in front of the works, and moved eight hundred cavalry on the western flank. They then approached in line of battle to within a mile and a half of the fort, but immediately after retired.

In the mean time Colonel Canby had concealed his main force in the rear of the fortress; but while the enemy were retiring he sent out a squadron of dragoons and mounted men, under Major Duncan, to charge their cavalry, now unsupported by the infantry. The enemy gave way until they reached a ravine, when the foot-soldiers coming up to their support, a skirmish took place, and Major Duncan retired.

On the next day the enemy crossed the Rio Grande with the view of taking possession of the high banks of the river opposite to Fort Craig. Colonel Canby determined to attack them. An **Feb. 21.** advance Union force under Colonel Roberts crossed the Rio Grande and had a struggle with the enemy, which lasted from early morning until noon with varied success. Colonel Canby now followed with his main body, a flying battery of six pieces, commanded by Captain McCrea, and two howitzers.

The battle soon became general, and was carried on between the artillery on both sides and skirmishing parties* until near the close of the day, when the Texan cavalry "charged desperately and furiously with picked men, about six hundred strong, on McCrea's battery. They were armed with carbines, revolvers, and long seven-pound bowie-knives. After discharging their carbines at close quarters, they drew their revolvers and reached the battery amid a storm of grape and canister. The New Mexicans of Colonel Pene's regiment became panic-stricken, and ingloriously fled. Captain Plimpton, with the United States infantry, stood his ground and fought nobly until more than one half were numbered with the dead.

"With his artillerymen cut down, and with his support reported killed, wounded, or flying from the field, Captain McCrea sat down calmly and quietly on one of his guns, and with revolver in hand, refusing to fly or desert his post, he fought to the last, and gloriously died like a hero, the last man at his gun.

"The Texans suffered terribly in this desperate charge."

This put an end to the battle known as that of Valverde, which lasted the whole day. The Union loss amounted to two hundred killed and wounded, and that of the enemy must have been very severe. Canby retired to the fort, and the enemy pushed on along the banks of the Rio Grande and took possession of Albuquerque, where they left a considerable force, and of Santa Fé, where they organized a provisional government for the Territory of New Mexico. Communications were now cut off between Colonel Canby, who remained shut up in Fort Craig, and Fort Union, to which alone he could look for supplies and reinforcements.

Troops were, however, rapidly march-

* Kit Carson was in command of the Union skirmishers.

ed from the neighboring Territory of Colorado to reinforce the Unionists at Fort Union, and thus enable them to hold that post and make an effort to clear away the obstructing Texans and reopen communications.

Colonel Hough, the commander at Fort Union, now moved forward with thirteen hundred men toward Fort Craig, while the enemy marched out from Santa Fé to oppose his advance and to attack Fort Union. Hough's advance, consisting of three companies of cavalry, on reaching the Apache Pass, met two hundred and fifty of the enemy's horse, and captured fifty-seven, with a loss on his own side of four killed and eleven wounded.

Mar. 26.

Again, as Colonel Hough continued to advance, he had an engagement at Pigeon's Ranche, fifteen miles from Santa Fé. The enemy were eleven hundred strong.

Mar. 28.

"The fight began about noon, Colonel Hough engaging them in front with seven companies, while Major Cherington, with four companies, attacked them in the rear. This latter force succeeded in driving the rebel guard away from their supply-train, which was captured and burned. They also captured one cannon and spiked it. The fight continued desperately till four o'clock, when it ceased by mutual consent. Colonel Hough withdrew his forces to a creek four miles distant."

The Union loss was one hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing, and that of the enemy was three hundred killed and wounded, and ninety-three taken prisoners. After the battle the Union forces fell back to Bernal Springs, forty-five miles south of Fort Union, and the enemy withdrew toward Santa Fé. Colonel Hough was subsequently ordered to return to Fort Union, and thence to march to Galisto by Colonel Canby, who moved out himself from Fort Craig, which was left in charge of a sufficient garrison. Canby formed a junction at Galisto with Hough's command, and moved against Povollo, on the Rio Grande, where the enemy had intrenched themselves. On reaching this place he made a detour with a portion of his force below the position, and sent the rest of his troops, under Major Paul, to the rear. Thus favorably placed, Canby made a successful attack, with a loss of twenty-five killed and wounded. The Texans, now finding their design of wresting the Territory of New Mexico from the Federal authorities obstructed, and being recalled for service in other quarters, began to retire. Abandoning Santa Fé, they retreated rapidly down the Rio Grande, leaving behind them their supply-wagons, and burying their artillery. When they crossed the Puerco River, near its junction with the Rio Grande, in the course of their flight to Texas they separated into small parties and dispersed among the mountains to facilitate their means of support and escape, or to act with advantage as guerrilla bands. It was, however, supposed that the Territory of New Mexico was for the present freed from any serious attack from the Texan marauders.

Apr. 11.

May 3.

At the same time that the Texans were invading New Mexico, it was rumored that the Confederate Government had intrigued to gain over the neighboring Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. For this purpose it had sent, it was reported, confidential agents to the Mexican governors, with profuse promises of military aid, in case those officials should be found disposed to rise against the authority of Mexico. These attempts, however, were supposed to have been without avail in consequence of the aversion of the Mexicans to the aggressive policy of the Southern States and their sympathy with the Northern cause.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, in Arkansas, near the borders of Missouri, both antagonists seemed momentarily disinclined to further conflict. General Curtis, finding it difficult to obtain in the sparsely inhabited and much exhausted neighborhood of the battle-field the necessary forage and provisions, made a retrograde march within the borders of Missouri in order to be nearer his basis of supplies.

Generals Price and Van Dorn at the same time retired rapidly through Arkansas with the main body of their forces, and embarking on the White and Arkansas rivers, sailed to the Mississippi, and thence succeeded in forming a junction with Beauregard at Corinth. Albert Pike, however, with his Indians and some Texan Rangers, was left near the borders of Arkansas to assist in the defence of that State and to harass the army of Curtis in case of an advance.

General Curtis' army now ventured to return to Arkansas, and began to move on the track of the retiring enemy. The advance under General Osterhaus crossed the White River on the 9th of May, and took the road to Little Rock, the capital of the State. Great agitation was caused by this approach of the Federal army to the seat of government, and vigorous efforts were made to defend it. Some of the inhabitants counselled submission, while others advised resistance to the last. The Governor issued a proclamation calling out the militia of the State. In this florid appeal to the people, he said: **May 9.**

"FELLOW-CITIZENS—Again your authorities, charged with the duty of preserving and defending your State government, deem it imperatively necessary to call you to arms. Northern troops, formidable in numbers and preparation, are in the heart of your State, marching upon your capital, with the avowed purpose of subverting your government, plundering your people, eating your substance, and erecting over your heads as a final consummation a despotic ruler, the measure of whose power will be the hatred he bears his subjects. **May 5.**

"Will the thirty thousand freemen, capable of bearing arms, yet in Arkansas, look listlessly on, while chains are being riveted upon their limbs by a few thousand Hessians from the North—— hireling mercenary cowards as they are, seeking to enslave us, that they may grow rich upon our substance, and divide us and our children as conquered subjects? This cannot, will not be:

our people, in the government of their choosing, in the sacredness of their persons and the defence of their property, must be determined. We can and will defend it, unaided if it must be so, at every cost and sacrifice, rather than live under the domination of the detestable and execrable Lincoln government.

"The enemy upon our soil is crushing to earth the proud spirit of our people; presuming upon the temporary absence of many of our brave men, they seek to crush the energy and courage of the remainder. We will drive them from among us. Where there is a will there is always a way. An enlightened and brave people will never be subjugated."

At the same time that from his bounteous store of objurgation he thus poured out curses upon the "Hessians of the North," he was not sparing in his censure of the Confederate Government, which had "refused or neglected to protect the people." He even threatened the factitious government he had so lately aided in forming, with a reminder of the sovereignty of Arkansas. "It was for liberty," he said, "she struck, and not for subordination to any created secondary power North or South. "If," he added, "the arteries of the Confederate heart do not permeate beyond the east bank of the Mississippi, let Southern Missourians, Arkansians, Texans, and the great West know it and prepare for the future."

This significant hint seems not to have been lost upon the Confederate Government, which proceeded at once to make a show of doing something for the abandoned State and its querulous Governor. Brigadier-General Roane, of the Confederate army, was ordered to assume the command of all the forces in Arkansas and defend the State, and that officer sanguinely declared, on assuming his duties, that with the reserve placed at his command, he was confident of being able to drive the invaders from the soil. **May 14.**

Though the enemy no longer ventured, since the retreat of General Price from Missouri, to appear in that State with a large organized force, they succeeded, by means of guerrilla bands, in seriously vexing the tranquillity of the loyal inhabitants. The famous marauder Jeff. Thompson, with a considerable number of cavalry and some artillery, persistently held New Madrid, and thence made incursions into the interior of Missouri. He was, however, not always fortunate in these raids. On one occasion, while proceeding from New Madrid, he was met by a Federal force at Lukestown, and defeated. Being followed into the swamps by the cavalry of General Hamilton and Colonel Morgan's brigade, he was forced to leave three pieces of his artillery in the hands of his pursuers. General Pope coming up with a separate detachment of Thompson's force, captured three more pieces of artillery, an officer, and several privates. Jeff. Thompson subsequently, after the retreat from New Madrid and the fall of Island No. 10, moved down the Mississippi with the retreating enemy to their strongholds below. Here he cooperated in the defence of Forts Wright **Mar. 3.**

and Pillow, and covered the approaches to Memphis from above.

In the interior of Missouri the guerrilla bands continued very active in spite of the vigilance of the Federal troops. Quantrel became especially notable for his boldness and activity. The whole State was thus kept in a condition of inquietude which greatly hindered its restoration to prosperity.

"In consequence of the uncertainties of the future," testifies a cotemporary observer, "and the unsettled state of the country, there are but few making any preparations to put in crops. Farms are laid waste, and fences burned up along the road, and Union men are discouraged. The rebels have mostly gone South with their negroes. Some Union men have not only abandoned the idea of making crops, but are getting their wagons out, intending to forsake all, and emigrate to a place of safety."

The Federal troops which had been left to guard the State had frequent conflicts with these guerrilla bands, and not seldom succeeded in putting them to complete rout, as at Warrensburg (March 29), Hammonsville (March 26), and Bloomfield (May 14).

The Union cause had, in the mean time, so far gained the ascendant in Missouri, that a mass convention of "the friends of the Administration and those favorable to emancipation of the slaves of Missouri, under the plan submitted to Congress by the President," was called to meet at Jefferson City to nominate State officers. June 16.

CHAPTER XIX.

Siege of Yorktown by McClellan.—The Enemy's works.—Advance of McClellan on the Peninsula.—His opinions of the Enemy's fortifications.—Siege-guns sent for.—McClellan before Yorktown.—Condition of the country.—Different opinions in regard to the Enemy's force.—Operations of the siege.—Skirmishes.—The repulse at Lee's Mills.—The gun-boats in the York River.—The Merrimac guarding the James.—A spirited attack upon a redoubt of the Enemy.—Siege battery in position.—The effect of its fire.—Repulse of the Enemy.—Evacuation of Yorktown.—Pursuit of the Enemy.

General McClellan having transported from the banks of the Potomac his large and well-disciplined army of over a hundred thousand men to the peninsula in Virginia formed by the York and James rivers, prepared to lay siege to the strong works the enemy had erected in front of Yorktown. Their position extended across the peninsula from Yorktown on the York River, to Warwick on the Warwick Creek, a small stream which empties into the James. From the natural defence of this creek and the conformation of the land in that

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direction, the enemy were enabled by a comparatively short line of works to command all the roads up the peninsula leading to their capital at Richmond. They also held Gloucester, opposite to Yorktown, on the eastern side of the York River, where the banks of that stream closely approach and form a narrow strait.

General McClellan disembarked at Fortress Monroe with his staff on the **Apr. 4.** second of April, and in two days after advanced with his army toward Yorktown. On making a reconnoissance, McClellan discovered that his undertaking was of a formidable character. "The position of the enemy," he wrote, "is a strong one. From present indications their fortifications extend some two miles in length and mount heavy guns. The ground in front of their heavier guns is low and swampy, making it utterly impassable."

He accordingly made preparations for a siege in due form before attempting to make an assault. Mortars and siege-trains were sent for, and in the mean time the army advanced with caution in the direction of Yorktown. The right, composed of General Morrill's brigade of Porter's division, two companies of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, and a portion of Berdan's Sharpshooters acting as skirmishers, led the advance. Nothing was seen of the enemy until arriving at Big Bethel, after a march of twelve miles, when their outer picket-guards were observed falling back as our troops approached. The bridge here having been destroyed, a delay of two hours occurred while constructing another. This having been accomplished, the whole army moved forward, and the main body encamped for the night at Howard's Creek, where the enemy, after firing a few shots from a couple of field-pieces, abandoned their works. General Morrill's brigade continued to move on until it reached Cuckleville, three miles in advance, and six miles from Yorktown.

Early next morning the army again resumed its march, and at ten **Apr. 5.** o'clock was in front of the works at Yorktown. The enemy opened fire at once, which was replied to as soon as the batteries of Griffin, the Third and Fourth Rhode Island, and Fifth Massachusetts could be placed in position. The cannonade thus begun, continued briskly on both sides until evening. Three of our men were killed and six wounded.

Everywhere was seen the desolating effect of war. "The whole country through which our troops passed was formerly the garden spot of Virginia. It is now," reports an observer, alluding to a space of country of ten miles which he visited in company with a reconnoitring party, "perfectly devastated, and but one house is left standing. The houses, fences, and trees have been burned by the retreating rebels."

Great difference of opinion prevailed in regard to the number of the enemy at Yorktown. General Wool declared, officially, "I do not believe the army of the Potomac will find many troops to contend with." One who affected to be cognizant of the secrets of the enemy,

declared: "They are in strong force at Yorktown, where they have at least twenty-five thousand troops." Deserters came in with estimates varying from thirty to fifty thousand, while a telegram, supervised by governmental authority, was permitted to assert:

"Information received shows that the rebels have a force of sixty thousand, which is rapidly being added to by troops from the neighborhood of Richmond, which is one day from Yorktown by railroad and river, they having four steamers and sixteen transports in use, and by the time the roads are in condition for the Union army to move, the rebels may be able to meet them with one hundred thousand men.

"The flower of their army, with the best arms, are in a strongly intrenched position. Previous to our troops occupying the present position, the military authorities had no means of ascertaining the extent of the rebel works.

"Information obtained through deserting contrabands and other sources shows that the enemy have nearly five hundred guns, some of them of the largest calibre. The rebel General Johnston, with some of his forces, has arrived and taken command in person, showing that they intend making a desperate resistance to the advance of our troops at every point. Their intrenchments extend entirely across the peninsula from the James to the York River."

There seems but little doubt that though previous to the landing of McClellan on the peninsula the defences of Yorktown were manned by less than twenty thousand under General Magruder, this force was rapidly augmented after that event by Confederate troops withdrawn from the Rappahannock and Norfolk until it reached perhaps sixty thousand.

Reconnoissances were daily made, intrenchments thrown up, and a gradual advance secured for our batteries. A constant cannonade was kept up on both sides, and repeated skirmishes took place, in which the riflemen of Berdan's corps did good service by the accuracy of their aim and the deadliness of their fire. No serious conflict, however, occurred until April 16th, when an attack was made on the enemy's position at Lee's Mills, on a streamlet of the Warwick River. Apr. 16.

General McClellan having discovered that the enemy were strengthening their works at this point, determined to put an end to their operations. He accordingly ordered a fire to be opened upon their working parties. For this purpose, the New York battery, commanded by Captain Mott, prepared to take position on the left of the enemy's works, and the Rhode Island battery B, under Captain Bartlett, on the right, while the Third Vermont Regiment, acting as skirmishers, were thrown out in front and to the right and left, and a force was posted in the rear as a reserve. About eight o'clock in the morning the first section of Captain Mott's battery, consisting of two ten-pounder Parrott guns, was advanced to within about a thousand yards of the enemy's work, and posted under the cover of a wood Apr. 16.

near the Warwick road, to the right of an open field which extended to the creek. A fire was now opened, which was briskly responded to by the enemy's batteries on the other side of the stream, and with such accuracy of aim, that three of our men were killed and four wounded. The rest of the guns of Mott's battery being now brought up joined in the cannonade, which continued for two hours on both sides, when the enemy's working parties were driven away and their guns apparently silenced.

It was now determined by General Smith, who commanded the Vermont brigade, whose position was opposite to the enemy's works at Lee's Mills, to throw a force across the creek and attempt to take the defences by assault. Accordingly, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Hyde was ordered by General Smith to take the four companies, D, E, F, and K of the Third Vermont Regiment, which had been held in reserve during the engagement of the morning, advance, cross the creek, and storm the enemy's works. At the same time four batteries of light artillery, commanded respectively by captains Ayres—the senior officer, and therefore chief in command—Mott, Kennedy, and Wheeler, took a position so as to cover with their guns the storming party.

"The four batteries," says an eye-witness,* "opened a concerted fire on the fort, throwing shot, shell, and spherical case into it in rapid succession; then those four companies of the Third Regiment advanced, dashed into the water, which in some places came up to their armpits, and proceeded to storm the work. At this moment an immense force of the enemy, who had lain low all this while, confronted our men, shooting them down in the water. The brave little band stood their ground nobly, and notwithstanding that many had their cartridge-boxes soaked in the dam, they crossed over and drove the enemy out of the rifle-pit or lower line of the intrenchments. This position they held against a murderous fire for perhaps twenty or thirty minutes. At length a large body of rebel reinforcements, consisting of two or three regiments, was seen advancing from the rear into the fort, and for some unaccountable reason our reinforcements not appearing at the proper moment, the brave battalion was compelled to fall back before superior numbers. We sustained considerable loss both in crossing and recrossing the dam.

"After the remnant of these companies returned, our batteries, which had in the mean time ceased firing, opened in full force again. Then the Sixth Vermont Regiment was ordered to storm the work by the left flank. Led by their gallant colonel, Lord, the Sixth Regiment rushed into the water. Seven companies had gotten in and some had reached within about three rods of the breast-work, when, being in three feet of water, they were immediately met by the fire of a long line of rebel rifles which were popped above the parapets. A running fire from a thousand small-

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

arms was poured upon our men. It was returned as well as the circumstances would warrant. The breastwork was lighted up with a continuous sheet of flame, the artillery belched away at the enemy, shells were bursting over their breastworks, the smoke of the battle was ascending, and for a few moments the scene was one of the grandest witnessed in war. Not a man of ours flinched, but all returned the fire of the enemy with deadly effect. Wherever a head was put above the parapet they fired at it. Hence the rebels were mostly hit in the head, except those killed and wounded by shells, which must have been considerable. Many of our wounded were hit in the hip and lower extremities, indicating that the rebels were endeavoring to comply with Magruder's order, to fire low and each bring down his man. Finding that rebel reinforcements were still advancing, and owing to the apparent impossibility of making a successful assault with the bayonet, Colonel Lord retired with his men, who brought most of their wounded comrades away with them."

The loss during this gallant but unsuccessful assault, including that of the storming party and artillery, amounted to thirty-five killed, a hundred and twenty wounded, and nine missing. Captain Mott, upon whose battery the enemy seemed to have concentrated their fire, had three men killed and seven wounded. Seven of his horses were disabled.

The enemy lost one of their most gallant officers, Colonel McKinney, of the Fifteenth North Carolina Regiment, which bore the chief part in the struggle. They reported their whole loss to be twenty killed and seventy-five wounded.

General McClellan continued vigorously to prosecute his siege operations, while the enemy seemed equally energetic in strengthening and defending their works. Occasional conflicts occurred in consequence of the attempts made to hinder each other's operations. The Union gun-boats which had moved up the York River, within a mile or two of the strait between Gloucester and Yorktown, by their frequent fire seriously impeded the enemy in strengthening and repairing their works at those places. James River, on the other side of the peninsula, was carefully guarded by the enemy's iron-clad battery Merrimac, which ever and anon came up from Norfolk, and seemed to defy the whole force of the Union fleets.

A spirited attack upon one of the enemy's redoubts varied the monotony of the siege. This work stood in front of a wood near the Yorktown road, in advance of the main defences. It had a ditch six feet deep with a strong parapet, and was manned by two companies of infantry, but with no artillery. It having been determined to carry the redoubt, and ascertain the nature of the works behind, five companies of Massachusetts troops, consisting of three of the First Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, and two of the Eleventh, under Major Tripp, were detailed for the purpose. Company A, Captain Wild, was

Apr. 26.

deployed as a skirmishing party to the left in the cornfield in front of the redoubt to prevent a flank movement of the enemy, and Company I, Captain Rand, was held in reserve toward the right near a ravine, while Company H, under Captain Carroll, made the assault. Led by Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, they advanced at double quick across the field right for the work. As soon as the enemy caught sight of them they opened a brisk fire, but the Massachusetts men continued to advance at a rapid pace in face of it with fixed bayonets, not a man of ours firing a shot until within a few yards of the ditch in front of the redoubt, when they fired a full volley, which sent the enemy scampering away from the work, into which our men sprang at once and took possession. A working party, detailed for the purpose, followed with picks and shovels, and soon demolished the redoubt. The enemy, in the mean time, opened fire from their main fortifications upon our flanking parties as they came forward; these, however, succeeded in escaping to the cover of a neighboring wood. The Union loss was three killed and thirteen wounded. Fourteen of the enemy were taken prisoners.

The enemy on their side made an occasional sortie, but were generally beaten back with heavy loss.

After more than three weeks' laborious preparation, General McClellan having advanced his parallels, got one **Apr. 30.** of his large siege batteries in position, and opened fire at a distance of two miles upon the enemy's works. The first shot was fired from Battery No. 1, at the mouth of Wormsley's Creek, and was aimed at the enemy's shipping in the York River, beyond Yorktown and Gloucester. This caused a scattering of the vessels. The guns of the battery were now directed against the enemy's works at Yorktown and Gloucester. The enemy replied with their large pivot gun, a rifled sixty-eight pounder, mounted on the heights of Yorktown. The cannonade was kept up on both sides for two hours, in the course of which about sixty shot were fired from the one and two hundred pounder Parrott guns of the heavy siege battery. During the night the enemy kept up a brisk fire of shells upon the advanced parallels where our men were at work. On the next morning the enemy opened fire with their columbiad, mounted upon the heights of Yorktown, and continued to fire it with great rapidity until its twenty-third discharge, when "it burst into a thousand pieces, tearing up the parapet and making havoc with the crowd who were collected around it at the time." This seemed to be the only gun capable of competing with our heavy siege batteries, and the enemy, after it had burst, ceased to fire, but our cannonade upon Yorktown and Gloucester was continued with increased vigor. It now was Saturday, and before night the **May 3.** heavy siege batteries being all in position, and everything in readiness, General McClellan resolved, after dedicating the coming Sunday to a sacred rest, to begin on Monday the bombardment of the enemy's works, which he

did not doubt would result in their total overthrow, and a triumphant victory for the Federal arms.

These sanguine expectations, however, were destined to disappointment by a discreet movement of the enemy, who evacuated Yorktown and Glouces-
May 3. ter on Saturday night, though their retreat was not discovered by the Federal army until the next morning. General McClellan at once dispatched all his cavalry and horse artillery in pursuit, supported by a considerable body of infantry, and ordered the fleet of gun-boats up the York River. "I shall push the enemy to the wall," declared McClellan in his official dispatch, and acting in accordance with these energetic words, he rapidly embarked Franklin's division and other troops on transports and sent them up the York River to West Point, with the view of flanking the enemy on their retreat toward Richmond, and thus co-operating with the immediately pursuing force already sent by land.

The defences the enemy had evacuated were reported by the engineers "as being very strong," and the confusion that prevailed appeared to indicate a hasty movement on the part of some of the troops, although the main body had begun to retire several days before the rear-guard. The fugitives left behind fifty-two pieces of artillery after having spiked them, and a considerable amount of ammunition, camp equipage, and stores of all kinds. These they would doubtlessly have carried off if they had been able; but there were other instruments of war found which they had designedly prepared to leave behind. These were torpedoes, which had been, with a savage perversion of the rules of warfare, ingeniously contrived, and so hidden on the roads, in the fortifications, in the houses and streets, in the tents, and among the tempting baggage abandoned, as to explode on the touch of the unwary. A telegraph operator stepped on one and was instantly killed, and a mounted man stood on another, which exploded and fatally wounded his horse.* By the ingenious expedient of forcing the prisoners to unearth these diabolical machines, further injury was prevented. Yorktown now being in possession of our forces, was garrisoned by the Forty-fourth New York Regiment, and placed under the authority of Brigadier-General Van Alen, of New York, as military governor, while General McClellan prepared to advance with the whole of his large army, inspirited by the prospect of an active campaign.

* "An officer told me," wrote a correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald*, "that he found thirty of them within a compass of ten square rods. They are eleven-inch round shell, and so concealed under the ground as to leave little, if any, external indication of their presence. Captain Weeden and Colonel Woodbury dissected one, and found it to contain nearly four pounds of very coarse and very fine powder, mixed. Each has a quill fuse, and above it a plunger, with knob so constructed that a person walking along and stepping upon it brings the plunger down with sufficient force upon a cap underneath to cause it to explode."

CHAPTER XX.

Pursuit of the Enemy after the evacuation of Yorktown.—The Enemy within their intrenchments at Williamsburg.—Unsuccessful charge of General Stoneman.—Movements of various divisions of McClellan's army.—Before Williamsburg.—Battle of Williamsburg.—The Union troops hard pressed.—Anxiety for reinforcements.—McClellan in the field.—Heavy reinforcements.—Close of the battle.—Losses.—Evacuation of Williamsburg.—Occupation by McClellan.

THE force of cavalry and light artillery under the command of General Stoneman, dispatched in pursuit early on Sunday morning, immediately after the evacuation of Yorktown was discovered, soon came up with the rear guard of the enemy. Several skirmishes ensued, and many stragglers from the retreating army were cut off, but the main body succeeded in getting within their intrenchments and under cover of their redoubts at Williamsburg. Stoneman, however, not waiting for his support of infantry, imprudently charged upon the enemy's works, and was driven back with the loss of one of his cannon and a dozen wounded men.

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At noon of the same day the *corps d'armée* of Heintzelman and Keyes left Yorktown to join in pursuit of the retreating and supposed demoralized army of the enemy. General Hooker's division, followed by General Kearney's (both of Heintzelman's *corps d'armée*), took the road leading from Yorktown, and General Smith's division, which led the advance of Keyes' *corps d'armée*, marched by the Warwick Court House road. These roads united at Cheesecoke Church, about six miles from Yorktown, in the road leading directly to Williamsburg. Here the advanced divisions of Hooker and Smith met, but again separated, the latter moving on the Yorktown and Williamsburg road to the right, and the former taking the Hampton and Williamsburg road* on the left.

In advance of General Hooker's division was General Emory in command of a force of cavalry and artillery, composed of detachments of the First and Sixth Regular Cavalry, the McClellan Dragoons, the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, and Gilson's battery. Overtaking a body of the enemy's mounted men, they soon routed them by a fire from the guns, followed by a charge of cavalry.

General Stoneman, who had been first sent in pursuit, and falling back after his check, was now on the Yorktown road, in advance of General Smith's division. During the evening and night, Hooker's and Smith's divisions continued to press forward, and did not cease their toilsome march in a pouring rain

* These roads unite not far from Williamsburg.

and through the deep mire of the roads, until within striking distance of the enemy's defences at Williamsburg, before which the troops rested on their arms, waiting for the coming day to begin the attack. "That was a fearful night," wrote a campaigner, "and that a strange, eventful bivouac. The roads being in a dreadfully muddy condition, the troops had had a difficult march; and there at night, without shelter from the rain, which was falling fast, without food or nourishment, they all, officers and soldiers, reposed that Sabbath night, as best they could, on the wet ground and among the forest-trees."

The position of the whole force, as it bivouacked, was as follows: General Hooker's division rested in front of the centre of the enemy's works near Williamsburg, and General Smith's division, and the cavalry and artillery under Stoneman, on the right. The divisions of Generals Kearney and Couch had halted in the rear. Early in the morning the enemy defiantly moved forward their picket guards, which, however, were made to fall rapidly back on the approach of our troops. General Grover's brigade, which led the advance of Hooker's division, arrived within full sight of the enemy's works at six o'clock in the morning. The road on which they marched passed through a forest, thickly wooded, except where the trees had been felled to secure a clear range for the enemy's cannon. The position about to be attacked was a formidable one. To the natural defence of a dense forest and a ravine had been added a number of redoubts, rifle-pits, abattis, and a strong fort called Fort Magruder. This work was a formidable structure, of an area of nearly half a mile, with stout parapets and a deep ditch. There were, moreover, twelve redoubts so placed as to flank each other and support the main fort. The approach, to within a mile, was concealed by the forest growth, and the fallen trees, which had been cut down to give a free range to the guns, were so placed as greatly to hinder the advance of troops.

May 5.

The other works, which were generally small redoubts, were skilfully placed on the rising ground so as to command not only the ordinary approaches by bridges and roads, but the whole space extending across the peninsula in front of Williamsburg.

At half-past seven o'clock General Grover had his brigade in position to open the battle. The First Massachusetts, the Second New Hampshire, the Eleventh Massachusetts, and Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania regiments were deployed in front to the left of the Hampton road as skirmishers to pick off the enemy's sharpshooters and artillerists, while Captain Weber's battery of artillery was advanced to within seven or eight hundred yards of Fort Magruder. While this disposition was being made, the enemy opened fire from the fort and one of their redoubts, killing two officers and several men of Weber's battery and forcing it to retire. The artillerists, however, being joined by some volunteers, soon rallied, and, replacing their guns in position, responded to the en-

emy's fire. Captain Bramhall's New York battery came up half an hour afterward, and being placed to the right of Weber's, the two, supported by the Fifth New Jersey Regiment, poured their fire into the works, while the infantry kept up a brisk discharge of musketry, and with such effect that in the course of an hour and a half the enemy's troops were dispersed and their guns apparently silenced.

General Heintzelman in the mean time having arrived on the field somewhat in the rear of Grover's advanced position, sent General Emory to join Hooker with his regular cavalry, four regiments of infantry, the Third Michigan, the Third Maine, the Fourth Maine, and the Sixty-third Pennsylvania, Benson's Second Artillery, two batteries from General Kearney's division, and the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry. When Emory reached Hooker's position with his advanced cavalry, he was told there was no use for mounted men in that quarter, and he was ordered to take the roads to the left and rear and observe the manœuvres of the enemy who might be concealing themselves in the woods. Emory came upon a partly deserted redoubt on the left, and captured seventy prisoners, but not being supplied with a sufficient force, was unable to effect little else beyond an occasional successful skirmish.

It soon became evident that the enemy were striving to turn our left. General Grover accordingly ordered the First Massachusetts, the Eleventh Massachusetts, and Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania (which, however, remained on the right, not having received the order) to move through the woods on the left, to counteract the enemy's flanking manœuvre in that direction.

The Massachusetts men advanced promptly, and were soon closely engaged. When the Eleventh had advanced within fifty yards of the enemy, "a rebel officer displayed a white flag, and shouted, 'Don't fire on your friends!' Colonel Blaisdell (of the Eleventh) immediately ordered his regiment to cease firing, and when private Doherty advanced to take the flag, the rebel officer said to his men, 'Now, boys, give it to them!' The command was obeyed, and we lost a number of men in consequence. Doherty was the first victim of the treachery, but ere he fell, he had discharged his rifle at the officer, who received retributive justice in the form of a bullet through the head."*

The brave Massachusetts men continued to struggle on perseveringly until they had exhausted all their ammunition, when they were relieved by the Seventy-second New York (Excelsior brigade), under Lieutenant-Colonel Moses, which in its turn gave way, after confronting a terribly destructive fire in an attack upon a battery on the left, and was replaced by the Seventieth Regiment of New York volunteers (Excelsior brigade), Colonel Dwight. As this regiment confronted the enemy, it was mistaken for one of their own. The Confederate colonel, however, to make

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

sure, as he displayed his own flag, asked Colonel Dwight to show his, who at once unfurled the "stars and stripes," which the enemy immediately greeted with a volley of musketry, which was returned with good effect. The engagement now grew warmer as the enemy were bringing up large reinforcements to effect their purpose of turning our left. The Seventieth held their ground with great firmness, though heavily pressed upon by superior numbers, and did not yield as long as they had a cartridge left, or were able to get one from the cartridge-boxes of their fallen comrades. Their colonel, after receiving two severe wounds, was made a prisoner with several of his men, and of the thirty-three commissioned officers of the regiment, twenty-two were either killed or wounded.

The engagement was now very serious, and it became necessary to support our left with every available force. General Patterson, accordingly, having arrived on the ground with his New Jersey brigade, led at once two regiments, the Sixth and the Seventh, through the forest, to oppose the constantly renewed efforts of the enemy in that direction. Patterson met with a stout resistance, which greatly endangered the safety of his command. The Eighth New Jersey, however, coming up opportunely, succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay, who still persevered with increasing numbers in their attempts to turn our left.

General Hooker, thus finding that the enemy were concentrating their strength on the left, where he was in command, became anxious for reinforcements. He accordingly, at half-past eleven o'clock, dispatched a note to General Heintzelman's assistant adjutant-general, in which he wrote: "I have had a hard contest all the morning, but do not despair of success. My men are all at work, but a great deal exhausted. It is reported to me that my communication with you by the Yorktown road is clear of the enemy. Batteries, cavalry, and infantry can take part by the side of mine and whip the enemy."*

As General Heintzelman was supposed to be still on the Yorktown road, whither he had gone to join his command with that of General Sumner, Hooker's messenger was sent there. Heintzelman, however, had left and gone to the Hampton road in the rear of our hard-pressed left, where he was hastening up the greatly needed reinforcements. He accordingly did not receive the note, which was opened and read by General Sumner, who sent it back endorsed, "opened and read by the senior officer on that field." Sumner, stimulated by this note, ordered General Peck with his brigade to the front and right of Hooker's command, to engage the enemy at that point, and thus divert his attack from the left, which was struggling against such odds. The roads were in such an ill condition from mud and rain, that there was considerable delay in getting these troops into position, and they were not able to be of much service until late in the day.

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

Smith's division had pushed on vigorously towards the centre and right. General Hancock had been ordered at an early hour to the extreme right, about a mile and a half east of the Yorktown road, to take possession of an abandoned work commanding a dam across a small creek, and to feel his way to the enemy's left. Hancock had with him a force of about 2,500 men, consisting of portions of the Fifth Wisconsin, the Sixth Maine, the Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, the Seventh Maine, and the Thirty-third New York regiments, and Cowan's and Wheeler's batteries of artillery. Crossing the creek, Hancock took possession of the work which commanded it, and of another about 1,200 yards in advance, toward Fort Magruder. Brook's Vermont brigade pushed forward in the centre, and held their ground with great steadiness.

The contest now extended along our whole line, but with the greatest activity on the left, which the enemy were obstinately striving to turn by constantly bringing up fresh reinforcements. The New York regiments of the Excelsior brigade, now strengthened by their comrades of the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth, had returned with new spirit to the encounter, and were energetically sustained by the brigade of Patterson, consisting of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth New Jersey regiments, which had gone to their support. The enemy continued to throw forward fresh troops, and kept up from Fort Magruder and a redoubt on its right a constant cannonade of shot and shell, from the havoc of which, however, our men were partially protected by the woods. "Tree tops dropped off as though they had been heads severed from human bodies by the keenest sword." The New Jersey brigade suffered greatly, and occasionally wavered, but persevered in holding their position for seven hours, until relieved by fresh troops, in the face of a terrible fire. "No troops," says an eye-witness, "ever sustained a more destructive fire or displayed better discipline or more determined gallantry. The number of the brigade was only 2,000, and its casualties in killed and wounded are more than 800."

In the mean time the position of General Grover's brigade, which had opened the battle, was shifted more to the left, in order to aid in resisting the concentrated attack of the enemy in that direction. As reinforcements had not yet come up in sufficient strength, and General Hooker was compelled thus to move some of his infantry, his artillery was left without support. He deemed "it better to run the risk of losing a few pieces of artillery than of losing the day." The enemy at once discovering that the supports were removed, made a dash for the artillery, and succeeded in capturing some of the guns of Bramhall's battery, which, though gallantly defended, it was found impossible to save, as most of the horses had been killed, and the wheels of the gun-carriages were deeply imbedded in the muddy ground.

Reinforcements now began to approach the scene of the struggle. Gen-

eral Kearney's, formerly Hamilton's, division, of Heintzelman's *corps d'armée*, came forward at an opportune moment, as the left seemed about to be overwhelmed by the repeated attacks of the enemy, who had succeeded in pushing their way into the woods near the Hampton road, which had hitherto been held by Hooker's troops. General Berry's brigade of Kearney's division was the first to arrive on the ground, followed by Thompson's batteries, making their appearance at a critical moment, and in time to save our hard-pressed left. General Heintzelman himself had been nearly surrounded, but "he made up his mind to be killed or captured by the enemy, sooner than leave a position where, at that critical juncture, he could by his presence inspire confidence in his troops."* General Kearney, after a hasty conference with Generals Heintzelman and Hooker, brought his troops into action. General Berry, with his brigade, in advance, consisting of the Fifth Michigan (the Third Michigan had already been detached to serve under General Emory), the Thirty-seventh New York, and the Second Michigan, was the first to engage with the now triumphing enemy. The Fifth Michigan was filed off to the left of the Hampton road into the woods, and was supported by the Thirty-seventh New York. Part of the Second Michigan was posted on either side of the road, and the rest held in reserve. A charge was now ordered on the left, and the Fifth Michigan and Thirty-seventh New York "advanced in splendid style, driving the enemy before them away from the fallen timber and out of the rifle-pits beyond." Nearly all the field officers of the Fifth Michigan were wounded in this charge, and their colonel, Terry, though he had been among the first to receive a wound, gallantly persisted in leading his command. The Fifth Michigan stoutly held the ground they had so spiritedly won.

The enemy were now sending out detachments towards the centre, where they had captured a portion of Bramhall's battery, and were striving to obtain possession of the rest of the cannon. Captain Smith, however, had planted his battery in echelon, on a knoll to the right of the road, whence he kept up a raking fire, which checked the enemy as they came out from Fort Magruder to seize the abandoned artillery. At the same time General Kearney ordered forward two companies of the Second Michigan to charge on the enemy's skirmishers, who were thronging about the cannon. This charge was gallantly made, and the enemy were driven back.

* "When General Kearney's troops were being brought into action they met the lengthened files of General Hooker's wounded being carried to the rear. The shrieks of the lacerated and bleeding soldiers, who had been fighting so long and so well, pierced the air, and this, joined to the mud and rain, and the exhaustion of those who had come several miles with so much speed, was not calculated to produce a favorable impression on them as they were going into action. General Heintzelman, however, ordered several of the bands to strike up national and martial airs, and when the strains of the familiar tunes reached the ears of the wounded as they were being carried from the field, their cheers mingled with those of the soldiers who were just rushing into the battle. The effect, too, was great on the other side; for some of the prisoners state that when they heard the bands strike up the Star Spangled Banner, and heard our soldiers cheer, they knew that the victory would be ours."—*Correspondent N. Y. Herald.*

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From an Ambrotype by Brady.

Expressly for this work.

CHANTILLY.

P. Kearny

Entered according to act of Congress A.D.1864 by Virtue, Yorston, & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the United States for the southern district of N.Y.

General Birney now came forward with two regiments of his brigade, the Thirty-eighth New York and the Fortieth New York, which were deployed to the right, in order to relieve those troops which had been in the struggle since the morning. The enemy continued their fire from the forts and other works, while at the same time they pressed forward with their troops. The Thirty-eighth New York, as soon as they reached the front, were ordered to charge down the road and take the rifle-pits by the flank. Colonel Ward, taking two companies, led the charge in the most brilliant manner, and drove the enemy back from their position. General Kearney at this moment observing the advantage to be gained by pushing this success so gallantly won by Colonel Ward, ordered a portion of the Fortieth New York to sustain him in another charge to the rear of the enemy. This detachment of the Fortieth New York was led by Captain Mindel, chief of General Birney's staff, the colonel being actively engaged with the rest of the regiment in front. This second charge proved effective, and drove the enemy back, who ceased their fire both from rifle-pits and artillery. General Jameson now reached this portion of the field with his brigade, and forming his troops into line, made ready to bring them into action. The enemy, however, no longer taking the offensive in this direction, prevented them from participating in the fight.

The enemy finding such an obstinate resistance to their efforts to turn our left, became more vigorous in their attacks on our right. General Peck's brigade, which had been sent to meet the enemy in this direction, arrived on the ground late in the afternoon, and became engaged with them in the open space in front of their works on the Yorktown road. The One Hundred and Second Pennsylvania Regiment was deployed to the right, and the Fifty-fifth New York to the left, the latter being ordered to prevent the attempts of the enemy already described to capture the guns, but arrived too late to effect the object. These regiments, together with the rest of Peck's brigade, the Sixty-second, Ninety-third, and Ninety-eighth, were moved to the front, but after suffering severely, and beginning to waver, it became manifest that Peck's brigade was unable to hold its position, and it was relieved by Generals Keim and Devine's brigades of General Casey's division.

General Hancock, it will be recollected, had moved his brigade, at an early hour of the day, to our extreme right, where he took possession of two abandoned works. As he gradually fell back, the enemy began to strike heavily on our right, lest he should be cut off from the main body of the army.

"His brigade," writes an eye-witness,* "fell back in line of battle, followed by the rebels, firing and cheering as they came; and our artillery was also brought back piece by piece, the last gun firing a few rounds of canister at the advancing enemy. As soon as the

* Correspondent N. Y. *Herald.*

artillery was safe, the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment, on the right, was ordered to retire in the same manner as the others, disputing the ground as it retreated. Another line was being formed on either side of the redoubt by our retiring regiments. The enemy was pressing them so hard, that when the Fifth Wisconsin had reached the second line, followed by the Fifth North Carolina, shouting 'Bull Run, Ball's Bluff,' it was immediately formed to the right and left of the redoubt.

"The rebels were now within some forty yards, and General Hancock ordered an immediate advance of his entire line. This, it will be remembered, was composed of the principal portions of the Fifth Wisconsin, Sixth and Seventh Maine, Thirty-third New York, and Forty-ninth Pennsylvania regiments—in all about 2,500 men. These regiments went forward with alacrity, and as they came close to the enemy, delivered a few volleys. Then General Hancock, whose politeness is equal to his bravery, gave the command, 'Gentlemen, charge!' and his gallant soldiers, with tremendous cheers, dashed down the slope. The enthusiastic spirit of the men seemed to be sufficient to frighten the opposing force, which was said by prisoners to be General Early's brigade, and with the exception of three resolute rebels who stood to receive the bayonets, the line broke and the rebels ran. Pushing them down the slope, General Hancock's command halted and fired ten or twelve volleys at them, and also at another rebel force which was observed advancing to support the first. When the smoke cleared up, the ground was covered with dead and dying rebels."

In the mean time, while the battle was raging along the whole line, and the endurance of our men had been so severely tried that fears were entertained of their being capable of further resistance, McClellan, who had been sent for, made his appearance on the field. "Regiment after regiment, as he was quickly recognized, gave utterance," testifies a campaigner,* "to a welcome of which Napoleon might have been proud. Arriving at headquarters, he, without dismounting from his horse, held a brief consultation with General Keyes, and approving his course, and especially his order for reinforcements to General Hancock, joined him in a ride throughout our lines. His appearance was everywhere the signal for an outburst of the wildest applause. He wore a plain blue coat, and his cap enveloped in a glazed covering. The rapidity of his ride to the field had well spattered him with mud, and the drenching rain had penetrated his every garment. He, however, showed no signs of fatigue, and it was not until he had in person familiarized himself with the entire field, and by critical observation studied the exact position of the enemy, that he accepted the shelter of a room which had been reserved for him at headquarters."

With McClellan came heavy reinforcements, which, as they arrived, were pushed forward to relieve the exhausted

* N. Y. *Evening Post.*

troops. After the brilliant charge, however, of General Hancock's brigade on our extreme right, by which the works of the enemy on the left had been taken and their flank turned, the battle ceased.

The loss on both sides had been large; that of the Union army was computed at 455 killed, 1,411 wounded, and about 500 missing; that of the enemy was supposed to be somewhat less. The loss in General Hooker's division, which was most exposed, and almost entirely overwhelmed, was in the proportion of one to six, equal to that of the allied armies at Alma, one of the bloodiest battles on record. The number of the enemy engaged, led by one of the ablest of their generals, Joseph E. Johnston, is supposed to have amounted to 30,000 men, while the Union army numbered about the same toward the close of the contest.

After the battle the Union army rested on their arms, in front of the works of the enemy. An hour after midnight it was reported that they were evacuating their works, and this being confirmed in the morning, our army, at dawn of day, took possession of the abandoned defences and the town of Williamsburg. General Jameson was the first to advance, with a reconnoitring party composed of two companies of the One Hundred and Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment and a detachment of twelve men under Lieutenant Gilbert. He first entered Fort Magruder, which was found deserted, and then bringing up his whole brigade, took possession of the other works and the city of Williamsburg. The rear guard of the enemy was leaving just as General Jameson entered. The town was almost entirely deserted by its inhabitants, except some lingering negroes, deserters, stragglers, and wounded, who, to the number of about six hundred, were found in the streets, hospitals, and private houses.

May 6.

CHAPTER XXI.

Movement of Franklin's Division.—Arrival at Brick House Point.—Disembarkation of Union troops.—Opposition of the Enemy.—Battle of West Point.—Junction of McClellan with Franklin.—James River still guarded by the Merrimac.—Appearance of the Merrimac.—Bombardment of Sewall's Point by Union gun-boats.—Escape of the Merrimac.—Goldsborough's justification.—President Lincoln at Fortress Monroe.—Finds a landing-place, and directs an attack upon Norfolk.—Advance upon Norfolk.—Evacuation by the Enemy.—Occupation by Union troops.—Condition of Norfolk.—Burning of Navy Yard.—Destruction of the Merrimac.—Expedition up James River.—Repulse of Union gun-boats at Fort Darling.

IT will be recollected that on the day after the evacuation of Yorktown was discovered, General McClellan sent General Franklin's division up the York River in order to make an attempt to cut off the retreating enemy from their communications with Richmond. General Franklin having sailed up the river with his transports, preceded by the gun-boats, succeeded in disembarking most of his division on the afternoon of May 6th, at Brick House Point, on the west bank of the river, and opposite West Point, situated at the junction of the Matapony and Pamunky, which unite to form the York. The enemy disappeared on the advance of the gun-boats, and the troops, landing without resistance, encamped on a wide plain. Pickets were thrown out into the surrounding woods, but no enemy was visible. Transports continued to arrive from Yorktown during the afternoon and evening with additional troops, consisting of the division of General Sedgwick, but these remained on board the vessels, anchored in the stream. The gun-boats of light draught moved up the Pamunky and Matapony rivers and seized a number of the enemy's small boats, to be used in landing our troops from the transports which were of too great a draught to reach the shore, where the depth of water was hardly six feet.

1862. May 6.

During the night the enemy's pickets ventured to approach our encampment, and shot a guard. This aroused the vigilance of General Franklin, who made preparations for a possible engagement on the coming day. At early dawn skirmishers were thrown out toward the edge of the woods, and the whole force drawn up in the plain ready to meet the enemy, who, however, did not immediately make their appearance. Our troops were now recalled to their camp for breakfast, with the exception of the New York Thirty-second and the Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania regiments, which were left as an advanced guard near the edge of the woods that bounded the plain on all sides except toward the river bank.

May 7. May 8.

The enemy now began to show themselves more openly. A considerable force was seen on the west side of the river, which, however, soon dispersed on being shelled by the gun-boats, and the enemy's scouts were busy firing from the covert of the woods at our picket-guards. The troops were now hurried ashore from the transports in the river, and before nine o'clock in the morning General Dana's brigade had landed. In the mean time the Thirty-first and Thirty-second New York and the Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania regiments were ordered to advance into the woods, on the edge of which they had been posted, and clear them of the enemy's scouts, who were becoming more and more troublesome. As they pushed on in obedience to these orders, driving the scouts before them, they came suddenly upon large bodies of the enemy advantageously posted with artillery, and it became necessary, after a spirited struggle for several hours, in which our men seemed in danger of being overwhelmed by superior numbers, to withdraw them. Our artillery, the Second United States battery, under Captain Arnold, and the First Massachusetts battery, under Captain Porter, were now ordered into position, the former on the right and the latter on the left, and both began such a vigorous fire of shell that the enemy were soon forced to shift their ground toward the river, where they were again met by a no less active cannonade from the gun-boats. The enemy, thus driven from point to point, were at last forced to give up the struggle and retire. Other reinforcements soon arrived by the river, and General McClellan, on the next day after the battle, succeeded in effecting a junction with General Franklin's force, and thus relieving it from its danger in case of a concentration of the enemy's troops in that quarter. The loss of the Unionists in the engagement at Brick House Point was forty-four killed and over a hundred wounded.

May 8.

It was evident that the advance of General McClellan along the peninsula to Richmond would be greatly aided by the passage of the gun-boats up the James as well as the York River. The former was, however, still virtually closed to our fleets by the dread of the Merrimac, which had again, after a long absence, made its appearance in Hampton Roads under cover of the guns of Sewall's Point. This seemed a favorable occasion for testing the formidable means which had been prepared for her destruction. Our gun-boats moved out and opened fire upon Sewall's Point, chiefly with the view of ascertaining the practicability of landing troops in that direction and of reducing the enemy's works. The Monitor and the Stevens' battery not only took part in this bombardment, but were ordered to be in readiness to engage the Merrimac in case she could be caught in a favorable position. This the Merrimac, however, carefully avoided, and she was left unassailed. Commodore Goldsborough, to meet the general disappointment felt at the escape of this much

May 8.

dreaded monster, made the following official statement:

"The Monitor had orders to fall back into fair channel way, and only to engage her seriously in such a position that this ship, together with the merchant vessels intended for the purpose, could run her down. If an opportunity presented itself, the other vessels were not to hesitate to run her down, and the Baltimore, an unarmed steamer of light draught, high speed, and with a curved bow, was kept in the direction of the Monitor expressly to throw herself across the Merrimac, either forward or aft of her plated house, but the Merrimac did not engage, nor did she place herself where she could have been assailed by our ram vessels to any advantage, or, where there was any prospect whatever of getting at her."

The reconnoissance, however, of the gun-boats had demonstrated the practicability of landing troops, preparatory to an attack upon Norfolk, which it was determined now to make, at the earnest suggestion, it was said, of Mr. Lincoln, who had gone, accompanied by Secretaries Chase and Stanton, to Fortress Monroe after the evacuation of Yorktown. The President, moreover, was so bent upon this movement, that, embarking together with the Secretary of the Treasury, on board of the cutter Miami, he made a personal reconnoissance of the whole shore from Sewall's Point to Linn Haven Bay, to find a suitable place for landing. The nautical men came to an unfavorable conclusion in consequence of the shallowness of the water, but Mr. Lincoln suggested an expedient by which this difficulty might be overcome. He is reported to have said: "Those old canal boats that I saw near the wharf at the fort do not draw more than a foot of water when they are entirely empty. Those may easily be placed in such a position at high water that the ebb tide will leave them—or, rather, the one nearest the shore—entirely dry, while at the outer one, which may be securely anchored, there will be a depth of seven or eight feet—plenty for the numerous fleet of light draughts that we have at our disposal."

General Wool, in command at Fortress Monroe, had warmly sympathized with President Lincoln's earnest desire to make an attack upon Norfolk, and readily adopted his suggestion. On Friday evening, May 9th, accordingly, **May 9.** the troops under command of General Max Weber were embarked at Fortress Monroe, on board of a fleet of transport steamers, which had in tow a flotilla of canal boats. At midnight they set sail, and crossing Hampton Roads, reached in an hour Ocean View, the point selected for landing. Here the transports anchored, and before dawn Captain Davis' company of **May 10.** Richardson's light artillery, followed by the Twentieth New York Regiment, had landed. General Weber accompanied the advance, and immediately pushed it forward to clear the way for the rest of the troops. No enemy were found; but it appeared that they had only just abandoned the place. General Weber continued to march rapidly on

the direct road to Norfolk, but on reaching Tanner's Creek, and finding the bridge on fire, was forced to take a circuitous route. He was now overtaken by the rest of the troops, under General Mansfield and General Wool, who assumed the chief command, and pushed on to Norfolk, the abandoned intrenchments in front of which he entered at twenty minutes before five o'clock A.M. On approaching the city, a select committee of the Common Council, headed by Mayor Lamb, met General Wool, who was accompanied by Secretary Chase, and formally surrendered the place, and at the same time presented certain resolutions of the Council, to the effect that the surrender was made from necessity, and not inclination. There was a general appearance of gloom in the city. The houses were found closed, and the streets deserted, except by the negroes and a mob of the less reputable inhabitants, some of whom gave evidence of their dissatisfaction, but were soon quieted by an address of the Mayor, who told them that the "city was surrendered: he had done the best he could: he had done all in his power to obtain protection for its inhabitants, and believed that they would be dealt with in the most kindly manner."

The navy yard and works at Portsmouth were found in flames, having been set on fire by the enemy's force, under General Huger, as it retired from the city. An effort was made to extinguish the fire, but without avail, and everything—ships, gun-boats, workshops, and machinery—was totally destroyed. The city was placed at once under martial law by General Wool, who appointed General Egbert Viele military governor. The fear of the Confederate troops being removed, the Union sentiment in the minds of the people found expression in various ways. Union meetings were held, and the newspapers no longer feared to show themselves loyal.

On the evacuation of Norfolk the enemy abandoned all their defences in and about the city, and their formidable works on Elizabeth River and the borders of the Chesapeake Bay, with a large number of cannon and a quantity of shot and shell. This abandonment was the natural result of the evacuation of Yorktown and Norfolk, but the blowing up of the Merrimac, which took place on the morning of May 11th, seemed a wanton sacrifice, for which it was difficult to conjecture a sufficient motive.*

* The following is the report of Commodore Tatnall to Secretary Mallory of the Confederate Government:

"RICHMOND, *May* 14, 1862.

"SIR: In detailing to you the circumstances which caused the destruction of the Confederate States steamer Virginia, and her movements a few days previous to that event, I begin with your telegraphic dispatches to me of the 4th and 5th instants, directing me to take such a position in the James River as would entirely prevent the enemy's ascending it.

"General Huger, commanding at Norfolk, on learning that I had received this order, called on me and declared that its execution would oblige him to abandon immediately his forts on Craney Island and Sewall's Point, and their guns, to the enemy. I informed him that, as the order was imperative, I must execute it, but suggested that he should telegraph you and state the consequences. He did so, and on the 5th instant you telegraphed me to endeavor to afford protection to Norfolk as well as the James River, which replaced me in my original position. I then arranged with the General that he should notify me when his preparations for the evacuation of Norfolk were sufficiently advanced to enable him to act independently.

"On the 7th instant Commodore Hollins reached Nor-

The destruction of the Merrimac released the Monitor and the rest of the formidable flotilla which had been so long on the watch for that dreaded mon-

folk with orders from you to consult with me and such officers as I might select in regard to the best disposition to be made of the Virginia under the present aspect of things.

"We had arranged the conference for the next day, the 8th; but on that day, before the hour appointed, the enemy attacked the Sewall's Point battery, and I left immediately with the Virginia to defend it.

"We found six of the enemy's vessels, including the iron-clad steamers Monitor and Naugatuck, shelling the battery. We passed the battery and stood directly for the enemy for the purpose of engaging him, and I thought an action certain, particularly as the Minnesota and Vanderbilt, which were anchored below Fortress Monroe, got under weigh and stood up to that point, apparently with the intention of joining their squadron in the Roads. Before, however, we got within gunshot, the enemy ceased firing and retired with all speed under the protection of the guns of the fortress, followed by the Virginia, until the shells from the Rip Raps passed over her.

"The Virginia was then placed at her moorings near Sewall's Point, and I returned to Norfolk to hold the conference referred to.

"It was held on the 9th, and the officers present were Colonel Anderson and Captain ———, of the army, selected by General Huger, who was too unwell to attend himself, and of the navy, myself, Commodore Hollins, and Captains Sterrett and Lee, Commander Richard L. Jones, and Lieutenants Ap Catesby Jones and J. Pembroke Jones.

"The opinion was unanimous that the Virginia was then employed to the best advantage, and that she should continue for the present to protect Norfolk, and thus afford time to remove the public property.

"On the next day, at ten o'clock A.M., we observed from the Virginia that the flag was not flying on the Sewall's Point battery, and that it appeared to have been abandoned. I dispatched Lieutenant J. P. Jones, the flag lieutenant, to Craney Island, where the Confederate flag was still flying, and he there learned that a large force of the enemy had landed on the bay shore, and were rapidly marching on Norfolk, that the Sewall's Point battery was abandoned, and our troops were retreating. I then dispatched the same officer to Norfolk, to confer with General Huger and Captain Lee. He found the navy yard in flames, and that all the officers had left by railroad. On reaching Norfolk he found that General Huger and all the officers of the army had also left; that the enemy were within half a mile of the city, and that the Mayor was treating for its surrender.

"On returning to the ship he found that Craney Island and all the other batteries on the river had been abandoned.

"It was now seven o'clock in the evening, and this unexpected confirmation rendered prompt measures necessary for the safety of the Virginia.

"The pilots had assured me that they could take the ship, with a draught of eighteen feet, to within forty miles of Richmond.

"This the chief pilot, Mr. Parrish, and his chief assistant, Mr. Wright, had asserted again and again: and on the afternoon of the 7th, in my cabin, in the presence of Commodore Hollins and Captain Sterrett, in reply to a question of mine, they both emphatically declared their ability to do so.

"Confiding in these assurances, and after consulting with the first and flag lieutenants, and learning that the officers generally thought it the most judicious course, I determined to lighten the ship at once, and run up the river for the protection of Richmond.

"All hands having been called on deck, I stated to them the condition of things, and my hopes that by getting up the river before the enemy could be made aware of our designs, we might capture his vessels which had ascended it, and render efficient aid in the defence of Richmond; but that to effect this would require all their energy in lightening the ship. They replied with three cheers, and went to work at once. The pilots were on deck and heard this address to the crew.

"Being quite unwell I had retired to bed. Between one and two o'clock in the morning the first lieutenant reported to me that after the crew had worked for five or six hours, and lifted the ship so as to render her unfit for action, the pilots had declared their inability to carry eighteen feet above the Jamestown Flats, up to which point the shore, on each side, was occupied by the enemy.

"On demanding from the chief pilot, Mr. Parrish, an explanation of this palpable deception, he replied that eighteen feet could be carried after the prevalence of easterly winds, and that the wind for the last two days had been westerly.

"I had no time to lose. The ship was not in a condition for battle, even with an enemy of equal force, and their force was overwhelming. I therefore determined, with the concurrence of the first and flag lieutenants, to save the crew for future service by landing them at Craney Island, the only road for retreat open to us, and to destroy the ship to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. I may add that, although not formally consulted, the course was approved by every commissioned officer in the ship. There was no dissenting opinion. The ship was accordingly put on shore as near the mainland, in the vicinity of Crancy Island, as possible, and the crew landed. She was then fired, and after burning fiercely fore and aft for upward of an hour, blew up a little before five on the morning of the 11th.

"We marched for Suffolk, twenty-two miles, reaching it

ster of naval warfare, from their forced but vigilant inactivity. The James River, hitherto deemed unapproachable, was now free for the passage of the gun-boats. Accordingly the Galena, carrying the flag-officer, Commander Rodgers, the Aroostook, and the Port Royal, Lieutenant George U. Morris, left Hampton Roads on the morning of the 8th of May, and moved up the James River. At eight o'clock the first of the enemy's batteries, at Day's Point, mounting eight guns, was reached, but its fire was harmless and soon silenced by the shells from the gun-boats, which set the neighboring woods in a blaze. At half-past ten o'clock the flotilla came in range of the second battery, at Point of Shoals; this, mounting twelve heavy guns, some of which were rifled, proved more formidable. The iron-clad Galena taking the lead, followed by the other gun-boats, passed the battery three times, sailing in a circle, silencing eleven of the guns. The twelfth was finally silenced by the Galena alone, which, trusting to its iron armor, remained in front of the battery and poured in a continuous fire, while she apparently remained impassive to the response of the enemy, though receiving three shots which glided off without injury. The wooden gun-boat Aroostook was the only vessel injured, being struck by a ball which passed through both of her bulwarks, and cut away the maintopmast stays, but did no further damage. The Galena, after silencing the last gun of the battery, started to follow the other boats which were moving up the river, but got aground. She was soon set afloat again by the aid of her consorts, but her engines having become clogged with mud and rendered immovable, she was taken in tow by the Aroostook. Soon after, the buoys in the river having been removed, the Galena grounded once more, and it was found impossible to move her until Saturday (May 10), when she was finally got off. Her engines having been cleaned out, she resumed her station at the head of the flotilla, which now moved up to Jamestown and anchored for the night.

May 8.

On the next day (Sunday, May 11th) nothing was done beyond making a reconnoissance up the river. On Monday (May 12) the Monitor, Lieutenant George Jeffers, and the Naugatuck,

in the evening, from thence came by railroad to this city. It will be asked what motives the pilots could have had to deceive me. The only imaginable one is, that they wished to avoid going into battle.

"Had the ship not been lifted, so as to render her unfit for action, a desperate contest must have ensued with a force against us too great to justify much hope of success, and as battle is not their occupation, they adopted this deceitful course to avoid it. I cannot imagine another motive, for I had seen no reason to distrust their good faith to the Confederacy.

"My acknowledgments are due to the first lieutenant, Ap Catesby Jones, for his untiring exertions, and for the aid he rendered me in all things. The details, firing for the ship, and landing the crew were left to him, and everything was conducted in the most perfect order.

"To the other officers of the ship, generally, I am also thankful for the great zeal they displayed throughout.

"The Virginia no longer exists, but three hundred brave and skilful officers and seamen are saved to the Confederacy.

"I presume that a court of inquiry will be ordered to examine into all the circumstances I have narrated, and I earnestly solicit it. Public opinion will never be put right without it.

"I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"Josiah Tatnall, Flag-Officer Commanding.

"Hon. S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy."

Lieutenant Robinson, joined the flotilla, and all moved up near Fort Powhatan, where they anchored for the night. On Monday (May 13) the flotilla started early, anticipating an obstinate resistance at the next turn of the river, where there was an old fort, built during the war of 1812, in an advantageous position. It was, however, found deserted. On reaching City Point, flags of truce were displayed from the houses, and Commander Rodgers went ashore under the cover of the guns of the flotilla. After a short delay here the boats again moved up the river some distance and anchored for the night.

On the next morning (Wednesday, May 14) the flotilla again started. The channel now becoming very narrow, and running close under the high banks or bluffs of the river, the enemy's sharpshooters, concealed among the bushes and trees, began to annoy the boats by frequent rifle and musket shots. The Galena grounded again, but was soon floated off, and the whole flotilla came to anchor for the night about two miles from Ward's Bluff, where it was known that the enemy had made formidable preparations for defence.

Additional preparations were now taken for the protection of the wooden gun-boats. Shields of boiler iron plate were made to cover the pilot and wheel houses, and chains hung over the sides. On Thursday (May 15), at early dawn, the flotilla sailed for Ward's Bluff, in expectation of a severe struggle. On its passage up, the fire of musketry from the banks of the river was continuous, and was responded to by occasional discharges of canister from the howitzers. At seven o'clock in the morning the first sight was obtained of the battery called Fort Darling, situated just beyond a sharp turn of the river, on Ward's bluff, two hundred feet high. Abreast of the work there were two barriers, one of spiles, and the other of sunken vessels, which entirely blocked up the channel of the river.* The Galena, being of the lightest draught and iron-clad, led the attack, followed by the Monitor, Aroostook, Port Royal, and Naugatuck. The Galena ran within about six hundred yards of the battery, let go her anchor, and with a spring swung across the stream, which is not more than twice as wide as the ship is long. She opened fire at forty-five minutes past six o'clock. The Monitor anchored near, but the wooden gun-boats thirteen hundred yards below. The Galena for awhile had the engagement all to herself, but at nine o'clock the Monitor steamed past her, and strove to take part in the struggle; but finding that it was impossible to raise her guns sufficiently high to reach the battery in that position, she dropped below again, where she could be of more service. The Galena continued gallantly to sustain the heavy and well-aimed cannonade of the battery until eleven o'clock, when her ammunition being nearly expended, she was withdrawn from the action. In the

May 15.

* The vessels which had been sunk to form this obstruction were said to be the Jamestown and Yorktown, which had escaped up the river in advance of our gun-boats, the Teaser, Patrick Henry, Curtis Peck, Northampton, and a number of canal boats.

mean time, her armor not proving impenetrable, she had greatly suffered, having had thirteen killed and eleven wounded. In addition, Commander Morris, of the Port Royal, was wounded, and two men on board the Naugatuck from the bursting of its rifled 100-pounder gun.

The well-directed fire of the enemy had, however, but little effect upon the Monitor. Although struck three times by one solid eight-inch shot square on the turret, and two solid shot on the side armor forward of the pilot-house, no damage was done beyond bending the iron plates.

Commodore Rodgers came to the conclusion that the barrier was such that the vessels of the enemy, even if they had any, could not possibly pass out, and that ours could not pass in. Lieutenant Jeffers, of the Monitor, declared that "it was impossible to reduce such works except with the aid of a land force."

The commander at Ward's or Drury's Bluff, as he terms it, Eben Farrand, reported but seven killed and eight wounded, and greatly exulted over the "hard blow" they had struck the "invaders." The guns of the enemy were undoubtedly well served, and were supposed to have been manned by the crews of the Merrimac, the Jamestown, and Yorktown. Commander Farrand gave "Captain Drury and his company" the credit of "having fought their guns with great effect."

After the repulse at Ward's Bluff of our gun-boats under Commander Rodgers, Commodore Goldsborough moved up the James River from Hampton Roads, in order to keep open the communications with the defeated flotilla, and to co-operate with General McClellan's advance to Richmond. In the mean time, the enemy having entirely abandoned all the defences on the banks of the river below, concentrated their efforts toward strengthening the position at Ward's Bluff. **May 17.**

CHAPTER XXII.

Retreat of the Enemy to Richmond.—Advance of McClellan.—Incidents of the March.—McClellan at White House.—Evacuation of the Pamunky by the Enemy.—Destruction of Property.—McClellan reaches the Chickahominy.—Determination of the Enemy.—Richmond to be defended to the last extremity.—President Davis questioned by the Virginia Legislature.—Answer of Davis.—McClellan's advance across the Chickahominy.—Battle of Hanover Court House.—Results.—Battle of Fair Oaks.—Two days' fighting.—A surprise.—Defeat.—Victory.—Final result.—Comparative losses—Johnston's Report.

AFTER the battles of Williamsburg and Brick House Point, the enemy having united their forces which had taken part in those two engagements, continued their retreat toward Richmond. General McClellan having also succeeded in forming a junction between his advance from Williamsburg and that part of his army consisting of the divisions of Franklin, Sedgwick, and Fitz-John Porter, which had been moved up the York River and landed at Brick House Point, proceeded to follow the retiring enemy with his main body as rapidly as the condition of the roads and the transportation of his supplies would allow.

1862.

Leaving Williamsburg, the army marched on the first day thirteen miles, and on the next the advance occupied New Kent Court House, or Bassettville, thirty miles east of Richmond, and three miles south of the Pamunky, one of the tributaries of the York River. The country through which the army marched is esteemed the most fertile and beautiful of Virginia, but it now presented a sad scene of desolation. "Many of the houses were closed and the places deserted except by the blacks, who seemed to stand in no fear of the Yankees; while others who remained had white flags flying in front of their houses as peace-offerings, which," says the writer from whom we quote, "as far as I could learn, were religiously respected by our soldiers."

May 9.

From New Kent Court House McClellan moved his army to Cumberland. "The march was," reports a campaigner, "one of great toil and privation. Now up on the brow of a hill, then through a narrow causeway, where four men could scarcely walk abreast; afterward through a miserable swamp or bottom, where the wheels of the artillery sank up to the hub." On reaching Cumberland, however, near to the banks of the Pamunky River, a cheering prospect greeted the eyes of the weary soldier. While "the troops were trudging along under their packs of baggage, beneath a scorching sun, and amid clouds of dust, which at times threatened to put an end to the march by destroying our powers of respira-

May 13.

RICHMOND AND ITS DEFENCES.

CONSTRUCTED AND ENGRAVED TO ILLUSTRATE "THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH".

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1868, by Virtue, Yorston & Co. in the clerk's office of the district court of the United States, for the southern district of N.Y.

Engd. by W. Kemble.

A Topographical Map of Richmond, and its vicinity, showing all Batteries in existence.

This is the most reliable Map ever made of this vicinity.

Charles Sholl,
Top Engineer

tion," adds the campaigner before quoted, "we reached the brow of a hill, and below us, upon a plain upon the banks of the river, lay spread before us a sight as beautiful as it was warlike. Two brigades lay in the field, and long trains of wagons were finding their way along the serpentine road to the camp-ground, and a perfect fleet of shipping lay moored in the stream, where twenty-four hours since floated the rag of Secessia." This refreshing scene was due to the successful passage of the gun-boats up the York and the Pamunky, by which those rivers were opened for the immediate transportation of supplies which it would have required weeks to convey by land.

Though the main body of the enemy was yet distant, their cavalry scouts showed themselves occasionally, and striving to cut off our baggage-trains and harass the advance guards, had an occasional skirmish with our troops. From Cumberland General McClellan advanced and established his headquarters at White House, on the Pamunky River, where the Richmond and York River Railroad crosses. The enemy had burned the bridge and town and torn up portions of the railroad, but in the haste of their departure had left behind them seven thousand bushels of wheat and four thousand bushels of Indian corn.

May 11. McClellan was thus at White House, only twenty-three miles in a direct line from Richmond. The rear-guard of the enemy was at Tunstal's dépôt, five miles nearer Richmond.

On the 17th of March a reconnoissance was made up the Pamunky by a gun-boat in command of Captain Murray, with two companies of infantry under Major Willard, and a section of artillery under Captain Ayres, on board. They sailed twenty-five miles up the river, occasionally shelling the banks to disperse the scouts of the enemy. On reaching Russell's Landing, "two steamers and some twenty schooners" were found in flames, having been set on fire by the people to prevent them from falling into the possession of the gun-boats.

A movement of the advance guard of the Federal army on the main road **May 17.** to Richmond forced the enemy to retire by Bottom Bridge across the Chickahominy. When our troops had reached within half a mile of the bridge,* which was found burned, the enemy opened a fire of artillery from the other side of the river, which checked any further advance. The position now selected by the enemy to make a stand for the defence of the capital was on the western side of the Chickahominy, between that small river and the city of Richmond.† The enemy retired also on

* Bottom Bridge is on the main road from New Kent, fifteen miles from Richmond.

† The Chickahominy River is situated in the southeastern part of Virginia, rises in Hanover County, and falls into the James River about seven miles above Jamestown island. It divides Henrico and Charles City counties on the right, from Hanover, New Kent, and James City counties on the left. It furnishes extensive water power, passing through some uneven or hilly country. It is from seventy-five to one hundred miles in length, and winding in its course. Its source is in several streams or creeks, which unite a little north of Richmond, and as it pursues its onward course, two other streams empty into it. It is fordable at several places, and is crossed at others by rude bridges, and at a point about eleven miles from Richmond, by Bottom Bridge. Farther down the stream

the line of the Richmond and York River Railroad, "before the advance of General Stoneman from White House, destroying the railroad bridge which crosses the Chickahominy. Stoneman now encamped at Gain's Mills, within a mile and a half of the river, and eight miles and a half from Richmond. It was evident the Confederates had determined to defend their capital with the utmost obstinacy. The Legislature of Virginia passed resolutions declaring that Richmond must be defended, and questioned President Davis in regard to his rumored intention of abandoning it and the State of Virginia. Davis, in answer, stated that "he had never entertained the thought of withdrawing the army from Virginia and abandoning the State; that if, in the course of events, the capital should fall, the necessity of which he did not see or anticipate, that would be no reason for withdrawing the army from Virginia. The war could still be successfully carried on and maintained on Virginia soil for twenty years."

May 20.

From Stoneman's position at Gain's Mills successful reconnoissances were made along the left bank of the Chickahominy, and the enemy's scouts and advance troops, after some active skirmishing, were driven away from their posts at New Bridge—where the Tenth Michigan Regiment, under Colonel Woodbury, greatly distinguished itself—Ellison's Mills, and at Mechanicsville. At the same time a portion of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad was destroyed, and the communications of the enemy at Richmond with the North seriously interrupted.

These successes of General Stoneman were followed by a general advance of the main army toward the left bank of the Chickahominy, while new bridges having been built, General Negley's brigade was thrown across the river and succeeded in securing a position five miles beyond Bottom's Bridge after a struggle with a considerable force of the enemy, in which the Unionists lost two killed and six wounded.

This advance was followed by the crossing of two divisions of General Keyes' *corps d'armée*, and the sending out of reconnoitring parties on the road toward Richmond. Other divisions of the army soon after followed, and encamped on the right bank of the Chickahominy, while the van-guard advanced to within five miles of Richmond.

May 23.

The main body of the army, however, still remained on the left of the Chickahominy, whence a detachment, under General Fitz-John Porter, was dispatched from its camp at Cold Harbor on an expedition to Hanover Court House. The object of this movement was to disperse the forces of the enemy concentrated at that place, and to cut off their railroad communications between Richmond and Fredericksburg. The rain had been falling all night, and continued during the beginning of the march, rendering

May 27.

is a well-known local bridge called the Long Bridge, and still farther down, Jones' Bridge. These three bridges are the only important ones below Richmond, they being connected with the high roads. At the mouth of the river there are eleven feet of water, which is about a quarter of a mile wide as far up as the first important bend.

the roads exceedingly difficult to pass. Our troops, however, bore up well under every trial of their powers of endurance.

With a squadron of the Sixth regular cavalry under Major Williams leading the way, and the Twenty-fifth Regiment of New York Volunteers, Colonel Johnson, following as skirmishers, the column moved forward. About six miles from Hanover Court House the mounted picket-men of the enemy came into view, but after firing a few shots, turned their horses and rapidly disappeared. Our troops moved steadily on, meeting with no resistance until they had marched three miles farther. Here the enemy, who had concealed themselves in a house and the neighboring woods, allowed the Twenty-fifth Regiment, advancing as skirmishers, to get well within range, and then opened a musketry and artillery fire with great effect. The Twenty-fifth thus taken by surprise, and opposed by superior numbers, with the advantage of artillery, after having two companies cut off and captured, fell back, while our advance batteries were pushed forward with a support of Berdan's Sharpshooters to meet the enemy's attack. While a vigorous fire was being interchanged, the main body of the Union troops hurried to the aid of the advance. First came General Butterfield's brigade, followed by that of General Martindale and the brigade temporarily commanded by Colonel McQuade.

General Morrell, who was in command of the division thus suddenly brought into action, ordered the brigades as they came up in position to support the batteries, which were directed to shell the woods on the right of the road, where the enemy were under cover. After holding their ground obstinately for two hours, the enemy were forced to retire. General Fitz-John Porter coming up at this moment, ordered a pursuit by Butterfield's and McQuade's brigades, dispatched General Martindale's to make a reconnoissance of the Virginia Central Railroad, and advanced himself with the rest of his force toward Hanover Court House. As Martindale's brigade proceeded to execute its duty, headed by a detachment of regular cavalry, one of the mounted men was shot by a concealed foe, but no other loss was sustained. On approaching the railroad, a train of the enemy was seen coming in from Richmond, apparently loaded with troops; but it turned back at the sight of our men, who proceeded at once to destroy a portion of the railroad, burn the bridge, and cut the wires of the telegraph. After accomplishing this work, Martindale's brigade returned to join the main body.

In the mean time, the enemy, being reinforced, rallied, and through their better knowledge of the country, eluding their pursuers, regained the cover of the woods, and thus got in the rear of our troops. General Martindale with his brigade was the first to meet them, and was being hard pressed when General Porter turned back to his rescue.

The enemy still kept within the woods, from which they opened a fire of shell and musketry. In the mean time the absent brigades of Butterfield, McQuade, and Martindale had returned, and General Porter thus having in hand his whole force was able to meet the enemy on equal terms. Planting his artillery on the right and left, and filling up the centre with his infantry, he advanced and poured into the woods a diagonal fire of musketry and shell, which continued from five o'clock in the afternoon until dark, when the enemy retired, but, keeping close to their cover, could not be pursued with advantage.

The enemy were computed to have numbered, with the reinforcements, nearly ten thousand men, under the command of General Branch. Our loss was fifty-three killed and two hundred and ninety-six wounded; that of the enemy was supposed to be considerably greater. Nearly two companies of the Twenty-fifth were taken prisoners, which regiment also had the largest proportion of killed and wounded. Nearly three hundred of the enemy were captured.*

On the day after the battle, General Porter having bivouacked his force upon the field he had won, prepared with fresh reinforcements for a renewal of the engagement. The enemy, however, had retired, and Porter was enabled to attain the object of his expedition by the occupation of Hanover Court House and the destruction of the track and bridges of the Virginia Central Railroad.

A more important conflict now claims a record. This is the battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, which was begun on the thirty-first of May, and lasted two days. It has been already stated that General McClellan had thrown across the Chickahominy Keyes' *corps d'armée* and other troops. The advance division of this portion of the army was that commanded by General Casey. Its position was in the fields on the right and left of the Richmond and York River Railroad to the north, and the turnpike road from Williamsburg to Richmond at the south, near Fair Oaks Station on the former, and a place called Seven Pines on the latter, about seven miles from the enemy's capital. The fields where Casey was encamped were bounded in front and on the left by dense woods, the edges of which had been cut down to form abattis, in order to obstruct the approach of the enemy. A line of earth-works had been hastily thrown

* Among the captures, after the successful advance to Hanover Court House, was the family of General Robert Lee of the Confederate army, consisting of Mrs. Lee, her daughter-in-law, the wife of Colonel Lee, and two nieces, who were found in a country residence, whither they had been sent from Richmond, in order to be out of harm's way. A search of the house having been made, with the view of securing any papers that might be of value, Mrs. Lee handed to the officer in command of the squad of soldiers sent to perform that service the following note, with its malicious insinuations, directed to the commander of the division:

"To the General in Command:

"Sir—I have patiently and humbly submitted to a search of my house by men under your command, who are satisfied that there is nothing here that they want, all the plate and other valuables having long since been removed to Richmond, and are now beyond the reach of any Northern marauders who may wish for their possession.

"Wife of Robert Lee, General C. S. A."

up, consisting of a redoubt on the left and some rifle-pits. Behind these slight defences Casey had posted his troops, with the first brigade on the right, the second in the centre, and the third on the left, while his picket-guards were pushed forward into the edge of the wood in front.

General Couch with his division was similarly posted in the rear of Casey, on either side of the Williamsburg and Richmond turnpike, where it is intersected by a circuitous road known as the "Nine Mile Road." Couch's position, too, was protected by slight defences, consisting chiefly of rifle-pits in the fields in front of the camp and along the cross road.

General McClellan having thus taken these positions on the right bank of the Chickahominy with his advance, prepared to cross the river immediately with his main body, with the design of driving the enemy before him and capturing Richmond. In his general orders of May 25th he told his troops, **May 25.** while giving specific directions in regard to crossing the river, that they were to "go prepared for battle at a minute's notice." He again spoke of the approaching battle, when he appealed to the pride of his soldiers by reminding them "that the Army of the Potomac had never yet been checked."

The enemy in the mean time being made aware of this contemplated movement of his whole army by McClellan, determined to anticipate it, by attacking that portion which had already crossed the Chickahominy. A favorable occasion presented itself in a severe storm, in which the waters of the Chickahominy were so greatly swollen as to wash away some of the bridges, and to threaten the communications between the advance and main body of the Union army. The enemy hastened to take advantage of it. A large force, estimated at 18,000 men, the *élite* of their army, under the command of General Longstreet, accordingly marched from Richmond, along the Williamsburg road, and attacked General Casey's division. **May 31.**

When the Union pickets were driven back, it was not suspected that the enemy were coming in great force, and only a single regiment, the One Hundred and Third Pennsylvania, was sent to check their advance. Three thousand men, however, soon found themselves confronted by an army. Taken by surprise, and receiving a fire which struck down nearly 200 men at the first volley, the Pennsylvanians turned and fled in a panic, crying out that their regiment had been "all cut to pieces."

The arrival of the enemy in great force being now apparent, the whole of Casey's troops were hurried out and formed into line. Colonel Baily, the chief of Casey's artillery, soon succeeded in advancing and getting his batteries into action. Spratt's battery was posted in a field to the right of the road near the edge of the wood through which the enemy were advancing, and Regan's to the left of Spratt's, supported on their left by the One Hundredth New York in the Williamsburg road, on their right

by the Eleventh Maine and One Hundred and Fourth Pennsylvania, and in their rear by the Ninety-second New York. Both batteries at once opened fire, and were served with creditable skill and diligence. The enemy, however, did not quail, but moved steadily on, responding effectively with their artillery. When they came within range, the three regiments of infantry supporting our batteries fired spiritedly, but soon fell back. The batteries, however, succeeded in keeping the enemy temporarily at bay. Spratt's checked their advance beyond a rail fence, which they strove again and again to pass. They at last succeeded only when Spratt, having expended all his grape and canister, fell back to the redoubt in his rear. Regan's still kept up its fire, and its support of infantry being doubled, repeated attempts of the enemy to take it were frustrated. The battery, however, with its supports, was finally forced back by the pressure of superior numbers. The rest of Casey's line also retired, and now his whole force was within the first line of defences. The enemy still pressed vigorously forward, and storming, in face of the fire, the redoubts and rifle-pits, forced our men out, and captured Bates' battery and two of Spratt's pieces, which, however, had been spiked on being abandoned. The whole division was now in disorderly retreat before the enemy, who continued to press forward without check until they came upon General Couch's position, half a mile in rear of the ground from which Casey had been driven.

General Couch had formed his line, by posting the Fifty-fifth New York and Sixty-second New York in the rifle-pits to the left of the Williamsburg road. These regiments, however, were soon pushed forward in advance, and their places in the pits occupied by the Massachusetts Tenth with the Ninety-third and One Hundred and Second Pennsylvania on the left and in the rear. On the right and a little in the rear was posted battery C, of the First Pennsylvania artillery. In the rifle-pits on the right of the road was the Thirty-sixth New York Regiment, on whose right was the Seventh Massachusetts. In the rear and on the right of the Seventh was posted Captain Miller's light battery. Farther to the right again, in advance, and resting on the "Nine Mile Road," was the Twenth-third Pennsylvania Regiment, with the First Long Island behind it. The Thirty-first and Sixty-first Pennsylvania, and the First Chasseurs were also on the right, near the Fair Oaks Station on the Richmond and York River Railroad. Brady's battery was near the latter, and Flood's was posted behind the "Nine Mile Road," near its junction with the Williamsburg turnpike. Couch's division, with its right considerably advanced, thus presented itself obliquely to the approaching enemy.

General Heintzelman, whose command was on that side of the Chickahominy, and was being hurried up to the front, having arrived on the field after the repulse of Casey's division, resumed the command in place of General Keyes,

who had thus far directed the operations. An effort was made to check the flight of the panic-stricken troops of Casey, who were hastening in disorder to the rear, but without avail, and the full force of the enemy's attack now fell upon Couch's division.

At about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, after a pause on the field from which they had driven Casey's division, advanced to meet Couch's line, and from its oblique position, with its right advanced, came first into collision with the Twenty-third Pennsylvania. The enemy's attack was gallantly met, and the Pennsylvanians, having reserved their fire until their foes were very near, opened with good effect. The enemy still coming on, the Twenty-third charged with their bayonets, and succeeded in driving them back. In the eager advance, however, of the Pennsylvanians, they exposed themselves to the enemy's artillery, and were driven back in disorder and with great loss. Their colonel (Neile) retaining his colors, and rallying less than a hundred of his scattered regiment, formed on the First Long Island in his rear. The struggle now became general on the right, which being hard pressed by increasing numbers, Birney's brigade, of General Kearny's division, which was on the way from the Chickahominy, was hurried to that part of the field.

In the mean time, the Tenth Massachusetts on the left, getting entangled among the abattis and the woods on its right, whither it had advanced, and being deprived of its supports on the left, the Ninety-third and One Hundred and Second Pennsylvania, which had moved to the right, was in great danger. While gallantly struggling with their foes in front, a body of the enemy succeeded in flanking the left of the Massachusetts men, and poured in a deadly fire upon their rear. The regiment thus surrounded, broke, but with admirable discipline re-formed, and returned to take part in the fight. The left, however, having in the mean time been strengthened by the arrival of Berry's brigade and a portion of Jameson's, both of Kearny's division, the gallant Tenth was moved to the right, where the enemy, though manfully resisted and temporarily checked, were renewing their efforts with increased strength and determination.

Pressing heavily upon the First Long Island, after the dispersion of the Twenty-third Pennsylvania, which had been in front, the enemy succeeded in breaking its ranks also, but were met as they continued to advance by an obstinate resistance on the part of the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-third Pennsylvania. These regiments yielded their ground, and then in good order, fighting, as they retired, only when the enemy, reinforced by fresh troops, threatened completely to overwhelm them. If Birney's brigade, which had been ordered to the relief of our right, had not been delayed in its march, it is not improbable that with the resistance the enemy had already met, and the additional vigor which would have been given to it by

fresh troops, the day might have been won. The enemy having now succeeded in forcing back our line for more than a mile, ceased from further effort in that direction.

As our right retired, the greater part of General Couch's division fell back in the direction of the Williamsburg road, but the General himself, with the First New York Chasseurs, the Sixty-second New York, the Seventh Massachusetts, and the Thirty-first Pennsylvania, with Brady's battery, being near the Fair Oaks Station, retreated across the railroad, and was thus cut off from the main body of the army. "His position," wrote a campaigner,* "was in a large open field, in an angle between the railroad and a road that runs from the Fair Oaks Station northward toward New Bridge. On the west was a dense wood, from which the enemy might emerge at any moment, and on the south was the railroad and a fringe of wood through which they could cross for a flank attack. Whether he had any road for retreat the General did not yet know, so he formed two lines of battle—one toward the railroad, with a section of Brady's battery, supported by the Massachusetts Seventh; another toward the wood to the west, with the other section of the battery supported by the Anderson Zouaves, with the Thirty-first Pennsylvania and the First Chasseurs, formed close in the edge of the wood, under cover of a rail-fence.

"Lieutenant Edwards, who had ridden down the New Bridge road, came back with word that Sedgwick's division was only two miles away. Couch knew that he could hold his ground till they came, so he was saved the misfortune of defeat. They hurried on and came up at half-past five o'clock, General Sumner with them. No change was made in Couch's dispositions, save in the comparative strength with which either line was held. The First Minnesota, Colonel Sully, was formed on the right of the Chasseurs, and Rickett's battery of Napoleon's to the left of the Thirty-first. All the rest of the division was formed on the line toward the railroad.

"Shortly after six o'clock the enemy advanced through the wood on the west. * * * As soon as the line of the enemy's advance was known, Rickett's battery opened and threw grape and canister into the wood with great effect. Brady was not idle either. * * * But the line kept on till it was in the edge of the wood and within ten paces of where the Thirty-first Pennsylvania, the First Chasseurs, and the First Minnesota lay on their faces, between the rebels and the battery. The rebels could not see them, and as they came to the edge of the wood they delivered one volley at the Anderson Zouaves (Sixty-second New York) in the field farther out. That volley killed Colonel Riker, and the Zouaves broke and ran. Yet they only ran twenty yards, when they were rallied and went right up to the edge of the wood and opened their fire.

"No sooner had the rebels, by that volley, emptied their guns, than the

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Herald.*

three regiments that had been lying down arose to their feet and poured a volley in at almost no distance at all. That volley settled that fight. Through the wood in front of that line the rebels lay dead and wounded in heaps. Brigadier-General A. C. Davis was found dead there, and Brigadier-General Pettigrew, wounded and his horse killed, was there taken prisoner. When the rebel line advanced in the wood, Gorman's brigade, from the line of battle on the railroad, was thrown forward on the right flank of the rebel line to turn it; but when the musketry broke that line, and the rebels fell into confusion, the brigade pressed forward, and so cut off and drove in a large number of prisoners.

"So closed the battle for that day, and General Couch, than whom his country has no better, braver, or more earnest soldier, slept that night farther forward on the road to Richmond, nearer to the rebel capital, than he had done any night before."

The losses on both sides had been very great, and the number of officers who suffered proves the gallantry with which they exposed themselves to danger.*

Both armies rested on their arms in the field during the night, ready to renew the struggle in the morning. Next morning, at dawn of day (Sunday), the Union army having been **June 1.** strongly reinforced by troops from the other side of the Chickahominy, was drawn up in line of battle, ready to meet an attack, but with the habitual regard of its commander-in-chief for the Sabbath, unwilling to provoke it. General McClellan himself was now on the ground, and made the disposition for the day.

On the left was posted Sickles' New York brigade, stretched across the Richmond and Williamsburg turnpike, with Patterson's New Jersey on its right, both of Hooker's division and Heintzelman's *corps d'armée*. To the right of Patterson's, and in advance, was Richardson's division of Stoneman's *corps d'armée*. Sedgwick's division, also of Stoneman's *corps d'armée*, was on the right and in advance of Richardson's,

* A correspondent of the *Herald* gives this summary of the killed and wounded:

"Brigadier-General Devens received a bullet in the right leg, but kept the field for two hours after it. Brigadier-General Wessels was struck by a ball in the shoulder, but not disabled. A musket-ball passed across General Couch's breast and only cut his coat. Colonel Briggs, of the Massachusetts Tenth, was struck in three places, and disabled finally by a rifle-ball that passed through both thighs. Colonel Riker, of the Sixty-second New York; Dodge, of the Eighty-seventh New York; Baily, of the First New York artillery, and Ripley, of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania, were all killed. Colonels McCartey, of the Ninety-third Pennsylvania; Rowley, of the Hundred and Second Pennsylvania; Van Wyck, of the Fifty-sixth New York, and Hunt, of the Ninety-second New York, were wounded. Majors Ely, of the Twenty-third Pennsylvania, and King, of the Eighty-fifth New York, were also severely wounded. The loss of horses tells where the officers who rode them were. General Keyes had a horse hit, and Captain Suydam, of his staff, had his horse killed. All the gentlemen of Couch's staff—Captain Walker and Lieutenants Edwards and Burt—had horses shot. General Peck's was hit three times. General Casey's horse was hit, and General Devens' also.

"In the fight of Saturday the bulk of the losses on either side took place, and show the terrific severity of the fighting. Our loss for that day will scarcely fall short of three thousand in killed and wounded. Upon the field of battle we heard the enemy's loss estimated as probably two to one for our own, and the appearance of the field made the estimate seem reasonable."

both being stretched in line along the railway, and at right angles to Sickles' and Patterson's brigades. Couch still held the advanced position he had won, and was supported by Sedgwick's division. Birney's brigade was also on the railway, but in the rear of the other divisions.

Thus our whole line formed a right angle, within which were the enemy, occupying the ground they had won on the previous day, the chief portion of their force facing our main body along the line of the railroad, on the north of which was the latter, and on the south the former, partly covered by a swamp. The enemy began the battle on Sunday morning with an attack of cavalry upon Richardson's division. This, however, being repulsed by a fire of artillery, the enemy returned in full force, and the battle soon extended along the whole line. French's, Howard's, and Meagher's brigades were the foremost to engage the enemy, spiritedly advancing across the railroad and into the swamp, until they closed with their foes. Some of our men occasionally wavered, being thrown into disorder by the ill-conditioned ground, but were rallied by their officers, who acted with great gallantry. General Howard was conspicuous at the head of his men, inspiriting them with cheering words and his dauntless bearing. He was so exposed to the fire that he had two horses shot under him, and received two rifle-balls in his arm. He, however, bound up the shattered limb with his handkerchief, and kept the field to the last. Birney's New Jersey brigade now took part in the action, and with equal spirit. The enemy quailed and retired before the impetuous advance of our men on the right. On our left, Sickles' brigade advanced with the same resoluteness, and, after firing a volley, charged and drove their foes back at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were thus repulsed wherever they attacked, and so conscious had they become of the impossibility of driving our steady troops back into the Chickahominy, which was evidently their object, that they gave up any farther attempt for the day, and the second day's contest closed at the early hour of nine o'clock in the morning.

The enemy, though their attack had failed in its purpose, still held on the second day most of the ground they had won on the first. On the third day, General McClellan had determined to regain what had been lost, and accordingly formidable preparations were made to effect this object. His line was drawn up, skirmishers were sent in advance, the artillery was posted, and the army advanced. The enemy, however, refused the offer of battle, and retired rapidly toward Richmond, leaving not only the ground we had lost to be reoccupied by us, but permitting our force to advance beyond, within four miles of the capital. The fruits of the bloody struggles of the first and second day were thus not plucked until the third, when not a drop of blood was spilled. **June 2.**

The enemy confessed a loss in the course of the two days' battles of 5,897 killed, wounded, and missing, among

whom were five generals, twenty-three colonels, ten majors, and fifty-seven captains either killed or captured. The official report of the Union army gives a loss of 890 killed, 3,627 wounded, and 1,222 missing—making a total of 5,739.

General Longstreet commanded the enemy's troops which made the first attack on Saturday, and in the course of the struggle Generals Lee, Johnston,* and President Davis appeared on the field with large reinforcements, making the whole force of the enemy engaged eighty-five regiments and battalions.

* GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON'S OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES.

RICHMOND, *June* 24, 1862.

GEN. S. COOPER, Adjutant and Inspector-General:

SIR—Before the 30th May I had ascertained from trusty scouts that Keyes' corps was encamped on this side of the Chickahominy, near the Williamsburg road. On that day Major-General D. H. Hill reported a strong body immediately in his front. On receiving this report I determined to attack them next morning, hoping to be able to defeat Keyes' corps completely, in its more advanced position, before it could be reinforced. Written orders were dispatched to Major-Generals Hill, Huger, and G. W. Smith. General Longstreet being near my headquarters, received verbal instructions. The receipt of the orders was acknowledged.

Gen. Hill, supported by the division of Gen. Longstreet (who had the direction of operations on the right), was to advance by the Williamsburg road to attack the enemy in front. General Huger, with his division, was to move down the Charles City road in order to attack in flank the troops who might be engaged with Hill and Longstreet, unless he found in his front force enough to occupy the division. General Smith was to march to the junction of the New Bridge road and the Nine Mile road, to be in readiness either to fall on Keyes' right flank or to cover Longstreet's left. They were to move at daybreak. Heavy and protracted rains during the afternoon and night, by swelling the stream of the Chickahominy, increased the probability of our having to deal with no other troops than those of Keyes. The same cause prevented the prompt and punctual movement of the troops. Those of Smith, Hill, and Longstreet were in position early enough, however, to commence operations by eight o'clock A.M. Major-General Longstreet, unwilling to make a partial attack, instead of the combined movement which had been planned, waited from hour to hour for General Huger's division. At length, at two o'clock P.M., he determined to attack without those troops. He accordingly commenced his advance at that hour, opening the engagement with artillery and skirmishers. By three o'clock it became close and heavy.

In the mean time I had placed myself on the left of the force employed in this attack, with the division of General Smith, that I might be on a part of the field where I could observe and be ready to meet any counter movement which the enemy's general might make against our centre or left. Owing to some peculiar condition of the atmosphere, the sound of the musketry did not reach us. I consequently deferred giving the signal for General Smith's advance till four o'clock, at which time Major Jasper Whiting, of General Smith's staff, whom I had sent to learn the state of affairs with General Longstreet's column, returned, reporting that it was pressing on with vigor. Smith's troops were at once moved forward.

The principal attack was made by Major-General Longstreet with his own and Major-General D. H. Hill's division—the latter mostly in advance. Hill's brave troops, admirably commanded and gallantly led, forced their way through the abattis, which formed the enemy's external defences, and stormed their intrenchments by a determined and irresistible rush. Such was the manner in which the enemy's first line was carried. The operation was repeated with the same gallantry and success as our troops pursued their victorious career through the enemy's successive camps and intrenchments. At each new position they encountered fresh troops belonging to it, and reinforcements brought on from the rear. Thus they had to repel repeated efforts to retake works which they had carried; but their advance was never successfully resisted.

Their onward movement was only stayed by the coming of night. By nightfall they had forced their way to the "Seven Pines," having driven the enemy back more than two miles, through their own camps, and from a series of intrenchments, and repelled every attempt to recapture them with great slaughter. The skill, vigor, and decision with which these operations were conducted by General Longstreet are worthy of the highest praise. He was worthily seconded by Major-General Hill, of whose conduct and courage he speaks in the highest terms.

Major-General Smith's division moved forward at four o'clock, Whiting's three brigades leading. Their progress was impeded by the enemy's skirmishers, which, with their supports, were driven back to the railroad. At this point Whiting's own and Pettigrew's brigades engaged a superior force of the enemy. Hood's, by my order, moved on to co-operate with Longstreet. General Smith was desired to hasten up with all the troops within

Their number of men was estimated at 75,000. On the first day they captured Casey's baggage and ten of his guns.

reach. He brought up Hampton's and Hatton's brigades in a few minutes.

The strength of the enemy's position, however, enabled him to hold it until dark.

About sunset, being struck from my horse, severely wounded by a fragment of a shell, I was carried from the field, and Major-General G. W. Smith succeeded to the command.

He was prevented from resuming his attack on the enemy's position next morning by the discovery of strong intrenchments not seen on the previous evening. His division bivouacked, on the night of the 31st, within musket-shot of the intrenchments which they were attacking, when darkness stayed the conflict. The skill, energy, and resolution with which Major-General Smith directed the attack would have secured success if it could have been made an hour earlier.

The troops of Longstreet and Hill passed the night of the 31st on the ground which they had won. The enemy were strongly reinforced from the north side of the Chickahominy on the evening and night of the 31st. The troops engaged by General Smith were undoubtedly from the other side of the river.

On the morning of the 1st of June the enemy attacked the brigade of General Pickett, which was supported by that of General Pryor. The attack was vigorously repelled by these two brigades, the brunt of the fighting falling on General Pickett. This was the last demonstration made by the enemy.

Our troops employed the residue of the day in securing and bearing off the captured artillery, small-arms, and other property, and in the evening quietly returned to their own camps.

We took ten pieces of artillery, six thousand (6,000) muskets, one garrison flag, and four regimental colors, besides a large number of tents and camp equipage.

Major-General Longstreet reports the loss in his command as being about	3,000
Major-General G. W. Smith reports his loss at	1,233
Total	4,233

That of the enemy is stated in their own newspapers to have exceeded ten thousand—an estimate which is, no doubt, short of the truth.

Had Major-General Huger's division been in position and ready for action when those of Smith, Longstreet, and Hill moved, I am satisfied that Keyes' corps would have been destroyed, instead of being merely defeated. Had it gone into action even at four o'clock, the victory would have been much more complete.

Major-Generals Smith and Longstreet speak in high terms of the conduct of their superior and staff officers.

I beg leave to ask the attention of the government especially to the manner in which Brigadier-Generals Whiting and R. H. Anderson, and Colonels Jenkins, and Kemper, and Hampton, exercising commands above their grades, and Brigadier-General Rhodes, are mentioned.

This, and the captured colors, will be delivered by Major A. H. Cole, of my staff.

I have been prevented by feebleness from making this report sooner, and am still too weak to make any but a very imperfect one.

Several hundred prisoners were taken, but I have received no report of the number. Your obedient servant,

J. E. Johnston, General.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Pursuit of Jackson by General Banks.—Reinforcement of Jackson.—Diminution of Banks' force.—The Enemy's success at Front Royal.—Retreat of Banks.—Alarm at Washington.—Call for Militia.—Fremont's movements.—Battle of Bull Mountain.—Check to General Cox.—Retreat to Lewisburg.—The Enemy repulsed.—Hanging of Guerrilleros.—Junction of Jackson and Ewell.—Retreat of Jackson.—Attack on Milroy.—Struggle at Fisher's Hill.—Pursuit of Jackson by Fremont.—Fight at Harrisonburg.—Death of Ashby.—Jackson reaches the Shenandoah.—Shields in front and Fremont in the rear.—Battle of Cross Keys.—Escape of Jackson across the Shenandoah.—Success of Jackson.—Life of "Stonewall" Jackson.

THE progress of General Banks, in his pursuit of Jackson through the valley of the Shenandoah, has been already traced to Sparta. The enemy continued to fly, and were rapidly followed to Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Strasburg. Occasional skirmishes occurred with the rear-guard of Jackson, whose cavalry and flying artillery, under the skilful command of Colonel Ashby, successfully covered his retreat. General Banks persevered in his pursuit across the Shenandoah, and occupied, with a small number of troops, Front Royal, but kept his main body at Strasburg, on the other or western side of the river. The force at Front Royal was subsequently strengthened. The number of the troops and the object of their advance are thus stated by General Banks:

1862.

"In pursuance of orders from the War Department, Colonel John R. Kenly, commanding First Maryland Volunteers, was sent on the 16th day of May from Strasburg to Front Royal, with instructions to retain the troops under Major Tyndale, attached to General Geary's command, and to protect the town of Front Royal and the railroad and bridges between that town and Strasburg. The forces under his command consisted of his own regiment (775 available men), two companies from the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Perhan commanding; the Pioneer corps, Captain Mapes, engaged in reconstructing bridges; two companies of the Fifth New York Cavalry, and a section of Knapp's battery, Lieutenant Atwell commanding. There were three companies of infantry stationed on the road nearer Strasburg—the Second Massachusetts, Captain Russell, at the bridge; one company of the Third Wisconsin, Captain Hubbard, and one company of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, about five miles from Strasburg.

"This force was intended as a guard for the protection of the town, and partly against local guerrilla parties that infested that locality, and replaced two companies of infantry with cavalry and artillery, which had occupied the town for some weeks, under Major Tyndale, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Vol-

unteers, for the same purpose. It had never been contemplated as a defence against the combined forces of the enemy in the valley of Virginia."

In the mean time General Jackson had been largely reinforced, having formed a junction with General Ewell's command, while a large portion of General Banks' troops, consisting principally of General Shields' division, had been withdrawn to add to the strength of General McDowell, who, having occupied Fredericksburg, remained there ready to co-operate with General McClellan in his advance upon Richmond.

The energetic Jackson, conscious of this weakening of his pursuer, prepared to turn upon him, and strike once more for the mastery of the valley of the Shenandoah. His first move was against Front Royal, which General Banks declares to have been "in itself an indefensible position. Two mountain valleys debouch suddenly upon the town from the south, commanding it by almost inaccessible hills; and it is at the same time exposed to flank movements by other mountain valleys, *via* Strasburg on the west and Chester Gap on the east.

"The only practicable defence of this town would be by a force sufficiently strong to hold these mountain passes some miles in advance. Such forces," adds General Banks, "were not at my disposal, and no such expectations were entertained from the slender command of Colonel Kenly. It was a guerrilla force, and not an organized and well-appointed army, that he was prepared to meet."

"On the 23d of May," says General Banks in his official report of the enemy's attack on Front Royal, "it was discovered that the whole force of the enemy was in movement down the valley of the Shenandoah, between the Massanutten Mountain and the Blue Ridge, and in close proximity to the town. Their cavalry had captured a considerable number of our pickets before the alarm was given. The little band which was charged with the protection of the railroad and bridges found itself instantaneously compelled to choose between an immediate retreat or a contest with the enemy against overwhelming numbers. Colonel Kenly was not the man to avoid a contest, at whatever odds. He immediately drew up his troops in the order he had contemplated in case of attack of less importance. The disposition of his forces had been wisely made to resist a force equal to his own, and the best, perhaps, that could have been devised in his more pressing emergency.

"About one o'clock P.M. the alarm was given that the enemy was advancing on the town in force. The infantry companies were drawn up in line of battle about one half of a mile in the rear of the town. Five companies were detailed to support the artillery, which was placed on the crest of a hill commanding a meadow of some extent, over which the enemy must pass to reach the bridge—one company guarding the regimental camp, nearer to the river, on the right of the line.

May 23.

"The companies, three in number, left to guard the town, were soon compelled to fall back upon the main force. There were then four companies on the right of the battery near the camp, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dushane, and five companies on the left, under Colonel Kenly. The battery, Lieutenant Atwell commanding, opened fire upon the enemy advancing from the hills on the right and left, well supported by the infantry, doing much damage. A detachment of the Fifth New York Cavalry was ordered to advance upon the road, which was attempted, but did not succeed. They held this position for an hour, when they were compelled to retreat across the river, which was done in good order, their camp and stores having been first destroyed.

"On the opposite side their lines were again formed, and the battery, in position, opened its fire upon the enemy while fording the river. They were again ordered to move, left in front, on the Winchester road, and had proceeded about two miles when they were overtaken by the enemy's cavalry, and a fearful fight ensued, which ended in the complete destruction of the command. Colonel Kenly, at the head of his column, was wounded in this action. The train and one gun were captured. One gun was brought within five miles of Winchester, and abandoned by Lieutenant Atwell only when his horses were broken down. The enemy's force is estimated at 8,000. The fighting was mostly done by the cavalry on the side of the rebels, with active support from the infantry and artillery. Our own force did not exceed 900 men. They held their ground manfully, yielding only to the irresistible power of overwhelming numbers."

General Banks was now admonished of his own danger, and commenced to retreat down the valley of the Shenandoah. The masterly manner in which this was effected can be inferred from his own graphic statement of the movement:

"Information was received," he says in his report, "on the evening of May 23d, that the enemy in very large force had descended on the guard at Front Royal, Colonel Kenly, First Maryland Regiment, commanding, burning the bridges and driving our troops toward Strasburg with great loss. Owing to what was deemed an extravagant statement of the enemy's strength, these reports were received with some distrust; but a regiment of infantry, with a strong detachment of cavalry and a section of artillery, were immediately sent to reinforce Colonel Kenly. Later in the evening, dispatches from fugitives who had escaped to Winchester informed us that Colonel Kenly's force had been destroyed, with but few exceptions, and the enemy, 15,000 or 20,000 strong, were advancing by rapid marches on Winchester.

"Orders were immediately given to halt the reinforcements sent to Front Royal, which had moved by different routes, and detachments of troops, under experienced officers, were sent in every direction to explore the roads

leading from Front Royal to Strasburg, Middletown, and Winchester, and ascertain the force, position, and purpose of this sudden movement of the enemy. It was soon found that his pickets were in possession of every road, and rumors from every quarter represented him in movement, in the rear of his pickets, in the direction of our camp.

"The extraordinary force of the enemy could no longer be doubted. It was apparent, also, that there was a more extended purpose than the capture of the brave little band at Front Royal.

"This purpose could be nothing less than the defeat of my own command, or its possible capture by occupying Winchester; and by this movement intercepting supplies or reinforcements, and cutting off all possibility of retreat.

"It was also apparent from the reports of fugitives, prisoners, Union men, and our reconnoitring parties, that the three divisions of the enemy's troops known to be in the valley, and embracing at least 25,000 men, were united and close upon us, in some enterprise not yet developed.

"The suggestion that, had their object been a surprise, they would not have given notice of their approach by an attack on Front Royal, was answered by the fact that on the only remaining point of attack—the Staunton road—our outposts were five miles in advance, and daily reconnoissances made for a distance of twelve miles toward Woodstock.

"Under this interpretation of the enemy's plans, our position demanded instant decision and action. Three courses were open to us: first, a retreat across Little North Mountain to the Potomac River on the west; second, an attack upon the enemy's flank on the Front Royal road; third, a rapid movement direct upon Winchester, with a view to anticipate his occupation of the town by seizing it ourselves—thus placing my command in communication with its original base of operations, in the line of reinforcements by Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg, and securing a safe retreat in case of disaster. To remain at Strasburg was to be surrounded; to move over the mountains was to abandon our train at the outset and to subject my command to flank attacks without possibility of succor; and to attack, the enemy being in such overwhelming force, could only result in certain destruction. It was therefore determined to enter the lists with the enemy in a race or a battle—as he should choose—for the possession of Winchester, the key of the valley, and for us the position of safety.

"At three o'clock A.M., the 24th instant [May], the reinforcements— May 24.
infantry, artillery, and cavalry— sent to Colonel Kenly, were recalled; the advance guard, Colonel Donnelly's brigade, was ordered to return to Strasburg, several hundred disabled men left in our charge by Shields' division were put upon the march, and our wagon-train ordered forward to Winchester under escort of cavalry and infantry. General Hatch, with nearly our whole force of cavalry and six pieces of artillery,

was charged with the protection of the rear of the column, and the destruction of any stores for which transportation was not provided, with instructions to remain in front of the town as long as possible, and hold the enemy in check, our expectations of attack being in that direction. All these orders were executed with incredible celerity, and soon after nine o'clock the column was on the march, Colonel Donnelly in front, Colonel Gordon in the centre, and General Hatch in the rear.

"The column had passed Cedar Creek, about three miles from Strasburg, with the exception of the rear-guard, still in the rear of the town, when information was received from the front that the enemy had attacked the train, and was in full possession of the road at Middletown. This report was confirmed by the return of fugitives, refugees, and wagons, which came tumbling to the rear in fearful confusion.

"It being apparent now that our immediate danger was in front, the troops were ordered to the head of the column and the train to the rear; and in view of a possible necessity of our return to Strasburg, Captain James W. Abert, Topographical Corps—who associated with him the Zouaves d'Afrique, Captain Collis—was ordered to prepare Cedar Creek bridge for the flames, in order to prevent a pursuit in that direction by the enemy. In the execution of this order, Captain Abert and the Zouaves were cut off from the column, which they subsequently joined at Williamsport. They had at Strasburg a very sharp conflict with the enemy, in which his cavalry suffered severely. * *

"The head of the reorganized column, Colonel Donnelly commanding, encountered the enemy in force at Middletown, about thirteen miles from Winchester. Three hundred troops had been seen in town; but it soon appeared that larger forces were in the rear. The brigade halted, and the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania, Colonel Knipe, was ordered to penetrate the woods on the right and dislodge the enemy's skirmishers. They were supported by a section of Cothran's New York battery. Five companies of the enemy's cavalry were discovered in an open field in the rear of the woods, and our artillery, masked at first by the infantry, opened fire upon them. They stood fire for a while, but at length retreated, pursued by our skirmishers. The Twenty-eighth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, was now brought up, and, under a heavy fire of infantry and artillery, the enemy were driven back more than two miles from the pike. Colonel Donnelly being informed at this point by a citizen, in great alarm, that 4,000 men were in the woods beyond, the men were anxious to continue the fight; but as this would have defeated our object by the loss of time, except a small guard, they were ordered to resume the march.

"This affair occurred under my own observation, and I have great pleasure in vouching for the admirable conduct of officers and men. We lost one man killed and nine wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained.

"This episode, with the change of front, occupied nearly an hour; but it saved our column. Had the enemy vigorously attacked our train while at the head of the column, it would have been thrown into such dire confusion as to have made the successful continuation of our march impossible. Pending this contest, Colonel Brodhead, of the First Michigan Cavalry, was ordered to advance, and, if possible, to cut his way through and occupy Winchester. It was the report of this energetic officer that gave us the first assurance that our course was yet clear, and he was the first of our column to enter the town.

"When it was first reported that the enemy had pushed between us and Winchester, General Hatch was ordered to advance with all his available cavalry from Strasburg, leaving Colonel De Forrest to cover the rear and destroy stores not provided with transportation. Major Vought, Fifth New York Cavalry, had been previously ordered to reconnoitre the Front Royal road, to ascertain the position of the enemy, whom he encountered in force near Middletown, and was compelled to fall back, immediately followed by the enemy's cavalry, infantry, and artillery. In this affair five of our men were killed and some wounded. The enemy's loss is not known.

"After repeated attempts to force a passage through the lines of the enemy, General Hatch, satisfied that this result could not be accomplished without great loss, and supposing our army to have proceeded but a short distance, turned to the left, moved upon a parallel road, and made several ineffectual attempts to force a junction with the main column. At Newtown, however, he found Colonel Gordon holding the enemy in check, and joined his brigade. Major Collins, with three companies of cavalry, mistaking the point where the main body of the cavalry left the road, dashed upon the enemy until stopped by a barricade of wagons and the tempestuous fire of infantry and artillery. His loss must have been severe.

"Six companies of the Fifth New York, Colonel De Forrest, and six companies of the First Vermont, Colonel Tompkins, after repeated and desperate efforts to effect a junction with the main body—the road now being filled with infantry, artillery, and cavalry—fell back to Strasburg, where they found the Zouaves d'Afrique. The Fifth New York, failing to effect a junction at Winchester, and also at Martinsburg, came in at Clear Spring with a train of thirty-two wagons and many stragglers. The First Vermont, Colonel Tompkins, joined us at Winchester with six pieces of artillery, and participated in the fight of the next morning. Nothing could surpass the celerity and spirit with which the various companies of cavalry executed their movements, or their intrepid charges upon the enemy.

"General Hatch deserves great credit for the manner in which he discharged his duties as chief of cavalry in this part of our march, as well as at the fight at Winchester, and in covering the rear of our column to the river, but especially for the spirit infused into his troops during the

brief period of his command, which, by confession of friend and foe, had been made equal to the best of the enemy's long trained mounted men.

"From this point the protection of the rear of the column devolved upon the forces under Colonel Gordon.

"The rear-guard having been separated from the column, and the rear of the train having been attacked by an increased force near the bridge between Newtown and Kentown, Colonel Gordon was directed to send back the Second Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews commanding, the Twenty-seventh Indiana, Colonel Colgrove, and the Twenty-eighth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, to rescue the rear of the train and hold the enemy in check. They found him at Newtown with a strong force of infantry, artillery, and cavalry.

"The Second Massachusetts was deployed in the field, supported by the Twenty-eighth New York and the Twenty-seventh Indiana, and ordered to drive the enemy from the town; and the battery was, at the same time, so placed as to silence the guns of the enemy.

"Both these objects were quickly accomplished. They found it impossible to reach Middletown, so as to enable the cavalry under General Hatch to join the column, or to cover entirely the rear of the train. Large bodies of the enemy's cavalry passed upon our right and left, and the increased vigor of his movements demonstrated the rapid advance of the main body. A cavalry charge made upon our troops was received in squares on the right and on the road, and in the line on the left, which repelled his assault and gained time to re-form the train, to cover its rear and to burn the disabled wagons. This affair occupied several hours—the regiments having been moved to the rear about six o'clock, and not reaching the town until after twelve. * * * * *

"The strength and purpose of the enemy were to us unknown when we reached Winchester, except upon uncertain reports and unsatisfactory reconnoissances. Our suspicions were strengthened by the vigor with which the enemy had pressed our main column, and defeated at every point the efforts of detachments to effect a junction with the main body.

"At Winchester, however, all suspense was relieved on that subject. All classes—secessionists, Union men, refugees, fugitives, and prisoners—agreed that the enemy's force at or near Winchester was overwhelming, ranging from 25,000 to 30,000. Rebel officers, who came into our camp with entire unconcern, supposing that their own troops occupied the town, and were captured, confirmed these statements, and added that an attack would be made upon us at daybreak. I determined to test the substance and strength of the enemy by actual collision, and measures were promptly taken to prepare our troops to meet them. They had taken up their positions on entering the town after dark without expectations of a battle, and were at disadvantage as compared with the enemy.

"The rattling of musketry was heard during the latter part of the night, and before the break of day a sharp engagement occurred at the outposts. Soon after four o'clock the artillery opened its fire, which was continued without cessation till the close of the engagement.

"The right of our line was occupied by the third brigade, Colonel George H. Gordon commanding. The regiments were strongly posted, and near the centre covered by stone walls from the fire of the enemy.

"Their infantry opened on the right, and soon both lines were under heavy fire.

"The left was occupied by the first brigade, Colonel Dudley Donnelly commanding.

"The line was weak, compared with that of the enemy; but the troops were well posted, and patiently awaited as they nobly improved their coming opportunity. The earliest movements of the enemy were on our left, two regiments being seen to move as with the purpose of occupying a position in flank or rear. General Williams ordered a detachment of cavalry to intercept this movement, when it was apparently abandoned. The enemy suffered very serious loss from the fire of our infantry on the left. One regiment is represented by persons present during the action, and after the field was evacuated, as nearly destroyed.

"The main body of the enemy was hidden during the early part of the action by the crest of the hill and the woods in the rear.

"Their force was massed apparently upon our right, and their manœuvres indicated a purpose to turn us upon the Berryville road, where, it appeared subsequently, they had placed a considerable force, with a view of preventing reinforcements from Harper's Ferry. But the steady fire of our lines held them in check until a small portion of the troops on the right of our line made a movement to the rear. It is but just to add that this was done under the erroneous impression that an order to withdraw had been given. No sooner was this observed by the enemy, than its regiments swarmed upon the crest of the hill, advancing from the woods upon our right, which, still continuing its fire steadily, withdrew toward the town.

"The overwhelming force of the enemy now suddenly showing itself, making further resistance unwise, orders were sent to the left by Captain De Hauteville to withdraw the first brigade, which was done reluctantly but in order, the enemy having greatly suffered on that wing. A portion of the troops passed through the town in some confusion; but the column was soon re-formed and continued its march in order.

"This engagement held the enemy in check nearly five hours.

"The forces engaged were greatly unequal. Indisposed to accept the early rumors concerning the enemy's strength, I reported to the Department that it was about 15,000. It is now conclusively shown that not less than 25,000 men were in position, and could have been brought into action. On the right and left their great superiority of numbers

was plainly felt and seen, and the signal officers from elevated positions were enabled to count the regimental standards, indicating a strength equal to that I have stated.

"My own command consisted of two brigades of less than 4,000 men, all told, with 900 cavalry, ten Parrott guns, and one battery of six-pound smooth-bore cannon. To this should be added the Tenth Maine Regiment of Infantry, and five companies of Maryland Cavalry, stationed at Winchester, which were engaged in the action. The loss of the enemy was treble that of ours in killed and wounded. In prisoners ours greatly exceeded theirs.

"Officers whose word I cannot doubt have stated, as the result of their own observation, that our men were fired upon from private dwellings in passing through Winchester; but I am credibly informed, and gladly believe, that the atrocities said to have been perpetrated upon our wounded soldiers by the rebels are greatly exaggerated or entirely untrue.

"Our march was turned in the direction of Martinsburg, hoping there to meet with reinforcements—the troops moving in three parallel columns, each protected by an efficient rear guard. Pursuit by the enemy was prompt and vigorous, but our movements were rapid and without loss.

"A few miles from Winchester the sound of the steam-whistle, heard in the direction of Martinsburg, strengthened the hope of reinforcements and stirred the blood of the men like a trumpet. Soon after two squadrons of cavalry came dashing down the road with wild hurrahs; they were thought to be the advance of the anticipated support, and were received with deafening cheers. Every man felt like turning back upon the enemy. It proved to be the First Maryland Cavalry, Colonel Witchky, sent out in the morning as a train-guard. Hearing the guns, they had returned to participate in the fight. Advantage was taken of this stirring incident to reorganize our column, and the march was continued with renewed spirit and order. At Martinsburg the column halted two and a half hours—the rear-guard remaining until seven in the evening in rear of the town, and arrived at the river at sundown, forty-eight hours after the first news of the attack on Front Royal. It was a march of fifty-three miles, thirty-five of which were performed in one day. The scene at the river when the rear-guard arrived was of the most animating and exciting description. A thousand camp-fires were burning on the hillside, a thousand carriages of every description were crowded upon the banks, and the broad river rolled between the exhausted troops and their coveted rest.

"The ford was too deep for the teams to cross in regular succession. Only the strongest horses, after a few unsuccessful experiments, were allowed to essay the passage of the river before morning.

"The single ferry was occupied by the ammunition trains, the ford by the wagons.

"The cavalry was secure in its own

power of crossing. The troops only had no transportation. Fortunately the train we had so sedulously guarded served us in turn. Several boats belonging to the pontoon train, which we had brought from Strasburg, were launched and devoted exclusively to their service. It is seldom that a river-crossing of such magnitude is achieved with greater success, and there never were more grateful hearts in the same number of men than when, at midday of the 26th, we stood on the opposite shore.

"My command had not suffered an attack and rout. It had accomplished a premeditated march of nearly sixty miles in the face of the enemy, defeating his plans, and giving him battle wherever he was found.

"The whole number of killed is 38; wounded, 155; missing, 711. Total loss, 905.

"It is undoubtedly true that many of the missing will yet return, and the entire loss may be assumed as not exceeding 700. It is also probable that the number of killed and wounded may be larger than that above stated; but the aggregate loss will not be changed thereby.

"All our guns were saved. Our wagon train consisted of nearly 500 wagons. Of this number 55 were lost. They were not, with but few exceptions, abandoned to the enemy, but were burned upon the road. Nearly all of our supplies were thus saved. The stores at Front Royal, of which I had no knowledge until my visit to that post on the 21st inst., and those at Winchester, of which a considerable portion was destroyed by our troops, are not embraced in this statement."

The advance of General Jackson down the valley of the Shenandoah and the flight of Banks before him caused great alarm at the North. The Government was momentarily stricken with panic, and with the reiteration of the old cry that "Washington was in danger," ordered Gen. McDowell to retire from Fredericksburg, in order to cover the capital, and the militia of the loyal States was called out by the President for its defence. The States responded with their usual fervor of loyalty, and rapidly sent forward their armed multitudes. The Government, availing itself of this force to garrison Washington and Maryland, was enabled to send reinforcements to Fremont, and a considerable detachment under General Shields to drive back the importunate Jackson.

As the movements of General Fremont now begin to bear an important relation to those in the Shenandoah valley, it is necessary to continue the narrative of his progress. General Milroy, in command of Fremont's advance, it will be recollected, had succeeded in driving the enemy from Monterey (April 20). Soon after he opened free communications with General Schenck at Franklin, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, and, crossing the mountains himself, advanced in the direction of Staunton, as far as McDowell. It was at this place that the enemy made an attack in force. General Jackson, leaving Ewell to watch Banks at Harrison-

burg, crossed the Shenandoah, and rein- May 8. forcing Johnson, turned upon Milroy and Schenck, and forced them, after a severe struggle, with a loss of 26 killed, 225 wounded, and three missing, to retreat to Franklin, whither Fremont himself hurried by a forced march across the Alleghanies, to meet and support them with reinforcements. The contest at McDowell has been dignified with the title of the battle of Bull Mountain.*

General Cox, who was operating with May 16. his division in the Kanawha valley of Western Virginia, after reaching Princeton, was at that place also checked by an attack of the enemy under General Humphrey Marshall, and compelled to retire to Lewisburg. Here, however, an attack of the May 23. enemy, under Gen. Heath, was repulsed by Colonel Crook, the loss of whose brigade was 10 killed and 40 wounded. Four cannon, 200 stand of arms, and 100 men were captured from the enemy.

The guerrilla bands became exceedingly active, despoiling Union people of their property and greatly harassing the Federal troops by interfering with their communications and cutting off their supplies. General Fremont strove to check these marauders by treating them as outlaws, and condemning them when taken to be hung.*

General Jackson having succeeded in his purpose of driving back the advance of Fremont under Milroy and Schenck, returned to the valley of the Shenandoah, and, joining his forces with those of General Ewell, engaged in the pursuit of Banks, whose masterly retreat before them has been already related. Johnson was left to guard the roads in and around Staunton.

General Jackson's apparent object was to prevent the junction of Fremont with General Banks, and to capture the latter. With this purpose, after driving back Fremont, he advanced in conjunction with Ewell along the Luray valley, and dispatched Smith with a large de-

* The main facts of the battle are thus briefly summed up by a correspondent of the N. Y. *Evening Post:*

"It appears that on Thursday morning, the 8th (May), General Milroy, who is called the 'fighting bulldog,' sent a message to General Schenck that the enemy were crossing the Shenandoah in force, and that he would be obliged to fall back on McDowell. He asked for help. Schenck, who was already some nine miles on the route from this place, pushed on, and, by a forced march of thirty-two miles, attacked one end of the town of McDowell just as the advanced guard of the Confederates appeared on the slope of the mountain at the other. The situation was a critical one, for the enemy had the power of outflanking us on both sides.

"In order to gain time for a safe retreat with the wagons and stores—for our generals had by this time discovered that there was a large body of rebels in front resolved upon an attack—we opened the ball with artillery, which was followed by a bayonet charge upon their right flank by the Ohio Twenty-fifth and Eighty-second. For two hours they struggled up the face of the steep mountains, beating back the foe, Colonel Cantrell commanding the latter; and that there was a hand-to-hand fight the character of the wounds of our men in hospital will bear witness. The object of the attack having been gained, our troops fell back in the most perfect order to this place, fighting the swift following enemy every foot of the way, killing and wounding large numbers. It is thought that our forces could have held this place, but that is doubtful. Most fortunately for our gallant little army, General Fremont, who, since the retreat from Yorktown, had anticipated an advance of Jackson with large reinforcements, had already moved his army forward from Petersburg by rapid marches, and arrived here while our artillery were shelling the enemy in the hills through which the road runs toward McDowell and Staunton."

* "Two guerrillas were hung at Chester on the 9th, in spite of demonstrations to prevent it."—*Telegraphic report from Parisburg, Va., May* 10.

tachment across the Marsaton Mountain to pursue a route parallel with his own toward Strasburg.

Fremont, in the mean time, had received orders from the Secretary of War to fall back from Franklin to the support of General Banks. This retrograde movement was slow, in consequence of the ill condition of the route. "The roads were rutted as deep as they could be, and the heavy artillery was dragged along with great difficulty, many of the pieces requiring six, eight, and even ten horses."

General Jackson having failed in his purpose of capturing Banks' little force, and fearing lest he himself might be intercepted and cut off by the movements of the Union forces on his flank, **May 30.** commenced to turn back after reaching within striking distance of Harper's Ferry. Smith, with his detachment, had previously retraced his route from Strasburg, whither he had marched. His object was to prevent Fremont from crossing over to Harrisonburg or Newmarket.

On Friday (May 30), Jackson began his retreat. Leaving his camp between Halltown and Charlestown in the morning, he rested the first night with his advance at Middleton. Next day **May 31.** (Saturday) he marched to Strasburg. Ewell, with the rear-guard, followed Jackson, and by a forced march of thirty-four miles in one day, reached Middleton on the night of Saturday.

Fremont's advance under General Milroy on the same day (Saturday) on which Jackson had entered Strasburg, and Ewell, Middleton, halted at Cottontown, within two and a half miles of the former place. Jackson now determined to give Milroy battle, and accordingly on Sunday attacked and **June 1.** forced him, after a struggle of six hours, to fall back to await reinforcements.

On the next day (Monday) General Milroy, having been reinforced by Blenker's division, proceeded to **June 2.** Strasburg, but found that Jackson had evacuated the place during the previous night. He, however, pushed rapidly on and came up with the rear-guard of the enemy under General Ewell, strongly posted in a narrow and defensible pass at Fisher's Hill. A spirited attack was made by Milroy, but the enemy, with the great natural advantages of their position, held their ground with great steadiness.

Jackson continued his retreat, passing rapidly through Woodstock and Edinburg, but making a vigorous defence with his rear guard whenever overtaken by Fremont's advance, whose approach was greatly hindered by the destruction of the bridges. Jackson reached and crossed the northern fork of the Shenandoah, a mile beyond Mount Jackson, on the 3d of June, destroying the bridge behind him. With an unbridged river, which was greatly swollen by the rains, between him and his pursuers, Jackson was enabled to halt and give repose to his jaded troops.

Fremont, close on the heels of the enemy, made a vigorous effort to cross the Shenandoah at once. One bridge was built on the very night that he

reached the river, but the flood swept it away. In the course of the next day another was constructed, and the whole column crossing over, continued the pursuit. The enemy, however, ever watchful and active, succeeded in covering their retreat with great skill through Newmarket and Harrisonburg.

June 4.

Fremont's force entered Harrisonburg on the afternoon of the sixth day of June, and the advance overtaking the enemy's rear at a short distance beyond the town, a severe engagement ensued, which lasted until nightfall. The First New Jersey Cavalry, after driving the enemy before them, fell into an ambush, by which they lost Wyndham, their colonel, who was captured, and thirty-five in killed, wounded, and missing. Colonel Cluseret, however, sent to their support with his brigade, succeeded in driving the enemy from their concealed position in the wood and capturing their camp. The Kane Rifles, who had also gone to the rescue, found themselves flanked by a superior force, and were forced to retire after a loss of fifty-five killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy were supposed to have greatly suffered; among their killed was the famous cavalry officer, General Ashby,* who covered the retreat with his whole cavalry force and three regiments of infantry, and "who," says Fremont, with rare magnanimity in this tribute to his enemy, "exhibited admirable skill and audacity."

Jackson having continued his retreat beyond Harrisonburg to the Shenandoah, discovered that the advance of Shields' division, which had been dispatched to intercept him, was on the other side of the river to dispute its passage. He thus found himself inclosed between two forces—that of Fremont in his rear, and that of Shields on his front. He now determined to make a stand before attempting to cross the Shenandoah, and to drive back, if possible, his pursuers who were pressing so closely after him. Jackson accordingly chose a strong position in the woods, at a place called Cross Keys, near Union Church, about seven miles from Harrisonburg and five from the river, and awaited the coming up of his pursuers. Fremont having marched out from Harrisonburg at six

* We quote the following from the N. Y. *Herald:*

"Brigadier-General Turner Ashby, of the rebel service, better known as Colonel Ashby, was only promoted to a brigadier-generalship about three weeks before the battle in which he was hurried to his last account. Ashby was a middle-sized man, handsomely built, and very active. Every member of his body seemed to be perfectly formed and proportionably balanced. He was a dark-complexioned, dark-eyed, fine-featured man, with an expression of benevolence rather than war in his countenance. His hair was dark, and he wore it long and flowing. Ashby's character, before engaging in the rebellion, was one against which no one had anything to say; but many were, on the other hand, loud in their encomiums of his public and private career. Ashby was a man of very few words. He was not a soldier by profession. He was engaged for several years as a merchant at Markham Station, Va., on the line of the Strasburg and Manassas Gap Railroad. He was a man of much piety, and when his brother was killed in battle against the Union troops, he is reported to have knelt upon the grave of the deceased, raised his hands in a devout attitude above his head, and remained there in that position with his eyes turned heavenward for several minutes. What were his thoughts at that solemn moment, or what the nature of his prayer, if he made one, is a secret which is forever buried with him. Ashby was present at nearly every battle in Western Virginia, and was very much distinguished both for his bravery and superior horsemanship. The loss of this officer will be felt by the entire rebel army under Jackson, but especially by the cavalry."

o'clock in the morning of the 8th of June, Colonel Cluseret's brigade, consisting of the Sixtieth Ohio and Eighth Virginia, supported by the Garibaldi Guard forming the advance, came up with the enemy at nine o'clock, and began the engagement by "sharp skirmishing. During the day, Cluseret obtained possession of the enemy's ground, which was disputed foot by foot, and only withdrew at evening, when ordered to retire to a suitable position for the night."*

June 8.

At half-past twelve o'clock the whole line moved to the attack, General Stahl leading the left, Milroy the centre, and Schenck the right. Blenker's, Bohlen's, and Van Steinwehr's brigades formed the reserve. The left, being in advance, was the first to engage the enemy, and during the whole contest was in the hottest of the fight. After opening fire from Schirmer's battery, the Eighth and Forty-fifth New York regiments were advanced across an open field to attack the enemy's position within cover of the woods. They thus met their foes at a great disadvantage, whom, however, they attacked with spirit. After suffering greatly, they were forced to fall back. The Eighth New York alone had sixty-five killed. General Stahl, notwithstanding this check, was enabled by his artillery to keep the enemy at bay while he shifted his position, and thus prevent them from taking much advantage of their first success. They, however, were pressing heavily upon him, until Milroy and Schenck coming up to his support, the enemy were forced back with severe loss. The main struggle continued with "great obstinacy and violence" until four o'clock in the afternoon, being carried on principally by artillery in the centre and on the right, and by musketry and the bayonet on the left. Some skirmishing and artillery firing prolonged the battle until dark. The loss was heavy on both sides. General Fremont estimated his loss at 125 killed and 500 wounded. The loss among his officers was exceedingly great—in General Stahl's brigade alone there were five killed and seventeen wounded. One of the companies of the Pennsylvania Bucktail Rifle Regiment lost all its officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned.

Jackson, however greatly he may have suffered by the spirited attack of Fremont at Cross Keys, succeeded in covering his retreat across the Shenandoah, and in spite of the Union force gathered to oppose him on his front on the other side of the river. This force was the advance of the division of General Shields, who had been detached from General McDowell's army at Fredericksburg, which he had joined on leaving General Banks, whose command, thus imprudently weakened, had provoked the attack of General Jackson. Shields' first move was to Front Royal, where he drove out, by a charge of cavalry, the Georgia regiment which had occupied the place since its capture by Jackson, chased it across the

May 30.

* General Fremont, in his official report—to which he adds: "The skill and gallantry displayed by Cluseret on this and frequent former occasions, during the pursuit in which we have been engaged, deserve high praise."

Shenandoah, saved the bridges, and took 140 of the enemy prisoners, with a loss on the Union side of eight killed and four wounded. The stores which had been previously taken from our troops had been mostly removed, and "nothing was found save two trains of cars and a few wagon-loads of corn."

From Front Royal, Shields pushed on to Port Republic, with the view of getting in front of General Jackson, while General Fremont was close upon him in his rear. Thus caught between two forces, the irresistible strength of one of which he had already tested, and having reason to dread a collision with the other, if not from its superiority of power, from his own inferiority of position, since he was obliged to cross the river in face of it, Jackson seemed in imminent danger. Fortune, however, smiled on the enterprising leader who was ever ready to catch at its favors.

General Shields' advance, consisting of a brigade, under the command of Colonel Carroll,* had reached Port Republic on the 8th of June, where, finding some few of the enemy, he after a brisk skirmish drove them out. Carroll, however, with imprudent confidence, trusting either to the effect of an attack from Fremont, or to his own strength, determined to hold the bridge which crossed the Shenandoah. He accordingly refused to have it burned, and posted his artillery with the view of commanding its passage. The energetic Jackson had anticipated this movement by posting on the other side, during the night, a much larger force of artillery, so that on the dawn of next day, General Carroll was surprised to find that the bridge was not, as he had supposed, controlled by himself, but by the enemy. He now strove to burn it, but was foiled in the repeated attempts he made; his troops being constantly forced back by the heavy cannonade of the enemy's powerful guns. Jackson now threw across his army, with the cavalry in advance, which cleared the way by an impetuous charge. General Carroll, though reinforced by Tyler's brigade, sent forward to his aid by General Shields, was still inferior in number to the enemy, and was obliged to yield to their pressure. Jackson thus succeeded in crossing the river with his whole force, and in driving back the Union troops some three or four miles, where they finally held their ground after a struggle of five hours, "our boys," adds a chronicler, "fighting every foot of the way," though one or two of the regiments were scattered in disorder and took to the mountains. The loss of the Union troops was 55 killed, 374 wounded, and 524 missing.

June 9.

General Jackson was now beyond immediate danger from his pursuers. His enterprising pursuit of Banks, and his subsequent skilful retreat, proved him to be one of the most active and capable leaders in either army. Though he may have been balked by the vigilance of General Banks of the full accomplishment of his purpose in pursuing him,

* His brigade, the fourth, consisted of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, Eleventh Pennsylvania, Seventh Indiana, and First Virginia, four regiments, though its effective force was estimated to be only 1,600 strong.

he had succeeded by his repeated blows in so paralyzing his little force that it was incapable, when the excitement of the chase was over, of further movement.

In his retreat Jackson succeeded in accomplishing all he could have desired, and more than he could have expected. Though beset on either flank by the large forces his enemy with their abounding resources had brought to bear against him, he had so skilfully conducted the repeated battles with his antagonists, that although they boasted of victory, he enjoyed its fruits. Jackson brought back with him all the prisoners, amounting to over 3,000, whom he had taken from General Banks, and his full train of wagons loaded with the spoils of his raid through the valley of the Shenandoah!

Thomas Jefferson Jackson, whose skill and enterprise made him so formidable an enemy, was born in Virginia, in 1825. Having graduated at West Point in 1846, he served in the following year in Mexico as an artillery officer under Magruder. His gallantry at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec won for him rapid promotion, and toward the close of the Mexican war he was brevetted a major. He was subsequently in command at Fort Hamilton, but in 1852 resigned his rank in the army. At the commencement of the civil war, Jackson is reputed to have hesitated as to which side he would join. His perplexity was owing to the fact that though he himself was a Virginian, his marriage with a Northern woman had created ties with the North which he was reluctant to sever. His father-in-law, a clergyman, is said to have visited and urged him to remain loyal to the United States. They spent several hours in prayer together; but after a struggle which Jackson confessed to be "sore," he declared, "I must go with Virginia," and entered the service of the Southern Confederacy, of which he proved himself to be one of the most alert and able officers, having well-earned, by his stubborn resistance to the progress of our armies, his title of "Stonewall."

From an Ambrotype by Brady

STONEWALL JACKSON MORTALLY WOUNDED

Expressly for this work

T. J. Jackson

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1865 by Virtue & Yorston in the Clerks Office of the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Enemy at Fort Wright.—Their Defences.—Bombardment of Fort Wright.—Departure of Pope.—Attack upon the Union Fleet.—Evacuation of Forts Wright, Pillow, and Randolph.—The Enemy's Fleet covering Memphis.—The Union ram Fleet.—Attack on the Enemy's Gun-boats.—Great naval Victory.—Surrender of Memphis.—Expedition up the White River.—Explosion of the Mound City.—Capture of the Enemy's forts on the White River.

After the capture of Island No. 10, the enemy who escaped fled down the Mississippi to their next stronghold on the river. This was Fort Wright, in Tennessee, situated on a bend of the Mississippi, on its eastern side, a short distance above the mouth of the Hatchie River. It is 162 miles below Cairo and 78 miles above Memphis. A chronicler* thus describes the enemy's defences at Fort Wright:

1862.

"The main fort is planted on what is called the First Chickasaw Bluffs. Along the shore, immediately under the bluffs, are eleven water-batteries, extending for a mile and a half, and mounting about forty guns, one of which is a ten-inch columbiad, the others being rifled sixty-fours and thirty-twos. These batteries command the river for two miles above and below them, thus exposing boats that may attempt to pass to a gauntlet of five and a half miles open range.

"Opposite the last or lower water-battery, obstructions are planted in the river, which compel boats to pass close to the shore. Other obstructions are placed near the upper battery, all of which tend to complete a most formidable and troublesome defence. On the hill, in the rear of the batteries, is the main fort, an octagonal structure with bastions, mounting some twelve or fifteen large guns. Surrounding this, and embracing a line seven miles in length, from shore to shore, are fortifications, consisting of batteries, rifle-pits, etc.

"The rebels have also made ample preparations for the protection of their rear from attack. On the bluff they have thrown up fortifications seven miles in circumference, and consisting of a continuous embankment for their troops to fight behind, with numerous batteries to protect all approaches. They have about thirty field-pieces stationed at the most salient points. The rebel camps are situated in the rear of the batteries, and capacious magazines have been dug in the sides of the hills, which are reported to be stowed full of ammunition.

"General Villipigne, who is or was the commander of the fort, is a creole resident of New Orleans. As an engineer, he is represented in the South to be second only to Beauregard."

In addition to the defences on land

* N. Y. *Herald.*

and a considerable force of troops, estimated at 3,000, under General Jeff. Thompson, the enemy had collected a flotilla of gun-boats, commanded by Commodore Hollins, to dispute the passage of the Mississippi.

Commodore Foote, with characteristic enterprise, proceeded immediately after the capture of Island No. 10 to bombard Fort Wright. Having secured a position about two miles above the work, he opened fire, which forced **Apr. 14.** the enemy's gun-boats to seek a refuge below and under the guns of the fort. General Pope had also marched down the Arkansas shore, in order to cooperate, but was prevented from active service by the overflow of the river and the flooding of its banks, in consequence of the destruction by the enemy of the levees or dykes. Foote, however, persevered in his efforts, unaided by the land force. The enemy responded to the bombardment of the mortar boats with great spirit, and the firing on both sides was very heavy. Foote, after several weeks of active but ineffectual operations with his fleet, was finally forced, in consequence of his increased suffering from the wound he had received at Fort Don- **May 9.** elson, to retire from the command, and was succeeded by Captain C. H. Davis. General Pope, too, having been summoned by General Halleck to reinforce his army before Corinth with all his troops, the siege was left to be conducted by the fleet alone.

Captain Davis had hardly assumed the command, when the enemy, who had been long preparing, and had greatly reinforced their flotilla, made a bold attack upon the Union fleet. At a **May 10.** little past seven o'clock the enemy's squadron of eight iron-clad steamers, several of which were fitted with rams, came around Point Craighead, in Arkansas, at the bend of the river just above Fort Pillow.

The Union boats were lying at the time tied up to the banks of the river, three on the eastern and four on the western side. Captain Davis immediately gave the signal to prepare for action, which "most of the vessels were prompt in obeying."

The enemy made first for an unprotected mortar boat, which was spiritedly defended by Acting Master Gregory and his crew, who fired the single mortar eleven times. The United States gun-boat Cincinnati, which was the leading vessel of the line on the western side of the river where the enemy had opened the attack, immediately came down to the rescue of the mortar boat, followed by the gun-boat Mound City. The enemy, finding their leading boat beaten off by the Cincinnati, drove at her with two of their rams; but though severely injured by the collision, she succeeded also in driving them off with her guns, when they drifted with the current down the river, all three being disabled. The Mound City was now attacked by one of the "rams," and struck on her starboard bow, and sustained considerable damage. The rest of the Union gun-boats coming down to take part in the action, the enemy's boats, which had already greatly suf-

fered, retreated with haste below the guns of Fort Pillow. The engagement had lasted an hour. The Union loss was only four wounded; that of the enemy was supposed to be much greater. The gun-boats Cincinnati and the Mound City were so severely injured in their encounter with the rams, that the former sank in twelve feet of water, and the Mound City had to be sent to Cairo for repairs.

After this conflict, both fleets remained for three weeks watching each other, but not engaging in active hostilities. They were, however, diligently preparing for another trial of strength. In the mean time, the enemy, in consequence of the retreat of Beauregard from Corinth—hereafter to be narrated—had first evacuated Fort Wright (May 31), and subsequently Forts Randolph and Pillow (June 6). By abandoning these forts, the approach to Memphis was left only to the guard of the enemy's gun-boats. These took their position before the city and boldly awaited the approach of the Union fleet. The gun and mortar boats, under the command of Captain Davis, had, in the mean time, been reinforced by a "ram fleet," commanded by Colonel Charles Ellett, Jr.* This combined naval force, consisting of five gun-boats, the mortar flotilla, and eight rams, having rendezvoused at Fort Wright, moved down the Mississippi toward Memphis on Thursday morning (June 5th). During the evening the gun-boats anchored at about a mile and a half above the city, and the "rams" a short distance farther up the river. Early next morning the enemy's fleet, consisting of the General Van Dorn, flag-ship, the General Bragg, General Thompson, Jeff. Thompson, Beauregard, Little Rebel, and the Sumter, were seen lying at the levee before Memphis. They soon moved a short distance down the river, and then turning, came up in line of battle. **June 6.**

In the mean time, the Union fleet, having weighed anchor, moved slowly to meet the enemy. When within long range, the Little Rebel opened the attack with a shot from her rifle cannon, which fell within a short distance of the Cairo, which led the line of Union gun-boats. The Cairo replied with a broadside, and the battle soon became general, though at long range. The enemy now pushed forward two of their rams, with the view of striking at the gun-boats in advance. Colonel Ellet, however, prevented this manœuvre by passing ahead of the gun-boats with his flag-ship, the Queen (ram), followed by the Monarch* (ram), Captain Dryden,

* This gentleman, a distinguished civil engineer, had, in his famous pamphlet, chiefly remarkable for its unsparing censure of General McClellan's military conduct, advocated the use of rams. The United States Government, with a *quasi* adoption of his views, authorized him to construct a ram fleet, to be accepted on condition of a full proof of its efficacy.

* How the Monarch and the Queen were left to bear the brunt of the fight is explained by this communication of Colonel Ellet to the Secretary of War:

"OPPOSITE MEMPHIS, *June* 10, 1862.

"HON. E. M. STANTON:

"SIR—There are several facts touching the naval engagement of the 6th inst. at this place which I wish to place on record.

"Approaching Memphis, the gun-boats were in the advance. I had received no notice that a fight was expected,

and making directly for the enemy's two rams. They strove to elude the collision by backing down the stream, turning and making an attempt to get away. This movement proved fatal to them. The Queen, in the course of this manœuvre of the enemy, found her opportunity for a blow, of which she was quick to avail herself. Striking one of the rams fairly, she crushed it at once to a wreck. For a moment—such was the impulse of her thrust—the Queen stuck fast to her adversary, who, however, at last got clear, but only to sink to the bottom of the Mississippi.

The enemy's other ram took advantage of the entanglement of its consort with the Queen, and struck a blow which disabled her. The Monarch, however, speedily avenged her companion by turning upon and sinking the offender. The Monarch was now in her turn struck by the Beauregard, but fortunately being uninjured, she returned the blow, crushing in the sides of her adversary. At the same moment the Beauregard received a shot in the boiler from one of the gun-boats, and drifted away a useless wreck. The Little Rebel made a bold dash for the Monarch, whose pilot, however, skilfully eluded her, and she came in contact with her consort, the General Price, carrying away her wheel, which forced her to run ashore. The Monarch now turned upon the Little Rebel and drove her aground, when she was abandoned.

The Monarch, soon after, finding her victim, the Beauregard, about to founder, towed her into shoal water, where she sank. The Union gun-boats with their broadsides completed the victory, and the enemy with one armed vessel, the Van Dorn, and a few transports only left, fled rapidly down the river, pursued by the Monarch and the Switzerland.

This extraordinary naval conflict* had lasted two hours, from five to seven o'clock in the morning. Not a man of the Union fleet was killed, and no one wounded but Colonel Ellet. The en-

but was informed on landing within sight of Memphis that the enemy's gun-boats had retreated down the river. My first information of the presence of the enemy was a shot which passed over my boat. I had four of my most powerful rams in the advance, and ready for any emergency; the others were towing the barges. On advancing to the attack, I expected, of course, to be followed by the Monarch, the Lancaster, and the Switzerland. The Monarch came in gallantly. Some of the officers of the Lancaster, which now held the next place in the line, became excited and confused; but the engineers behaved well; the pilot erred in signals, and backed the boat ashore and disabled her rudder. The captain of the Switzerland construed the general signal order 'to keep half a mile in the rear of the Lancaster' to mean that he was 'to keep half a mile behind her in the engagement,' and therefore failed to participate. Hence the whole brunt of the fight fell upon the Queen and Monarch. Had either the Lancaster or Switzerland followed me as the Monarch did, the rebel gun-boat Van Dorn would not have escaped, and my flag-ship would not have been disabled. Three of the rebel rams and gun-boats which were struck by my two rams sank outright and were lost; another, called the General Price, was but slightly injured, and I am now raising her, and purpose to send her to my fleet. Respectfully, CHARLES ELLET, Jr.,

"Colonel Commanding Ram Fleet."

* Captain Davis thus summed up, in his official report, the result of this victory:

"The result of the action was the capture or destruction of seven vessels of the rebel fleet, as follows:

"The General Beauregard, blown up and burned.

"The General Sterling Price, one wheel carried away.

"The Jeff. Thompson, set on fire by a shell and burned, and magazine blown up.

"The Sumter, badly cut up by shot, but will be repaired."

emy, however, were less fortunate, and suffered considerable loss.

The progress of the naval fight was watched with intense interest by the people of Memphis, for on the result depended the fate of their city. "The bluffs in front of the city were crowded with spectators during the engagement. Business of every kind was suspended."* General Jeff. Thompson, after discreetly providing for the safe retreat of his troops by the railroad, lingered behind to witness the naval fight. Riding to a commanding height, he anxiously looked upon the struggle; but as soon as he saw that the Union fleet was victorious, he put spurs to his horse, and galloped rapidly off to join his retreating soldiers.

On the termination of the fight, Colonel Ellet, having been informed that a white flag was flying from the city, sent his son, accompanied by a lieutenant and two men, ashore with two United States flags, and directed him to raise one on the custom-house and the other upon the court-house. Young Ellet at the same time bore with him a note to the city authorities, stating the purpose of his mission. To this the mayor replied: "The civil authorities of this city are not advised of its surrender to the forces of the United States Government, and our reply to you is simply to state respectfully that we have no forces to oppose the raising of the flags you have directed to be raised over the custom-house and post-office."

Young Ellet and his three companions, after receiving this reply, proceeded to the post-office to raise the national flag. They there met the mayor and some of the principal citizens of Memphis, whose "conduct was unexceptionable;" but an excited crowd surrounded the little party and abused them with angry and threatening language. Persisting, however, in their purpose, they mounted to the top of the post-office and planted the flag, though fired upon several times and stoned by the mob below. A more formal demand of surrender was subsequently made by Captain Davis. Most of the citizens yielded with a sullen resignation to a power they could not successfully resist, and the city was soon restored, under the authority of the United States, to order and tranquillity. **June 6.**

A week after the naval victory off Memphis and the capture of that city, a combined expedition, consisting of the gun-boats Mound City, Captain A. H. Kilty, flag-officer commanding, the St. Louis, Conestoga, and Lexington, and transports conveying the Forty-sixth Indiana Regiment, Colonel Fitch, sailed up the White River. The object of the expedition was to capture or sink any of the enemy's boats which had taken refuge there. This stream, after taking its course through the State of Arkansas, empties into the Mississippi below Memphis, and accordingly, if commanded by the enemy, would expose to attack the rear of any expedition down the latter river. **June 13.**

The flotilla had ascended the White River about eighty-five miles, and reach-

* Memphis *Argus*.

ed within three or four miles of the village of St. Charles, when a battery of the enemy was discovered on the southern shore. A brisk fire from the Mound City, however, soon silenced the work, which consisted merely of intrenchments of earth, mounted with four light cannon. The Mound City now passed up the river to reconnoitre, leaving her consorts to complete the reduction of the first battery, and had advanced but a short distance to a sharp turn in the stream, when she was opened upon by a second. This was at St. Charles. While preparing to open a broadside upon this work, an enemy's shot struck the steam-drum of the Mound City, which caused an immediate explosion that killed or wounded the greater portion of the crew. Of 175 men on board, only 50 escaped.

June 17.

Colonel Fitch had, in the mean time, landed eight miles below the batteries, and observing the fatal mischance of the Mound City, signaled to the rest of the gun-boats which were engaging the second battery, to cease their fire. Colonel Fitch now advanced, and making a gallant charge with his Indiana men, carried the work by storm after an engagement of an hour. The enemy's infantry were driven from the support of the guns; the gunners shot at their posts; their commanding officer, Freye, formerly of the United States navy, wounded and taken prisoner, and eight brass and iron guns, with ammunition, captured. The Union loss, with the exception of that from the disaster of the Mound City, was trifling, while the enemy, who fought desperately, suffered greatly. A large number of their dead and wounded were left on the field. The gun-boats subsequently advanced up the river until checked by the shallowness of the water.

CHAPTER XXV.

Operations of General Halleck against Corinth.—Disposition of his Forces.—Cautious approaches.—Feeling the Enemy.—The Enemy repulsed at all points.—Fire opened upon Corinth.—Successes of the Union Troops on the flanks.—Advance upon Corinth.—The Enemy gone!—Corinth desolate.—Pursuit of the Enemy by Pope.—Ten thousand Prisoners captured.—Denied by Beauregard.—Movements of Mitchell.—Operations of General Negley.—Unsuccessful attack on Chattanooga.—Guerrilla bands.—Operations of Morgan.—His attack on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.—Cumberland Gap occupied by Union Troops.—Johnson's administration at Nashville.—Condition of affairs in Tennessee and Kentucky.

GENERAL HALLECK continued to move his army cautiously toward Corinth. On the 4th of May he had established his position within seven miles of the enemy. The command of the right was divided between Thomas and McClernand, who were, however, subordinate to Grant; that of the centre was given to Buell, and the left to General Pope. The latter, after his reconnoissance in force on the 3d of May to Farmington, within four miles of Corinth, of which he succeeded in dispossessing the enemy, left a brigade to occupy the place, and fell back to his camp with his main body. On the 9th of May the enemy attacked this small number of troops and drove them, with a loss of 21 killed, 149 wounded, and 14 missing, after a severe fight of five hours, back from Farmington, beyond Seven Mile Creek, which separated them from General Pope's camp.* The enemy, however, subsequently retired before a second advance of General Pope, who now moved his entire force, consisting of the left of Halleck's grand army, to Farmington, and was thus only three miles from Corinth.

1862. May 4. May 17.

In the mean time, skirmishes were frequent along the whole line, and a detachment succeeded in destroying a bridge on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

General Halleck, persuaded that the enemy were strongly fortified at Corinth, and prepared to make an obstinate resistance, moved with the utmost cau-

* NEAR FARMINGTON, *May* 9, P.M.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

The enemy, twenty thousand strong, drove in our pickets beyond Farmington, and advanced upon the brigade, occupying the farther side of the creek in front of my camp. The brigade held on for five hours, until, finding them heavily pressed in front and on the flank, and that I could not sustain them without passing the creek with my whole force, which would have been contrary to your orders, and would have drawn on a general engagement, I withdrew them to this side in good order. The conduct of the troops was excellent, and the withdrawal was made by them very reluctantly.

The enemy made a demonstration to cross, but abandoned the movement.

Our loss is considerable, though I cannot yet tell how great. The enemy being much exposed, suffered severely, one of his batteries being completely disabled and his infantry line having been driven back several times. My command are eager for the advance.

JOHN POPE, Major-General.

tion by regular approaches, intrenching as he advanced. Having finally advanced his whole line to within three-fourths of a mile of Corinth, and having got his heavy guns in position, he sent forward three strong reconnoitring columns from his right, centre, and left, with the view of "feeling the enemy and unmasking his batteries" before opening the siege. The resistance, though reported to be energetic, was overcome at every point, and the skirmishers reached within gunshot of the enemy's intrenchments. So close, indeed, had our troops approached, that it was thought that the enemy could not long hesitate to make an attempt to beat them back. An attack it was confidently believed would be made as soon as the next day dawned. Morning came, but the enemy, greatly to the surprise of all, did not open fire. General Pope, however, began a vigorous bombardment of intrenchments, which lasted for an hour, when they pulled down the flag over an advanced battery, hauled the guns back, and abandoned the position. This triumph lost much of its importance from the enemy's subsequent movements.

May 28.

May 29.

There was, however, another and less equivocal success at a distance on the enemy's flank, gained by a detachment from General Pope's command, the Second Iowa Cavalry, under Colonel Elliott. "After forced marches, day and night, through a very difficult country, and obstructed by the enemy," reported General Pope, "Colonel Elliott finally succeeded in reaching the Mobile and Ohio Railroad at Boonsville* at two o'clock P.M. on the 30th (May).

"He destroyed the track in many places, both south and north of the town, blew up one culvert, destroyed the switch and track, burned up the dépôt and locomotives, and a train of twenty-six cars loaded with supplies of every kind; destroyed 10,000 stand of small-arms, three pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of clothing and ammunition, and paroled 2,000 prisoners which he could not keep with his cavalry. The enemy had heard of his movements, and had a train of box cars and flat cars, with flying artillery and 5,000 infantry, running up and down the road to prevent him from reaching it. The whole road was lined with pickets for several days. Colonel Elliott's command subsisted upon meat alone, such as they could find in the country.

"For daring and dispatch this expedition," adds General Pope, "has been distinguished in the highest degree, and entitles Colonel Elliott and his command to high distinction. Its results will be embarrassing to the enemy, and contribute greatly to their loss and demoralization."

On the successful advance of General Pope, the whole line of General Halleck's army drew closer to Corinth, and heavy batteries were established within one thousand yards of the enemy's works.

May 29.

Next morning, at daybreak, skirmishing parties were thrown forward, and finding no resistance, pushed on into the

* Boonsville is a small railroad station twenty miles south of Corinth, on a branch of Yellow Creek.

works, followed by the main body of the army. The enemy had fled. Corinth was found deserted and desolate. General Beauregard had evacuated his position with such deliberation, that nothing had been left but a few dismantled cannon, some useless muskets, and a hundred or more stragglers. The town of Corinth was partially destroyed, and the cotton and other stores of value burned.

May 30.

General Halleck declared: "The enemy's position and works in front of Corinth were exceedingly strong. He cannot occupy a stronger position in his flight," adding, "General Beauregard evidently distrusts his army, or he would have defended so strong a position. His troops are generally much discouraged and demoralized."

A detachment of Pope's division was immediately dispatched in pursuit, and the General himself soon followed with 40,000 men. For thirty miles he kept close upon the heels of the fugitives, and soon reported the capture of 10,000 prisoners and deserters, and 15,000 stand of arms.* This, however,

June 4.

* HALLECK'S HEADQUARTERS, *June* 4, 1862.

HON. E. M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR:

General Pope, with 40,000 men, is thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard. He already reports 10,000 prisoners and deserters from the enemy, and 15,000 stand of arms captured. Thousands of the enemy are throwing away their arms. A farmer says that when Beauregard learned that Colonel Elliott had cut the railroad on his line of retreat, he became frantic, and told his men to save themselves the best way they could.

We have captured nine locomotives and a number of cars. One of the former is already repaired and is running to-day. Several more will be in running order in two or three days. The result is all I could possibly desire.

H. W. HALLECK,
Major-General Commanding.

was emphatically denied by Beauregard,* who declared that one or two hundred stragglers were the utmost number of prisoners taken by Pope. He added, "All we lost at Corinth and during the retreat will not amount to one day's expense to the enemy's army."

The enterprising Mitchell continued from Huntsville, in Alabama, where he had established his headquarters, his energetic operations in the northern part of that State and in southern Tennessee. One expedition sent out by him crossed the river at Bridgport and advanced toward Chattanooga, in Tennessee, and another penetrated to Jasper, where was "found a strong Union feeling." The latter force pushing on to Athens, was met by the enemy's cavalry and forced to fall back. The Union troops, however, being reinforced, returned to the charge, and put to flight in their turn the enemy, who retreated in the direction of Florence. An expedition under General Negley started from Pulaski to co-operate with Colonel Little's force from Athens against Rogersville. On Negley's approach the enemy hurriedly evacuated the place and crossed the Tennessee, saving their artillery, stores, and baggage. General Mitchell, expecting an obstinate resistance to Colonel Little in his passage across the Elk River, accompanied him in person to its banks. The enemy, "as usual," says General Mitchell, "fled at our approach."

May 1.

May 13.

No sooner had Negley occupied Rogersville, than an expedition

May 14.

* Mobile *News*, June 19th.

was dispatched to seize the bridge across Shad Creek and the ferry below the mouth of that stream. This was promptly and successfully accomplished. General Mitchell now con-
May 15. soled himself with the belief that "no more troops would enter from that region." There were, however, still left some guerrilla bands of cavalry, "which," said the General, "we will endeavor to hunt down, destroy, or capture." General Mitchell was now enabled to "pay his respects to the enemy on the eastern side of the region under his command." Having "extemporized" a gun-boat, he dispatched it up the Tennessee toward Chattanooga, and at the same time directed General Negley to march to the same place from Co-
June 1. lumbia. When Negley reached Winchester, he found that the enemy had abandoned the place; but on continuing his march through Jasper and over the Cumberland Mountains,
June 5. came up with some of their cavalry under the command of General Adams, and routed them. Following in
June 7. pursuit, General Negley arrived opposite Chattanooga, where he found the enemy in force. He, however, opened fire upon them with apparent success, having silenced most of their batteries before the close of the day. Next
June 8. morning Negley again resumed the attack, but finding that during the night the enemy had been reinforced, and had greatly strengthened their batteries, he withdrew. The gun-boat "extemporized" by General Mitchell had disappointed his expectations, and although it succeeded in clearing the banks of the river of the enemy's skirmishers, was not able, from the difficult navigation, to approach sufficiently near the batteries to be of much service.

Formidable as were the Union armies in the West, and triumphant as had been their advance, they were not able so far to occupy the vast territory they had wrested from the enemy as to prevent a frequent defiance of their military authority. Guerrilla bands swarmed in Tennessee, Kentucky, and even in Missouri. Colonel John Morgan, the noted Tennessee leader, was especially daring and active. Audaciously intruding almost within the lines of the Union armies, he made many a successful raid, capturing and destroying. Dashing into Pulaski, Tennessee, with his horsemen, he seized 13 officers and 235 soldiers. He, however, May 2. was made to pay dearly for this success. General Dumont, with 600 mounted men, composed of detachments from Colonel Wynkoop's Seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel G. Clay Smith's Fifth Kentucky, and Colonel Woodford's First Kentucky Cavalry, went in pursuit May 5. of Morgan, and fell in with him at Lebanon. Dumont, after "a hard-fought battle of one hour and a half, and a running fight of eighteen miles in pursuit, achieved a complete and substantial victory." One hundred and fifty of Morgan's men, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Wood, three captains, four lieutenants, 150 horses, and 100 stand of arms were captured. The loss of the Union troops was six killed, 25 wound-

ed, and one taken prisoner. The enemy's force was estimated at 800 strong.

Colonel Morgan himself was reported to have been killed, but soon gave proof that he was still in the full vigor of life by another bold attack with 200 men on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad train at Woodland, within two miles of Cave City, in Kentucky, destroying forty-five freight wagons, three passenger cars, and a locomotive.* Two

May 11.

majors of the Union army were captured, and about $10,000 in money. Some of the passengers having fired upon Morgan's men, they responded with a volley, but fortunately no lives were lost. The object of Morgan was to rescue the men, among whom was his brother, that General Dumont had captured at Lebanon. In this, however, he failed, as the prisoners were not on the train, as he supposed.

This bold dash of the daring Morgan created a great panic at Louisville, and the editor of a journal of that city asked, with alarm, "How much longer are these raids of Morgan to be continued? Can no way be devised to put an end to them? Must all communication between Louisville and Nashville be broken up by them? If this bold partisan leader can come with 200 men from Corinth almost to the bank of Green River, what is to prevent his gathering 2,000 men, cutting the telegraph wires, and making a dash some night into Louisville?"*

The organized forces of the enemy, however, were now almost everywhere in Tennessee giving way before the overwhelming power of the Union arms.

The strong natural position of Cumberland Gap, which had been so long held by them, was finally yielded to the Union general, Morgan, who,

June 18.

* One of the passengers on the train gave this account of the affair:

"*May* 11, 1862.

"When the morning express train of the Louisville and Nashville line got opposite to Woodland, quite a commotion was produced among the passengers upon seeing a company of ladies and children running toward the train, hallooing at the top of their voices and making motions for us to stop. When the train stopped amid the din of confusion, we could hear the words, 'Run back, for Morgan and his men will fire upon you.' We could see ahead of us smoke and flame, as if Cave City was on fire; and the cars immediately took the back track, but had not proceeded far before obstructions upon the track stopped them. Here were several moments of anxious suspense, not knowing what our fate was to be. We were much relieved when Morgan's men emerged from the bushes and took possession of the train They ordered the train back to Cave City. When we got there we found the village untouched, but a train of cars on fire. The train was variously reported at from thirty-three to forty-nine cars and a locomotive. Our train was then parted, and three of the passenger cars subjected to the torch likewise. After taking from the express agent a large package of money—the amount not known—Colonel Morgan magnanimously permitted the balance of the train and passengers to return to Louisville. When we got back as far as Woodland, we found six more cars in flames. Most of the cars, I think, were loaded.

"Morgan's ostensible object in paying Kentucky this unexpected visit was to rescue his men taken prisoners by the Federals some days ago. We do not know whether he succeeded or not. He was anxiously looking for the Nashville train when we left. The number of his men is variously reported at from two hundred to one thousand. We did not see over forty or fifty.

"At the first of the excitement we heard several pistol reports at the head of the train, but no one was hurt, and no private individual or private property was molested. The Federal soldiers were taken prisoners, but such was the confusion that I could not learn how many. I think, however, there were only five or six on the train, and one of that number was permitted to return in virtue of the pleadings of his wife, who happened to be on board. Among the number taken I heard the names of Major Coffee and Major Helveti. Colonel Morgan spared the mails for the sake of an old friend, the carrier, Mr. Morrison.

"T. R. Lyne,

"Of Gordonsville, Ky., on board train."

* Louisville *Journal.*

with his division, after a toilsome march, took possession of the pass abandoned by the enemy. Such were the difficulties of their progress through that mountain region, that our troops were obliged to drag the cannon, by means of block and tackle—two hundred men frequently pulling at the ropes of a single gun—up the precipitous sides of the Pine and Cumberland mountains. The possession of the Gap, as it opened the route from Kentucky into the loyal district of East Tennessee, was considered a great triumph.

The Union military governor, Johnson, continued his rigid enforcement of the United States authority without respect to persons. Ex-governors, judges, bank presidents, municipal magistrates, and clergy were imprisoned on refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Efforts at the same time were made through Union meetings, in which Governor Johnson, Governor Campbell, W. H. Polk, and other leading men of Tennessee took part, to develop among the people sentiments of loyalty to the Federal Government.

The majority of the voters of Nashville, however, unmoved by the rigid rule of the military governor and the threatening presence of the Union troops, persisted in the expression of their secession sentiments, having elected a secessionist for circuit judge. Governor Johnson refused to commission the disloyal officer. **May 23.**

Kentucky, though yielding more willingly than Tennessee to the authority of the United States Government, was still vexed by secession intriguers and disturbed by insurrectionary movements. At Paducah a plot to place the town in the power of the secessionists was discovered. The United States military force was consequently increased, and the cannon placed on the embankments for the protection of the town were turned upon it to be ready in case of an outbreak. The guerrilla bands, too, were not inactive, intimidating the Union people, despoiling them of their property, and obstructing the communications by the destruction of railway bridges and roads. **May 10.**

CHAPTER XXVI.

Capture of Apalachicola.—Destitute condition of the City.—Commander Porter off Pensacola.—Evacuation of Pensacola.—Occupied by Federalists.—A demonstration before Mobile.—Preparations of the Enemy.—Concentration of Union Forces.—Abandonment of the coast of Florida.—Operations in South Carolina.—General Hunter organizes a Negro Regiment.—Congressional interference.—Hunter's justification.—Excitement at the North.—Politic action of Mr. Lincoln.—Robert Smalls, the Negro Pilot.—Preparations to advance upon Charleston.—Capture and abandonment of Pocotaligo.—Edisto and other islands captured.—Defeat of the Union Troops under General Benham at Secessionville.—Evacuation of James Island.—General Benham removed from command.—Operations in North Carolina.—Engagement at Tranter's Creek.—Political movement.—Governor Stanley.—His appeal to the Unionists.—His policy questioned.—Movements in North Carolina arrested by the call of Burnside to Virginia.—General Butler at New Orleans.—His rigid rule.—Imprisonments.—Banks.—Foreign Consuls.—Famous order in regard to the "ladies" of New Orleans.—Reverdy Johnson appointed a Commissioner to regulate matters at New Orleans.

THE United States Navy continued to assert its power on the coasts of the enemy. The city of Apalachicola, in Florida, yielded without resistance to a couple of armed launches which Commander Stellwagen sent ashore from the gun-boats Mercedita and Sagamore. The town was found almost entirely abandoned by its male inhabitants. Of the usual population, numbering over 3,500, there were but 542 left, mainly women, children, and negroes. The forts were dismantled and deserted. Several small vessels were captured in the harbor and river, and others burned. Though Apalachicola enjoyed, previous to the war, a brisk commerce, it was found almost destitute of every article of home and foreign trade. The cotton storehouses and presses were closed and empty. There was hardly a pound of sugar or a barrel of flour in the town, and its population obtained only a scant subsistence from the meagre supply of the inland country devastated by the war.

1862. Apr. 2.

The appearance of Commander Porter after the capture of New Orleans, with a gun-boat and some mortar vessels off Pensacola, led to the evacuation of that city. The formidable forts and intrenchments with which the enemy had so long bid defiance to the Federal fleets and strong fortress of Fort Pickens were dismantled and abandoned. The navy yard was first despoiled of its machinery and stores, and then destroyed with the vessels, the barracks, hospitals, and other public property. The railroad leading to Montgomery was also demolished. When the United States vessels reached the city with a flag of truce and demanded a surrender, the mayor refused to comply, but declared that as all the military had left he had no power to oppose. Pensacola was accordingly occupied by a United States force of 1,200 men under General Arnold, from Fort Pickens.

May 9.

A demonstration by Porter with his fleet of mortar boats off Mobile served

only to stimulate the enemy to more desperate efforts of defence. Large reinforcements were thrown into the place, and extensive additions made to the earth-works. Fort Gaines was dismantled, its guns removed to the stronger work of Fort Morgan, and the approaches obstructed. Commander Porter, contenting himself with a reconnoissance, returned to the Mississippi, in order to co-operate with Captain Farragut in his movements up that river. Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, and Natchez, had already yielded to the irresistible force of Farragut's fleet, but Vicksburg obstinately resisted.

May 8.

Notwithstanding the capture of the whole coast of Florida, it having been found necessary to concentrate the Union forces, Apalachicola, St. Mark's, Cedar Keys, and Tampa Bay were abandoned, and immediately re-occupied by the enemy. The United States cruisers, however, continued to sustain a rigid blockade of every port.

On the coast of South Carolina the military and naval operations showed for a long time no great vigor of conduct; but General Hunter, the commander-in-chief, was not inactive. Boldly inaugurating a new policy in regard to the slaves, he was busily occupied in developing it. With a free interpretation of the instructions of the War Department, General Hunter had organized a regiment of negroes, and to secure a supply of recruits, had proclaimed all the slaves of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina free. The order of Hunter was repudiated by the President of the United States, and the arming and equipping of the negroes led to a congressional inquiry.* Hunter's audacious

* This is the celebrated Emancipation Order:

"GENERAL ORDERS—NO. 11.

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, HILTON HEAD, S. C., *May* 9, 1862.

"The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, comprising the Military Department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and having taken up arms against said United States, it became a military necessity to declare martial law. This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. *Slavery and martial law, in a free country, are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three States, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free.*

"DAVID HUNTER, Maj.-Gen. Com'd'g.

"ED. W. SMITH, Acting Asst.-Adj.-Gen."

The following is General Hunter's answer to the Congressional Inquiry:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, PORT ROYAL, S. C., *June* 23, 1862.

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Adjutant-General of the army, dated June 13, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives, June 9, 1862, on motion of Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substance being to inquire—

"*First*—Whether I had organized or was organizing a regiment of fugitive slaves in this department.

"*Second*—Whether any authority had been given to me from the War Department for such organization; and,

"*Third*—Whether I had been furnished, by order of the War Department, with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., for such a force.

"Only having received the letter concerning these inquiries at a late hour Saturday night, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-day (Monday), this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject calls for. But in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the wide-spread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

"To the first question, therefore, I reply that no regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are 'fugitive rebels'—men who

attempt to solve the great problem of Southern slavery greatly excited the country. The partisans of abolition enthusiastically applauded, and their opponents angrily denounced the daring innovator. While the former insisted that he should be favored and encouraged in the promotion of his policy, the latter called for his dismissal and disgrace. The Government, with a desire to conciliate both parties, rejected the abolition scheme, but retained its abolitionist author.

A daring and successful act on the part of some negroes seemed to justify the appreciation by General Hunter of the martial courage and aptitude of their race. Robert Smalls, a pilot, with eight other negroes, succeeded in escaping from Charleston with the enemy's gunboat Planter, and delivered her up to the United States blockading squadron. From Smalls, who proved to be a man of intelligence, important

May 12.

everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to avoid the presence of their late owners, that they are now one and all working with remarkable industry to place themselves in a position to join in full and effective pursuit of the fugacious and traitorous proprietors.

"To the second question I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brigadier-General T. W. Sherman by Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me by succession for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their service in defence of the Union and for the suppression of this rebellion in any manner I might see fit, or that the circumstances might call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employment, whether civil or military, in which their services shall be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist fugitive slaves as soldiers, could any such be found in the department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of our most advanced pickets, the loyal slaves everywhere remaining on their plantations to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with food, labor, and information. It is the masters who have in every instance been the fugitives, running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers, and whom we have only partially been able to see, chiefly with their heads over ramparts, or rifle in hand dodging behind trees in the extreme distance.

"In the absence of any fugitive master law, the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy had not their time of treason given the right to pursue, capture, and bring back those persons, of whose protection they have been thus suddenly bereft.

"To the third interrogatory it is my painful duty to reply that I never received any specific authority for issues of clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., to the troops in question—my general instructions from Mr. Cameron to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the department and the country being my only, but, in my judgment, sufficient justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying those persons with shovels, spades, and pickaxes, when employing them as laborers, nor with boats and oars when using them as lightermen; but these are not points indicted in Mr. Wickliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ men in any particular capacity implied with it liberty also to supply them with the necessary tools; and acting upon this faith I have clothed, equipped, and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina. I must say in vindication of my own conduct, that had it not been for the many other diversified and important claims on my time and attention, a much more satisfactory result might have been hoped for; and that in place of only one, as at present, at least five or six well-drilled, brave, and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the loyal forces of the Union. The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and even marvellous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action, and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that in the peculiarities of this climate and country they will prove invaluable auxiliaries, fully equal to the similar regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands.

"In conclusion I would say it is my hope, there appearing no possibility of other reinforcements, owing to the exigencies of the campaign in the Peninsula, to have organized by the end of next fall, and to be able to present the Government, from 48,000 to 50,000 of these hardy and devoted soldiers. Trusting that this letter may form part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your very obedient servant,

"D. Hunter, Maj.-Gen. Com'd'g."

information was obtained which led to a military movement soon to be recorded.*

Hunter, on entering upon his command at Port Royal, found the troops too much scattered for effective service. He therefore began by concentrating his forces. General Brannan was ordered from Key West, with all his men, to Hilton Head, and other scattered troops were concentrated at the same place preparatory to an advance upon Charleston. In the mean time, General Stevens had proceeded from Beaufort with a force consisting of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania Regiment, two companies of the First Massachusetts Cavalry, and a section of the First Connecticut battery to Pocotaligo, with the view of cutting off the communication between Charleston and Savannah. On reaching this place, a small village on the line of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, Stevens was met by the enemy, one thousand strong, who, after a short struggle, with a small loss on either side, were driven off. The Unionists now tore up the track of the railway for several miles, and took possession of Pocotaligo. After, however, occupying it for two days, and the enemy appearing in considerable force, the place was abandoned.

May 28.

The naval force, too, in the mean time, had been active, capturing prizes and driving the enemy from their batteries on the numerous islands bordering the coast. Edisto and other islands were thus seized and garrisoned, affording favorable bases for further and more important operations.

At the suggestion, it was said, of the negro pilot Smalls, a naval expedition entered Stono Inlet, shelling the works of the enemy on Cole's, Goat, Kiawah, and Battery or John's islands, and compelled their evacuation. The gun-boats Pembina, Unadilla, and Ottawa were anchored in the Stono River, off James Island, a distance of eight miles only from the city of Charleston. To co-operate with the fleet, General Hunter concentrated a considerable force on Edisto Island. It was his intention to throw these troops in mass suddenly upon James Island, and thence to

May 20.

* A correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald*, May 14, gives this account of a personal interview with the negro pilot:

"Robert Smalls, with whom I had a brief interview at General Benham's headquarters this morning, is an intelligent negro, born at Charleston, and employed for many years as a pilot in and about that harbor. He entered upon his duties on board the Planter some six weeks since, and, as he told me, adopted the idea of running the vessel to sea from a joke which one of his companions perpetrated. He immediately cautioned the crew against alluding to the matter in any way on board the boat, but asked them, if they wanted to talk it up in sober earnestness, to meet at his house, where they would devise and determine upon a plan to place themselves under the protection of the stars and stripes instead of the stars and bars. Various plans were proposed, but finally the whole arrangement of the escape was left to the discretion and sagacity of Robert, his companions promising to obey him and be ready at a moment's notice to accompany him. For three days he kept the provisions of the party secreted in the hold, awaiting an opportunity to slip away. At length, on Monday evening, the white officers of the vessel went on shore to spend the night, intending to start on the following morning for Fort Ripley, and to be absent from the city for some days. The families of the contrabands were notified, and came stealthily on board. At about three o'clock the fires were lit under the boilers, and the vessel steamed quietly away down the harbor. The tide was against her, and Fort Sumter was not reached till broad daylight. However, the boat passed directly under its walls, giving the usual signal—two long puffs and a jerk at the whistle-cord—as she passed the sentinel."

make a rapid advance upon Charleston. From the want, however, of the means of transport, the troops could only be moved in detachments, and thus instead of concentrating all on the island the 3d of June, as had been designed, a portion of them only were landed on that day, and the rest were delayed for a week.

In the mean time the enemy had been vigorously strengthening their position, having erected a formidable battery near Secessionville,* a small place on James Island. As the work commanded the camp of the Unionists, it was determined by General Benham, who, on the return of General Hunter to Port Royal, was left in command, to carry it by assault. The 11th of June was the day appointed for the movement, but the enemy on the evening before having assumed the offensive, which resulted in a severe skirmish, the attempt upon the fort was postponed. In the mean time, a battery was erected with the view of silencing the enemy's guns, but its fire proved ineffective. It was now determined to carry out the original plan of an assault. This was accordingly made by General Benham with four "slender brigades" at four o'clock on the morning of June 16th, when our troops were repulsed, after gallantly fighting for four hours, with a loss of 85 killed, 472 wounded, and 128 missing. This serious defeat led to an evacuation of James Island. The conduct of General Benham not having been approved of by General Hunter, he was removed from the command and ordered to report at Washington.

June 16.

A correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald*, writing June 17th, gives this detailed account of the defeat at James Island:

"The forces of General Stevens were formed in perfect quiet at his outer pickets at half-past two o'clock yesterday morning. The men fell promptly into line, having been at that hour first apprised of the movement they were to undertake. The morning was cool, and the entire sky was overcast with black, heavy clouds, so that in the darkness the task of maintaining silence and avoiding confusion was one of no little difficulty. We moved at half-past four, no accident occurring to interrupt our progress. Colonel Fenton's brigade, consisting of the Eighth Michigan Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Graves, the Seventh Connecticut, under Lieu-

* "Secessionville is a small village, the summer retreat of a few of the James Island planters. It is on the eastern side of the island, on a high plot of land, lying on a bold creek which winds through the marshes between James and Morris (or Folly) islands, and empties into the Stono River near its mouth. The creek runs immediately up to Secessionville. On the west of the village a short, shallow creek makes its way toward the waters of the Charleston Bay. Thus a tongue of land is formed between the two creeks. It is connected with the body of the island by a narrow neck of thirty yards within some four or five hundred yards south of Secessionville. Here Lamar's battery was located across the high land, and flanked on each side by marsh and the creeks. It was an earth-work, heavily constructed, having a plane face, with an obtuse angle on each side, and faced south, in the direction of Battery Island, Legaré's, Reese's, and Gunball's plantations on the Stono River, which is about two miles off. From this point the cleared high land stretches out to the Stono River, like the top of a funnel, to the distance of nearly a mile, interrupted only by the division lines between fields, hedges, and ditches. These fields are covered with weeds three feet high. The edges—of high land and marsh—are skirted with brushwood. In the background are patches of wood between the fields and the Stono."—*N. Y. Herald.*

tenant-Colonel Hawley, and the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, under Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, was in the advance. Colonel Leasure's brigade, comprising the Seventy-ninth Highlanders, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, under Major Leckey, and the Forty-sixth New York, Colonel Rosa, was in support, together with Rockwell's Connecticut battery, Captain Sears' company of Volunteer Engineers, and Captain Sergeant's company of Massachusetts Cavalry. A storming party, consisting of two companies of the Eighth Michigan, led by Lieutenant Lyons, aide-de-camp to General Stevens, with a negro guide, was in the extreme advance.

"Our route lay over an extensive cotton-field, or, rather, a succession of cotton-fields, separated from each other by hedges and ditches. The ground was broken by the ridges peculiar to the plantations in this vicinity, and the passage over the uneven, billowy surface, marching as we were upon the 'double quick,' was excessively fatiguing, yet we moved forward very rapidly. Although our line was formed within rifle-shot of the enemy's pickets, so quietly were the troops manœuvred that they were ignorant of it, and a rebel lieutenant and four privates were surprised and captured. Orders had been given to move forward by the flank, regiment following regiment. In no event were we to fire, but to press on and forward into line by regiments. When the enemy should open on us, we were to use the bayonet on him, and endeavor, if possible, to gain possession of the work.

"These orders were faithfully executed. Reaching the open field, about a mile from the rebel fortifications, Fenton's brigade was directed against the right, and Leasure's against the left of the work. These two brigades now pushed forward with great rapidity, the regiments keeping within supporting distance of each other, and the Michigan regiment keeping close to the storming party.

"When within about four hundred yards of the fort, a terrific fire of grape and canister was opened on our columns from the work, and from the woods, abattis, and rifle-pits on our right. Four heavy guns on the enemy's parapet sent their murderous charges through the files of our brave men; masked batteries, of whose existence we had no previous knowledge, poured their terrible missiles against us; sharpshooters, stationed all along the rebel line, selected our officers for targets, and many a gallant leader fell at their first volley, while the men dropped in the ranks by scores. Still the Eighth Michigan, the Seventy-ninth Highlanders, the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts (shouting their wild cry of 'Faugh-a-Ballagh' as they advanced), and portions of the Seventh Connecticut and Forty-sixth New York succeeded in reaching the very edge of the abattis, and a portion of the storming party of the Eighth Michigan, led by Captains Ely and Doyle, together with a party from the Highlanders, led in person by their brave Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, mounted the parapet of the work.

"Here lasted for a few moments the most exciting scene my pen has ever attempted to describe. When the Highlanders heard of the terrible slaughter of the Eighth Michigan, with whom they had for many months been brigaded, they could not be restrained, but advanced with the utmost promptness to the support of their old comrades. Colonel Morrison, whose horse was shot early in the action, led up his men on foot, shouting, 'Come on, Highlanders,' and, with Lieutenant Lyons, of General Stevens' staff, was the first to scale the walls and mount the parapet of the fort. Both were wounded—Colonel Morrison in the head, the bullet entering at the temple and coming out behind the right ear, and Lieutenant Lyons severely in the arm. Captain Doyle, of the storming party, was severely wounded, and Captains Guild, Pratt, and Church were killed. It was while endeavoring to scale these works that Captain Hitchcock, of the Seventh Connecticut, was shot down. Nevertheless, the men went up, walking unflinchingly into the jaws of death. But very few escaped, and those only with garments riddled with balls. Colonel Morrison, even after he was wounded, discharged the entire contents of his revolver at the force within, and had the satisfaction of killing one rebel as he was endeavoring to screen himself in one of the numerous 'rat-holes' with which the interior of the work abounded.

"There was but one narrow opening in the line of abattis. So difficult of passage was this, and so galling was the storm of fire to which our men were exposed, that the order was reluctantly given to fall back and re-form. The men were led with colors flying to the cover of a hedge about five hundred yards from the fort, where the remaining forces of the division were disposed. Two of Captain Rockwell's pieces, which had occupied a position in the rear, were now pushed forward to this hedge and opened upon the enemy, and his rifles—a little to the rear—maintained over the heads of our men a well-directed fire upon the enemy's left flank. Both these sections were gallantly and efficiently served, and produced a marked impression on the rebels.

"In the mean time, though the casualties had been frightful both in nature and in number, the troops of the division were in good order. Their confidence was still unshaken. Their courage was unbroken. Like veterans, they waited for the word to charge. But at this juncture Colonel Williams' command, which had occupied a position on the left, from which they threw a galling fire across the marsh into the position of the enemy, were compelled, in consequence of the falling of shells from our gun-boats, to fall back, and thus the main attention of the enemy was given to the front. Under these circumstances, it was deemed a useless waste of life further to protract the contest, and the order was given to withdraw the troops. This was done in the most admirable manner, Rockwell's battery taking the lead, and the various regiments following in line of battle, with flags displayed.

"The losses in General Stevens' division have been very heavy. Nearly 200 of the Eighth Michigan (which also suffered at Port Royal Ferry and Wilmington Island) were cut down, and of ten company commanders who went into the field, only two returned with their commands. The Seventy-ninth, whose gallantry at Bull Run we all remember, sustained a frightful list of casualties, as they accompanied the Michigan boys in the assault. The losses in the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts are also heavy, Captain Lawler being among the killed. Captain E. S. Hitchcock, of the Seventh Connecticut, was struck by a grape-shot in the head and another in the thigh, and instantly killed, and Lieutenant Horton, of the same regiment, was mortally wounded; Lieutenant Setrol, of the Forty-sixth, was also killed. Many other officers in the second division were mowed down by the hellish storm, whose fury and whose terrible effect, during the thickest of the fight, no feeble rhetoric of mine can aid me to portray.

"I have written, thus far, of the part which only two of the brigades played in the attack. The command of Brigadier-General Wright, comprising two brigades under Colonels Williams and Chatfield, also participated in the movement, and suffered severely. Williams' brigade, consisting of the Third New Hampshire Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson; a battalion of the Third Rhode Island Artillery (acting as infantry), the New York Volunteer Engineers, and the First Massachusetts Cavalry, marched from Gimball's plantation at early dawn, and were pushed forward toward the southerly face of the work, while General Stevens was directing his forces against the side which fronted toward the east. These regiments were separated from General Stevens' line of attack by an impassable swamp and stream. The Third New Hampshire was in the advance, followed by the Third Rhode Island, and supported by Captain Ransom's battery of regular artillery, and Day's battery—the two latter under the direction of Captain John Hamilton, chief of artillery.

"As the infantry above mentioned marched up with the evident purpose of turning the right of the fort, they found themselves cut off from the work by the marsh and exposed to the grape and canister on their right, together with a galling fire from the rebel riflemen concealed in the woods on their left. Under the shower of deadly missiles, both the Third New Hampshire and the Third Rhode Island were badly cut up; yet they continued the fight in good order until the sharpshooters had been silenced. This was effected by a spirited dash of the Rhode Island boys, who charged into the woods and used the bayonet so effectually that the foe retired, leaving three of their number in our hands.

* * * * * *

"The forces under Colonel Chatfield, consisting of the Sixth Connecticut, Forty-seventh New York, and Ninety-seventh and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania regiments, acted as the supporting col-

umn. Though they were for a time under a brisk fire, they were not directed against the work, and sustained no casualties. Hamilton's artillery did excellent service, and though exposed at one time to the fire of our own gun-boats, several of whose shells fell and exploded in their midst, neither men nor horses were injured. Rockwell's battery sustained no losses beyond four horses killed.

"During the action, General Benham was on the field and directed in person the movements of our forces. General Wright, who commanded the division on the left, and General Stevens, were also in positions of peril throughout the action, but were uninjured."

The following is the enemy's report, from the Charleston *Mercury* of June 17:

"About dawn yesterday morning our pickets in front of Lamar's battery were driven in, and almost simultaneously the enemy's column was seen some four hundred yards off, advancing with the bayonet, at double quick, to the assault. Our troops within the battery had been hard at work the evening before in throwing up another battery, and were almost worn out with fatigue. The first round that was fired at the Yankees was by Colonel T. G. Lamar himself. His men hastened with alacrity to their pieces, and were soon pouring grape and canister against the rapidly approaching enemy. At each discharge great gaps were visible in the Yankee ranks, but still they came on without firing a single volley. It was afterward ascertained that their muskets were empty, and that they had actually hoped to carry the battery with the bayonet alone. But the rapid and fearful cannonade and fusilade kept up against them was too severe for their nerves, and when close to our intrenchments they wavered, reeled, and finally fled in disorder.

"But a very short time elapsed before the enemy's column, reinforced by infantry and artillery, re-formed, and again came forward. This time they did not disdain the use of cartridges, but poured heavy volleys against our battery as they advanced. But again the terrible discharges of grape and canister mowed down the approaching line; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of their officers, again the Yankees broke and retreated pell-mell from the field. A third time the enemy formed his line and advanced in a last desperate effort to gain the battery, but again in vain. The assailants had reached the ditch, and some of them succeeded in mounting the embankment, but they paid for their rashness with their lives, and their comrades behind, taking warning from their fate, fled once more—this time not to be rallied to a direct charge. Our men all bear witness to the obstinate bravery of the enemy on this occasion.

"Between the charges which proved so disastrous to the Yankees, a galling fire was kept up against our battery from three gun-boats in the creek, about 1,700 yards east from our position. A cross fire was also steadily maintained against us from the land batteries which the enemy had erected—one on the edge of the wood in which the fight with the

Forty-seventh Georgia Regiment occurred last week, and another between that point and the position occupied by the gun-boats. Sherman's famous field battery also took part in the engagement, being divided into two sections, which played upon different parts of our works.

"It had now become evident to the enemy that the men who held our battery had no idea of yielding it, and the plan of attack from the front was given up.

"Flanking bodies were thrown forward to assault our works from the direction of the marshes which skirted our battery on either side. On the east side of the battery the movement was speedily frustrated, and the few bold men who ventured close enough to pour their fire into the post soon fell. No less than seventeen were killed outside the ditch, and one who had mounted the parapet fell on the top, pierced by eight balls.

"On the west side of the battery the attack was more serious. The famous New York Seventy-ninth Regiment took up a position so as to enfilade our guns, and kept up a constant and effective fire of musketry to drive off our gunners. They were met by the Charleston battalion and the Eutaw Regiment. For a time the fight was desperate, but the Louisiana battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel McHenry, came up at the critical moment in gallant style, and the repulse of the Highlanders was no longer doubtful. The enemy was, for the last time, forced back with great slaughter, and the day was won. * * *

"Our total loss, as nearly as we can ascertain, was about 40 killed and 100 wounded. The enemy's was far heavier. We buried yesterday 140 dead Yankees left upon the field. We say Yankees, using the designation as one common to the whole army of invaders, but in truth, the men who did the fighting against us yesterday were nearly all Europeans, and in the lineaments of the dead the Scottish type was markedly predominant. We captured 70 prisoners. As for the number of the enemy wounded, no correct estimate can be made. Glad to get rid of the unwelcome task of caring for maimed Vandals, our men suffered the enemy's ambulances to approach within point-blank range of their guns, and to carry off the wounded, who must have numbered 300 at least."

In North Carolina, since the victories of Burnside and the capture of Newbern, the military movements had been of little moment. An attack, however, of a skirmishing party of the enemy upon the Unionists at Washington was followed by a more serious engagement at Tranter's Creek.

An expedition, consisting of the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, Company I of the Third New York Cavalry, and a detachment of Howard's Maine Artillery, all under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Osborn, having set out, with a gun-boat to co-operate from Washington (N. C.), came up with a party of the enemy intrenched at Tranter's Creek. After a sharp struggle of half an hour the Unionists succeeded in driving off their antagonists and

June 5.

NEW ORLEANS, LA. AND ITS VICINITY.

J. Wells, del. Entered according to act of Congress A.D.1863 by Virtue & Co. in the clerks office of the District court of the United States for the southern district of N.Y. W. Ridgway, sc.

1. Mississippi River
2. Levee.
3. St. Charles Hotel.
4. Lake Pontchartrain
5. Fort Pike
6. Rigolets.
7. Lake Borgne
8. Mississippi Sound
9. Ship Island.
10. Chandeleur Islands
11. Gulf of Mexico.
12. Proctorsville
13. Fort Dupré.
14. Fort St. Philip
15. Fort Jackson.
16. Balize
17. South Pass.
18. South West Pass
19. Mc Donoughville
20. Algiers.

capturing the works, with a loss of only seven killed and nine wounded. After this success Osborn returned with his troops to Washington.

The chief interest in North Carolina, however, was in the political movement in behalf of the Union, encouraged by the presence of the United States troops and of the new military governor. The Honorable Edward Stanley, a native of North Carolina, and formerly a popular politician in that State, but latterly a resident of California, had been appointed to fill this office. Much was expected from his personal influence in evoking the Union sentiment, which, though repressed by the domination of the enemy, was presumed to exist in the State.

On Governor Stanley's arrival he was welcomed by many of his countrymen, and his ardent expressions of loyalty were listened to with complacency and even applause at various "Union" meetings held in the State. The Governor's fastidious regard for the institutions and laws of North Carolina served, no doubt, to confirm his popularity with its citizens, but excited the eager reformers of the North to opposition. The latter accordingly became clamorous for his removal, since they suspected that his policy was inimical to their schemes for the moral improvement and emancipation of the negroes. The United States Government answered the discontented with a repudiation of the policy attributed to Stanley, but retained him in office.

May 26.

After a long inactivity, preparations were finally made for a movement by land of the troops under General Burnside, to co-operate with the army before Richmond; but before these could be effectually carried out, a demand came for General Burnside, who accordingly rapidly embarked a portion of his troops, and hastened in force to McClellan's camp, where he arrived on the 8th of July.

July 8.

At New Orleans, General Butler enforced obedience to the authority of the United States with all the severity of martial law. Disaffected leaders who resisted the demands of loyalty were imprisoned, and the violence of the unruly was repressed by the halter, the guard-house, and the most rigid police regulations. The mayor of the city was deprived of his civic honors and office, and Pierre Soulé, the eloquent senator of Louisiana, was arrested and sent to a Northern prison. The audacious citizen who had ventured to haul down the United States flag was hung. Tradesmen were forced to open their shops, and to refuse Confederate money in exchange for their wares under threats of the heaviest penalties in case of disobedience, and clergymen were denied the privilege of closing their churches or praying for "the destruction of the Union or the success of the rebels." The banks were compelled to unearth their hidden treasure, and to credit their obligations in the legal currency of the United States. The sacred precincts of even the representatives of foreign nations were exposed to the scrutiny of military inspection. "An

officer wearing the uniform and arms
May 10. of a captain of the United States army, accompanied by a squad of six or eight men under his command," surrounded the office of the consul of the Netherlands and forbade the exit of any person or property from the premises—which were yielded up, after an emphatic protest by the indignant foreign official, to the possession of the armed band. Eight hundred thousand dollars in specie, claimed to be the property of the Messrs. Hope, of Amsterdam, were thus taken by Major-General Butler, while the sacred person of the consul himself was held in sacrilegious durance for several hours. This induced the rest of the foreign representatives at New Orleans to join in a formal protest against the act. General Butler, in answer, justified his conduct by declaring that "the flag of the Netherlands was made to cover and conceal property of an incorporated company of Louisiana, secreted under it from the operation of the laws of the United States." The ambassador of the Netherlands at Washington subsequently adding the weight of his protest against this bold act, the United States Government was induced to restrain the military authorities at New Orleans from any interference with property in possession of foreign officials.

The loyal ardor of General Butler was even more indiscreetly manifested by an order in regard to the women of New Orleans. "The officers and soldiers of the United States having been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves 'ladies of New Orleans,'" General Butler ordered: "When any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation." This order* has been liberally interpreted as meaning only that women so forgetful of the grace of their sex as to be guilty of such indecorum, should be amenable to the municipal law of New Orleans, by which prostitutes plying their vocation are liable to arrest. If this was the intent, as it is charitable to suppose, it was unfortunate for the fame of Butler that he had not been more precise in the use of words. This want of nicety in expression, if it were nothing else, has, by naturally suggesting a gross interpretation, induced a suspicion of his chivalry

* The following is the famous order of General Butler:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, *May* 15, 1862.

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves 'ladies of New Orleans,' in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter, when any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

"By command of MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER.

"GEO. G. STRONG, A. A. G."

General Beauregard shrewdly availed himself of the indiscreet words of Butler to envenom the hostility of his soldiers against the defenders of the Union. The following was his address to his army:

"Men of the South, shall our mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters be thus outraged by the ruffianly soldiers of the North, to whom is given the right to treat at their pleasure the ladies of the South as common harlots? Arouse, friends, and drive back from our soil these infamous invaders of our homes and disturbers of our family ties. (Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD, Gen. Com'd'g."

and evoked the denunciation of all gallant men.*

The President having sent the Honorable Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, as a commissioner to New Orleans, to assist in regulating the government of that city, General Butler was enabled to concentrate his energies upon the military operations on the Mississippi, where he was acting with his troops in conjunction with the fleet of gun-boats under Farragut and Davis.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Farragut and Porter on the Mississippi.—Capture of Baton Rouge, Natchez, etc.—Obstinate resistance of Vicksburg.—The city of Vicksburg and its position described.—The Enemy's force.—General Van Dorn in command.—Bombardment of Vicksburg.—No result.—The batteries passed by Farragut.—Junction of the rams under Ellet.—Resumption of the bombardment.—No result.—The Canal expedient.—The appearance of the Arkansas.—Her exploits.—The conflict with the Union gun-boats.—An attempt to board.—No foe to be found.—Escape of the Arkansas.—Attack upon the Arkansas at Vicksburg.—Failure.—Farragut moves below Vicksburg.—Another attack.—Result.

THE fleet under Commodore Farragut, soon after the capture of New Orleans, being joined by the mortar flotilla, in command of Captain Porter, proceeded up the Mississippi, with the view of reducing the various positions still held by the enemy on the river. Baton Rouge, Natchez, Grand Gulf,† and Warrenton yielded without serious opposition, but Vicksburg obstinately resisted. Here the enemy, availing themselves of the natural advantages of the place for defence, and concentrating all their efforts, were enabled to make a firm stand.

1862.

The city of Vicksburg is built upon the acclivities of the Walnut Hills, which rise to a height of 400 feet above the alluvial borders of the Mississippi. Batteries had been raised, tier above tier, at the edge of the river, on the high bluffs, and up the slopes to the summits of the hills. The enemy's troops, under General Lovell, which had retreated from New Orleans on the capture of that city, had finally, after temporarily occupying several intermediate positions, encamped near Vicksburg. This force was subsequently strengthened by detachments from Beauregard's army, after its retreat from Corinth, and the whole, numbering some 8,000 or 9,000 men, placed under the command of General Van Dorn.

A Union land force, under General Williams, had followed the fleet in trans-

* Earl Russell, in the House of Lords, and Lord Palmerston, in the Commons, only expressed the universal sentiment of England in their official denunciations of Butler's order as it was generally though it is believed erroneously interpreted.

† This city was shelled and burned by the Union fleet in retaliation for firing on the transports.

ports, to co-operate in attack and occupy the several positions as they were captured. At break of day, on the 28th of June, the gun and mortar boats opened a heavy fire upon Vicksburg, with the view of silencing its batteries, but met with such a vigorous response from the enemy, that the hope of immediately reducing their works was abandoned. During the engagement, Commodore Farragut boldly passed the batteries with the three steam sloops of war, Richmond, Hartford, and Iroquois, and four of the smaller gun-boats, and anchored in the Mississippi, above Vicksburg. Fifteen were killed and thirty wounded in the course of this daring manœuvre. The rest of the fleet fell back to their old anchorage below Vicksburg, and out of range of its formidable batteries.

June 28.

Meanwhile Captain Davis, with his fleet of gun-boats and mortar vessels, and the steam rams under Ellett, after the capture of Memphis and the operations on the White River, moved down the Mississippi, and formed a junction with Commodore Farragut, above Vicksburg. The bombardment of the enemy's batteries was now resumed by the fleets both above and below, and continued day after day, but without any decisive result.

July 2.

Commodore Farragut despairing of an early reduction of Vicksburg, devised an ingenious expedient for ridding the Mississippi of the obstruction this pertinacious city continued to present to the free command of the great river. His plan was to cut a canal across the peninsula formed in front of Vicksburg by a bend of the Mississippi. He hoped thus to divert the stream, and exclude Vicksburg from the benefits of its navigation. To effect this design, Commodore Farragut availed himself of the ready resource of the abounding negroes of that land of slavery, and set them to digging the canal through which it was hoped the great river might be induced to flow. The Father of Waters, however, continued its course ordained of ages, unmoved by the temporary expedients of ephemeral man, and with an indiscriminate beneficence persisted in continuing its course past the disloyal city. A writer in the New York *Herald* thus describes the peninsula, and hopefully anticipates the success of Commodore Farragut's enterprise:

"The general course of the Mississippi, as all well know, is nearly due south, but in detail it is exceedingly tortuous. When Vicksburg first appears in sight to the traveller down the river, its direction is almost due east, nearly three miles distant. At Vicksburg the stream 'doubles' completely upon itself, and for three miles additional its course is exactly reversed. A peninsula, or tongue of land, is thus formed, with a length of nearly three miles and a width of a little less than a mile. At the commencement or neck of this peninsula it is more contracted than at any other point. The people of Vicksburg have long feared that the river would make its way across this bend, and thus cut them off from the steamboat navigation of the Mississippi.

"If the canal is once formed across this neck, no earthly power can prevent the main course of the stream from following this direction. A bar would speedily form at the lower end of the cut-off, and the main channel would gradually fill up. Navigation will follow the shortest route, and Vicksburg will become one of the cities that were."

The formidable Union fleets in the mean time had remained comparatively inactive, until suddenly aroused to a sense of danger by the appearance of an antagonist of unexpected power. This was the Arkansas, a gun-boat which the enemy had been long constructing. Originally built at Memphis, she had been towed from that city, in an unfinished condition, two days before the evacuation of Fort Pillow, with a supply of iron plates and guns on board, to the Yazoo River, which empties into the Mississippi fifteen miles above Vicksburg. Here the Arkansas had been completed, and a vague rumor of her getting ready to move having reached the fleet, Commodore Farragut, though apparently unconscious of the formidable character of the vessel, and doubtful of her readiness, sent the gun-boats Carondelet and Tyler and the "ram" Queen of the West* to reconnoitre.

On those vessels reaching the mouth of the Yazoo, they came to anchor until the next morning, when they weighed and moved slowly up the river, the bluffs of which presenting so many favorable positions for batteries being passed with suspicious caution. No signs of hostility were apparent to the vigilant "look-outs." The cotton plantations sparsely scattered along the generally uncultivated banks of the river seemed mostly deserted. Some negroes, however, came stealthily down to the river and waved their hats and branches of trees in welcome of the gun-boats. The "whites," for the most part, slunk away on the approach of those they believed to be their enemies; but one more defiant than the rest, before he took to the cover of the canebrakes, shouted, exultingly, "The Arkansas is coming." Little heed was given to what was thought to be an empty boast, and the Union gun-boats proceeded on their course. After having sailed some fifteen miles up the river, the smoke of a steamboat was observed. The practiced eye of the pilot of the Carondelet saw at once that it came from wood, and not from bituminous coal. The natural inference was that the vessel belonged to the enemy, since they used the former, while the Union boats burned the latter. "No attention was paid to the circumstance, as it was known that there were some boats (Union) foraging up and down the Mississippi and Yazoo, and some of them might have exhausted their coal and taken in wood in its place."

July 14.

As the two gun-boats—the Tyler being in advance—were passing an abrupt bend in the river, a "strange-looking craft" was seen steaming slowly down. She proved to be the Arkansas.*

* This vessel took no part in the subsequent fight.

* The following description is from the N. Y. *Herald:*

"Her length over all is 180 feet, and she has 60 feet breadth of beam. Her model is a combination of the flat-

Lieutenant Gwynne, in command of the Tyler, at once beat to quarters and prepared for action. Captain Walker was equally prompt in getting the Carondelet ready. A shot was now fired across the bow of the strange steamer to bring her to or make her show her colors, which she answered by firing at the Tyler, but without effect. The enemy and the Tyler now continued to approach, and were soon in earnest action. The latter, which was a wooden boat, suffered severely, having eight killed and sixteen wounded, while the iron mail of her antagonist seemed proof against every blow. The Carondelet, trusting to her iron sides, hastened to take the place of her weaker consort, and the Tyler was ordered down the river to give the alarm to the fleet below. As the latter was turning, the Carondelet covered her departure by opening fire with her bow guns upon the enemy. Three rounds were thus fired, but with apparently little effect, as most of the shot glanced off from the iron mail of the Arkansas. The Carondelet now presented herself to her antagonist broadside on, and the two vessels began a vigorous interchange of volleys. "The sides and casemating of the Carondelet were repeatedly perforated, some of the shot going entirely through and passing out on the opposite side. Two men were killed by a shot, and three wounded by splinters." None of the shot, however, had struck below the water-line, and the Carondelet was still in fighting trim. The Arkansas seemed comparatively unharmed, though a portion of her iron mail had been ripped up.

The captain of the Carondelet now

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bottomed boats of the West and the keel-built steamers designed for navigation in the ocean or deep inland waters. Her bow is made sharp, like that of the Plymouth Rock or Commonwealth, and her stern tapers so as to permit the waters to close readily behind her. In the centre of her hull she is broad and of great capacity, and for nearly eighty feet along the middle she is almost flat bottomed, like an ordinary freight or passenger boat on the Western waters.

"The engines of the Arkansas are low pressure, and of 900 horse-power, all placed below the water-line and well protected from injury by hostile missiles. Her cylinders are said to be 24 inches diameter and seven-feet stroke. She is provided with two propellers, working in the stern and acting independently. These propellers are seven feet in diameter, and are each provided with four wings or flanges, and are capable of making ninety revolutions to the minute. In consequence of the independent action of the engines, one propeller can be revolved forward while the other is reversed, thus permitting the boat to be turned in little more than her own length. A network of iron rods, an inch in diameter and with meshes more than a foot across, extends around the upper part of the propellers to protect them from injury by floating logs and driftwood. * * * *

"The draught of the boat, with her machinery, armament, and plating, is upward of nine feet. Her sides are covered partly with railroad iron of the T pattern, dovetailed together and firmly bolted. Along her after-works, and around her stern, she is clad with two-inch plate iron, the whole extending thirteen inches below the water-line, and fastened in the best manner possible.

"Forward she carries an enormous beak of cast iron, which is so made that the entire bow of the boat fits into it like a wedge into a piece of timber. The supporting sides of this beak are perforated in numerous places to admit huge bolts that pass completely through the bow and are rivetted at either end. The entire beak weighs 18,000 pounds, and is of sufficient strength to penetrate the hull of any war vessel on the river. The sides of the boat are of eighteen inches solid timber, and, with their mail covering of railroad and plate iron, are proof against any but the heaviest projectiles.

"The Arkansas is commanded by Captain I. N. Brown, an old steamboatman resident in Memphis, and who has been a liberal contributor to the Confederate cause. Captain Brown has personally superintended her completion since she passed up the Yazoo, and it is thought that the story of her being aground was started by him purposely to throw our commanders off their guard. At the time this latter report reached us she was probably moored securely to the bank, with her carpenters and machinists busy in fitting her for action."

determined to board, and he accordingly laid her alongside of the Arkansas and grappled her. The boarders at once sprang to the deck of the Arkansas, but found no foe to contend with, as the crew had withdrawn into the impenetrable iron shell of their vessel. Thus secure themselves from attack, they were still able to act on the offensive, and firing rifles and pistols from every loophole, and pouring out from every pipe steam and boiling water, they drove back the boarders. In the mean time the two vessels were drifting down the stream in close and mortal embrace, still exchanging broadsides and deluging each other with the fatal steam. As thus bent only on mutual destruction, the two vessels, apparently unmindful of their individual safety, had grounded. The Arkansas being on the side toward the river, and accordingly in deeper water, was now enabled to shake off her antagonist. Having thus got rid of the Carondelet, she moved down the stream.

The Tyler had, in the mean while, reached the fleet below, and given the alarm half an hour before the appearance of the Arkansas herself. A hurried effort was made to receive her, and as she passed, broadside after broadside was fired; but though frequently struck, she was not disabled, while her own fire continued incessant, and not without effect. After each discharge of her guns, the iron guards of the port-holes fell, closing them tight, and her sides thus presented an impenetrable mail of metal. One of the port-holes having been momentarily opened, a ball from the gun-boat Boston entered, killing ten men and wounding several others. The Arkansas finally reached a safe cover under the guns of the batteries at Vicksburg, where she was welcomed with exulting shouts. Her exploit was remarkable not only for the audacity of its conception, but for the success of its execution. A single vessel had fought successfully in close action with two antagonists, and run the gauntlet of a score of others. The following are the official reports of the enemy:

OFFICIAL DISPATCHES.

"VICKSBURG, *July* 13, 1862.

"We engaged to-day, from six to eight A.M., with the enemy's fleet above Vicksburg, consisting of four or more iron-clad vessels and two heavy sloops of war, and four gun-boats, and seven or eight rams. We drove an iron-clad ashore, with colors down and disabled, blew up a ram, burned one vessel, and damaged several others. Our smoke-stack was so shot to pieces that we lost steam and could not use our vessel as a ram. We were otherwise cut up, as we engaged at close quarters. Loss, 10 killed and 15 wounded; others with slight wounds. ISAAC N. BROWN,

"Lieutenant Commanding."

"VICKSBURG, *July* 15, 1862.

"The sloop of war Arkansas, under cover of our batteries, ran gloriously through twelve or thirteen of the enemy's rams, gun-boats, and sloops of war. Our loss was 10 men killed and 15 wounded. Captain Brown, her commander and hero, was slightly wounded in the head. The smoke-stack of the

Arkansas was riddled. Otherwise she is not materially damaged, and can soon be repaired.

"Two of the enemy's boats struck their colors, and the boats ran ashore to keep from sinking. Many were killed and wounded. This is a glorious achievement for the navy, her heroic commander, officers, and men.

"One mortar boat, disabled and aground, is now burning up. All the enemy's transports and all the vessels of war of the lower fleet, except a sloop of war, have gotten up steam, and are off to escape from the Arkansas.

"EARL VAN DORN,
"Major-General Commanding."

This is the *quasi* official statement of our Government:

"WASHINGTON, *July* 22, 1862.

"The Navy Department to-day received the following:

"CAIRO, *July* 21, 1862.

"The rebel gun-boat Arkansas, armed with twelve rifled sixty-eight-pounders, came out of the Yazoo River on Tuesday. She encountered first the Tyler, Carondelet, and ram Lancaster.

"After a running fight of ten miles the Carondelet closed with the rebel, and both vessels grounded, fighting side by side. The rebel, being outside, succeeded in getting off. The Tyler steamed ahead, maintaining a running fight until the fleet was reached.

"Our transports being in range, preventing an effective fire from our gunboats, the Arkansas succeeded in getting to Vicksburg under shelter of the batteries there, to appearance much injured.

"The total Union loss is 27 killed and wounded, and among these are the engineer and pilot of the Tyler. Commodore Farragut's entire fleet is below Vicksburg. Slight damage was done to our vessels. GEO. D. WISE,

"Captain and Ass't Quartermaster."

In this naval engagement the Unionists had two boats, the Tyler and Benton, disabled, and lost 42 killed and 69 wounded.

Vessels.	Killed.	Wounded.	Shots rec'd.
Carondelet	5	20	20
Tyler	8	16	14
Lancaster	18	10	1
Benton	1	3	6
Sumter	—	—	13
Champion	—	—	3
Dickey	—	—	3
Great Western	—	—	1
Farragut's fleet	10	20	13
Total	42	69	73

Commodore Farragut, naturally vexed by the successful audacity of the Arkansas, made a resolute effort to destroy her. Taking a position with his gunboats at the close of the day within range of the batteries, he opened upon them with the view of drawing their fire. This being accomplished, the fleet suddenly moved off into the channel and passed rapidly down the river until within close range of the Arkansas, lying at Vicksburg under the enemy's guns. Each vessel as it arrived opposite to her, slackened its speed and fired a broadside. More than a hundred guns, some of them throwing ten-inch balls, were thus discharged, but only one steel-pointed shot took effect, passing through the side of the Arkansas, killing two men and wounding three. Her powers of resist-

June 18.

ance were put still further to the test by a bold dash of the "ram" Sumter, which ran into her and tried to "knock a hole into her, but seemingly," reports a correspondent, "might as well have run into a rock." The Arkansas, in the mean time, kept up a brisk fire from her broadsides in conjunction with a cannonade from the forts, by which, although their aim was hindered by the darkness, great damage was done to the Union fleet.

A correspondent of the Chicago *Times* gave this account of the affair:

"The fleet of Commodore Davis took up a station at about dark and opened on the batteries to draw their fire. They succeeded admirably, and at an unexpected moment the fleet of large vessels struck into the channel and descended the river. As each boat arrived opposite the Arkansas, she slackened and poured her broadside into her. She answered as well as she could in such a storm of missiles, and put one or two balls into our vessels, but her main occupation was to lie still and take it. Upward of a hundred guns, some of them throwing ten-inch shots, poured their deadly shots into her. Seven-inch steel-pointed shot were fired into her, and I learn, by rebel sources, that one of them went through her and killed two men. This, they maintain, is the only damage done her. The firing was tremendous. The Sumter also ran into her and tried to knock a hole in her hull, but seemingly might as well have run into a rock. The batteries, of course, joined in the engagement, and poured shot into our vessels as well as they could in the darkness. The roar of guns was like an earthquake, and nothing more terrific ever was conceived than this grand artillery duel by night. It lasted an hour, and then our vessels passed below and took up their old anchorage. In the morning, messengers were dispatched to see what damage the Arkansas had sustained. By going up the opposite bank of the river she could be plainly seen. She was careened, as if to stop holes in her hull, and her steam pumps were at work. A barge lay alongside for the use of the carpenters. It did not appear that she was in any danger of sinking. Two battles, such as no boat in the world ever went through before had failed to demolish her. I find, by the account of those who had good views of her, that this formidable craft has perpendicular sides of six or eight feet, in which the port-holes are pierced. This is different from the common understanding of her model, which has been that her perpendicular sides were low. She presents six or eight feet in height of solid iron, eight inches thick. She is 150 feet long."

The following is the enemy's official report, dated Vicksburg, July 16, 1862:

"Enemy opened all their guns and mortars last evening, and shelled the city and batteries until after dark, when eight of their vessels of war passed down under fire of batteries and Arkansas broadsides. What damage was done to them I have not learned, though they were repeatedly pierced by shot of heaviest calibre. One heavy shot passed

through the side of the Arkansas, killing two men and wounding three. This was all the damage done to us, with the exception of one house burned down in the city. Our troops here have a contempt for fleet and bombardment, and await coolly for troops to land. The Arkansas is the admiration of all, and her daring and heroic act has inspired all with the greatest enthusiasm. She is now being repaired, and will soon be ready for orders.

"EARL VAN DORN,
"Major-General."

After this desperate but unsuccessful attack, Commodore Farragut anchored with his fleet below Vicksburg, and renewed the bombardment of the batteries. Captain Davis remained above with his gun-boats and mortar vessels.

Captain Davis and Farragut com-
July 22. bining their efforts, now made another attempt upon the Arkansas. "The fleet from below," according to the Union telegraphic report, "was to engage the lower batteries, and the fleet above would engage the upper ones, while the gun-boats Essex and Queen were, in the mean time, to attack the Arkansas and tow her out. In consequence of a misunderstanding, only a few shells were fired from the mortars below, which it is known had no other effect than to divert the fire from the Essex. This vessel attempted to run into the Arkansas and jam her against the levee, but the latter swung round, and the Essex grazed her side. As she passed she gave the rebel craft three eleven-inch shot from her bow guns. Upon finding herself unsupported, she dropped down the river. The Queen coming to her aid, ran into the Arkansas, making her tremble from stem to stern. Recovering herself, the Queen ran on her again, but so forcibly as to strain her own works badly. Both then returned up the river.

"During the engagement the Essex received several shots, and had one man killed and two wounded. The Queen was shot through several times."

The following is the official report of Commander Porter, of the Essex:

"UNITED STATES GUN-BOAT ESSEX,
OFF BATON ROUGE, *August* 1, 1862.

"TO THE HON. GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY:

"SIR—Permit me to draw your attention to some facts relating to this ship running the blockade at Vicksburg. These facts will relate principally to the manner in which she is plated; but in their details it will be necessary to enter into a statement of all the circumstances connected with my running the blockade.

"At six A.M., on the morning of the 15th of July, we heard heavy firing up the Yazoo, and as I had the evening previous taken on board two deserters from Vicksburg who had stated that the Arkansas ram was ready to come down the river, they were sent on board the flag-ship Benton. I suspected this vessel was making her way down, and I prepared for action. I beg to state that on my passage from Cairo to Vicksburg my port boiler had burst one of the bottom sheets, and we were repairing it at the time herein mentioned. At eight

A.M. the United States gun-boat Tyler came out of the mouth of the Yazoo, closely followed by the rebel ram. The former passed down and took refuge behind this vessel, as well as some other rams belonging to Colonel Ellet's fleet. As the Arkansas passed I discharged at her seven guns, striking her three times. One of my shot penetrated her iron covering, and did considerable damage; but recovering, she passed on, the Benton getting under way and following her for some distance down the river. She, however, reached in safety the batteries at Vicksburg. It was now determined by the two commanders-in-chief to make some effort to destroy the ram, and hence, on the evening of the same day the Arkansas passed the upper fleet. Flag-officer Farragut, with the New Orleans fleet that had previously attacked the Vicksburg batteries, coming up stream, concluded to run the blockade, and while going down, try to sink her. The flag-ship Benton, with the gun-boats Louisville and Cincinnati, accompanied his fleet to within range of the forts, but the destruction of the ram was not accomplished.

"Flag-Officer Farragut and Davis, with myself, on the 21st, held a council of war on board the Benton, and I volunteered the services of the Essex to make an attempt to destroy the ram, and the following programme was agreed on: That on the morning of the 22d, precisely at four o'clock, the whole available fleet under command of Flag-Officer Davis, was to get under way, and when within range to bombard the upper batteries at Vicksburg; the lower fleet, under Flag-Officer Farragut, was to do the same, and attack the lower batteries; the Essex was to push on, strike the rebel ram, deliver her fire, and then fall behind the lower fleet.

"On the morning herein stated I got under way and passed the Benton. Flag-Officer Davis hailed me, and 'wished me success.' I now pushed on, according to my understanding of the programme, and precisely at half-past four A.M. the enemy's upper batteries opened upon me, but I heard no response at this time from our fleets. I arrived at the ram, delivered my fire, and struck her; the blow glanced and I went high on the river bank with the bows of the ship, where I lay ten minutes under three batteries of heavy guns. I backed off and loaded up. The enemy had drawn up three regiments of sharpshooters and several batteries of field-pieces, ranging from six-pounders to twenty-four pounders. I found it impossible under these circumstances to board the rebel boat, though such was my original intention. After I delivered my fire at but five feet from the ram, we distinctly heard the groans of her wounded and saw her crew jumping overboard. She did not fire a gun after we had delivered ours, and I have since seen in the rebel papers that they admit a loss of eighteen killed and thirty-five wounded. We knocked a very large hole in her side. At this time I began to look for aid from the fleets, but without result. I ordered the pilots to get the Essex's head up stream, with the intention of holding on until the lower

fleet came up, and then make another attack on the ram. At this time I was under the guns of three batteries, one of which was not over one hundred feet off. A heavy ten-inch shot from the nearest battery struck my forward casemate about five feet from the deck, but fortunately did not penetrate. A rifle seven-and-a-half-inch shot from the same battery struck the casemate about nine feet from the deck. It penetrated the iron, but did not get through, though so severe was the blow that it started a four-inch plank two inches and eighteen feet long on the inside. . A conical shell struck the casemate on the port side as we were rounding to, penetrated the three-quarter inch iron, and came half way through the wooden side. It exploded through, killing one man and slightly wounding three. A small piece grazed my head, and another piece tore the legs of the first master's pantaloons.

"I had now been under fire for upward of an hour, and thirty minutes of the time from eighty feet to one hundred yards of some of the enemy's heaviest batteries. I still looked for the arrival of the lower fleet, but saw nothing of it. I held on for a short time longer, but the enemy began to fire with such rapidity, and we were so close that the flashes of his guns through my gun-holes drove my men from the guns. At last, through the smoke I saw the lower fleet nearly three miles off, and still at anchor. Seeing no hope of relief or assistance, I now concluded to run the gauntlet of the enemy's lower forts and seek an anchorage below the fleet. I therefore reluctantly gave the order to 'put her head down stream,' but I was determined to be in no hurry. They had now plenty of time to prepare, and so rapid was their fire, that for half an an hour the hull of this ship was completely enveloped in the heavy jets of water thrown over her by the enemy's shot, shell, and rifle-balls. The Department may have some idea of the amount and number of shot, shell, plugs, and rifle missiles thrown at this vessel when they are now informed we were two hours and a half under fire of seventy heavy guns in battery, twenty field-pieces, and three heavy guns on board the ram. During that time this vessel was heavily struck forty-two times, and only penetrated twice. This fully proves the admirable character of the iron plating, as the thickest iron was but an inch, with one inch of India rubber beneath, according to my method now patented.

"I still hope an opportunity may yet be given me to make a second attempt to destroy the Arkansas, as I believe it can be done, and I am ready and can do it. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, W. D. PORTER,

"Commanding Division of the Fleet in the Western waters."

The enemy gave a version of the affair much more favorable to their side, declaring that "Commodore Davis and his gun-boats had attacked the batteries and the ram Arkansas, and had been repulsed with the loss of five boats sunk and disabled." Both fleets now raised the siege of Vicksburg (July 26).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Continued Advance of McClellan toward Richmond.—The Encampment on the Chickahominy.—Death among the Soldiers.—Undue Length of McClellan's Line.—A Daring Reconnoissance by the Enemy.—Stuart's Raid.—Designs of the Enemy.—Delusion of the Unionists.—A boasted Success.—The Grand Effort of the Enemy.—The Seven Days' Battle.—Imperfect Reports.—Silence of the Government.—Difficulty in discovering the Truth.—The general Result stated.—McClellan's Retreat.—Change of Base.—Masterpiece of Strategy?—At Harrison's Point.—Effect of the Retreat upon the Country.—Additional Call for Troops.—The Magnitude of the Rebellion finally Recognized.—Diversity of Opinion.—Action of the President.—General Halleck in chief command.—Opinions of Halleck.—Resignation of the French Princes.—Their Probable Motives.—Prince de Joinville's Narrative of the Peninsular Campaign.—Enemy's Account.

AFTER the bloody battles at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, General McClellan continued slowly to advance toward Richmond, but the position of his army soon became a source of anxiety, and, as it proved, of disaster. His left and main bodies, on their approach to the enemy's capital, had been forced to encamp in the midst of the Chickahominy swamps, where the soldiers, exposed to the malarious poison of that fatal region, and exhausted by incessant labor on the intrenchments, sickened and died by thousands. His right, in order to secure the communications with his base of operations on the Pamunky River, became inordinately lengthened.* The long and attenuated line of McClellan's army was thus rendered liable to be penetrated. The enterprising enemy were quick in discovering this weakness of their opponents and in availing themselves of the advantage it offered. Their first move was a daring reconnoissance by a large force of cavalry under General Stuart, which succeeded in penetrating the extreme right of McClellan's line, gaining its rear on the Pamunky, and retiring across the Chickahominy in safety to Richmond. By this audacious manœuvre the enemy took over a hundred prisoners, destroyed much valuable Union property, captured a large quantity of stores, and obtained what was destined to prove a still more serious loss to our cause, an accurate knowledge of the fatal weakness in the disposition of McClellan's army.

1862. June 13.

The Richmond *Enquirer* (June 16th) gave this graphic but boastful account of the affair:

"It being determined upon to penetrate the enemy's lines, and make a full and thorough reconnoissance of their position and strength, General J. E. B. Stuart ordered the First (Colonel Fitz-Hugh Lee), Ninth (Colonel F. H. Fitz-

* It was partly the object of McClellan, in thus lengthening his line, to facilitate a junction with McDowell, but this was prevented by the order of the Government withdrawing the latter from the Rappahannock to cover Washington.

Hugh Lee), and Fourth Virginia Cavalry (Lieutenant Gardiner commanding), to hold themselves in readiness. These regiments, however, did not turn out more than half their usual strength, the Fourth not having more than four companies in the field. The Jeff Davis Troop were also incorporated in the detail, as also two pieces of Stuart's Flying Artillery—a twelve-pound howitzer and a six-pound English rifle piece—the whole force not numbering more than 1,400 men, if even the total reached that number. On Thursday, at dawn, this column proceeded down the Charlottesville (Brook Church) turnpike, and had gone some distance without molestation, when the vanguard overtook some eight or ten adventurous negroes journeying rapidly toward the Union lines. These runaways were secured and sent to the rear, and as night was drawing near, pickets and videttes were placed, and the column camped for the night near Ashland, it being considered imprudent to progress farther.

"Toward morning signal rockets were fired, and answered by our troops at the lines far to the rear, and as soon as day broke, the cavalry column proceeded on its march. Carefully and cautiously journeying, the Union lines were penetrated, when horse pickets discovering our videttes advancing, the videttes hastily retired, according to orders, upon the main body concealed by woods and a turn in the road. Being near Hanover Court House, the Unionists were wont to proceed thither daily for forage, as a captured picket informed the men, but on this occasion had orders to proceed as far as possible toward Richmond. It being thought possible to capture the whole detachment, dispositions were accordingly made, but upon the appearance of the second squadron of the Ninth (composed of the Caroline Dragoons, Captain Swan, and Lee's Light Horse, Lieutenant Hungerford, commanding), under command of Captain Swan, the enemy's outposts hastily galloped back, and their main body took to flight, Captain Swan's squadron dashing after them down the road, making a splendid race for two miles at a killing pace. Having proceeded thus far, and near the Court House, the enemy seemed to have been reinforced, and made a stand on the road, and in the fields to the right and left of us.

"Thinking to flank them and capture the whole force, Colonel Lee, of the First, proceeded round their position to cut off retreat, but the movement occupying longer time than desired, the second squadron of the Ninth prepared to charge; and as they trotted toward the enemy, the Union leader could be plainly seen and heard haranguing his men, urging and begging them to act like men, and stand. His eloquence was of no avail, and as the second squadron of the Ninth increased their pace and came near to them with flashing sabres, the Union officer galloped toward them, thinking his men would follow. Not so, however, and as he wheeled his horse back again, our men were upon him; he fell, shot in the head; his men gave a feeble volley with

pistols, and scampered off the field in ludicrous style, leaving killed and wounded behind and many prisoners. Capturing outposts and pickets in great number, and overtaking wearied horsemen, it was ascertained that the force engaged were squadrons of the Fifth United States Regulars, who had seen hard service in Texas and the Indian countries, and had never refused a charge before. Their camps were reported to be adjacent, and proceeding thither, everything was destroyed and put to the torch.

"From persons captured in and about these camps it was ascertained that several regiments were waiting for our advance up the road, and as their pickets were stronger and more numerous than usual, it was deemed advisable to halt. The second squadron of the Ninth were dismounted and thrown to the front (on the skirts of a wood to the right and left of the road) to act as skirmishers and defend the artillery, which was moved up and took position commanding a bridge in the hollow—the enemy's force and ours being screened from view by rising ground at either end of the road —our force being farther from the front than theirs. Appearing in considerable force, the enemy advanced in admirable order, but suddenly facing to the right about, were quickly retreating, when the dismounted men poured a galling fire into them, emptying many saddles, and causing much confusion. Re-forming, they were a second time reinforced, and came on to the charge up the rise in gallant style. Burning to distinguish themselves, the third squadron of the Ninth, composed of the Essex Light Dragoons, Captain Latane, and Mercer County Cavalry, Lieutenant Walker commanding, under command of Captain Latane, had received orders to charge the advancing enemy, and putting spurs to their steeds, dashed gallantly along the road, the brave Latane fifteen paces in front. 'Cut and thrust!' shouted the Union commander. 'On to them, boys!' yelled Latane, and the meeting squadrons dashed in full shock together.

"The front of either column were unhorsed, and the fight became instantly hot and bloody. Captain Latane singled out the Union commander, and cut off the officer's hat close to his head, but the Unionist dodging the cut, rode past, and as he did so discharged two revolver loads at Latane, killing him instantly. The enemy rapidly giving way, our men shouted in triumph, and cut right and left, pistoling the foe with frightful accuracy and havoc; and seeing the Union officer in pursuit of Adjutant Robins (who was himself in pursuit of an enemy), a private dashed after him and clove his skull in twain. The battle between these rival squadrons, though of short duration, was fierce and sanguinary in the extreme. Scattered in all directions, and apparently paralyzed by the relentless fury of this corps, the enemy fled in every direction, leaving killed, wounded, horses, accoutrements, etc., in profusion upon the dusty roads. Successful pursuit being impossible, their camps were visited and destroyed; wag-

ons on the road were overtaken and burned, and the entire route from Ashland to Hanover Court House and Old Church to Station No. 22 (Tunstall's, we believe), on the York River Railroad, was naught else but a continuous scene of triumph and destruction. Commissary and quartermaster's stores were seized and burned at every turn; prisoners and horses were captured and sent to the rear, and by the time of their arrival at the railway station more than $1,000,000 of Union property must have been captured and destroyed, besides scores of prisoners riding in the rear.

"Upon approaching the railroad, cars were heard advancing, and the whistle sounded. By orders, every man was instantly dismounted and ranged beside the track. Again the whistle blew, and thinking the force to be a friendly one, perhaps, the steam was stopped, when the Caroline troops opening fire, disclosed the ruse, and, putting on steam again, on sped the train toward the Chickahominy, and despite heavy logs placed on the track, made good its escape; but the carriages being but uncovered freight trucks, and having soldiers on them, the slaughter that ensued was frightful. Many of the enemy jumped from the train, and were afterward captured or killed, to the number of twenty or more. The engineer was shot dead by Lieutenant Robinson.

"Still adding to their conquests at every step, a detachment was immediately sent to the White House, on the Pamunky, and discovering four large transports moored there, and some hundred wagons or more, with teams, etc., in a wagon-yard, all these were instantly seized, to the great fright and astonishment of the Unionists, and the torch immediately applied to all things combustible. One of the transports escaped, and floated down the river. The contents of the other three were chiefly valuable commissary and quartermaster's stores, vast quantities of army clothing, grain, fruit, and sutlers' stores. Tempting as they were, all things were laid in ashes, the horses led off, and prisoners secured. Thinking the enemy would send out an overwhelming force in pursuit, an unlikely route was selected, and the whole command proceeded in triumph to New Kent Court House. New Kent Court House being the rendezvous, the fourth squadron of the Ninth, under command of Captain Knight (consisting of the Lunenburg troops and Lancaster Cavalry), having burned the transports and wagons, joined the column on its route thither. 'Hab we got Richmond yet, boss?' asked a darkie in a cornfield, turning up his eyeballs in admiration of the 'Maryland Cavalry;' 'well, if we ain't we soon shall, for McClellan and our boys is sure to fotch him.'

"Others, however, proved keener-sighted than the negro; women ran to the wayside cottage door; a flash of triumph mantled their cheek, and as the eye kindles into a flame of admiration, the tears trickle down, and 'God bless you, boys!' is all they say. Now and then an old man is met, by the wayside, pensive and sad; but recognizing the horsemen, he stops, looks astonished, and

throws up his hat for the 'Maryland Cavalry,' just arrived. Others wave handkerchiefs—'tis useless to deceive them, for a woman instinctively discovers friends or foes at sight. 'Our cavalry here!' exclaim they in wonder, and with hands clasped upon their breast, mutely but eloquently gaze: 'Take care, men—take care. Heaven bless you, but take care—the enemy are everywhere.' Such is their gentle warning, given to the weary, dusty, chivalric column dashing through the country in the enemy's rear.

"The advance guard having reached New Kent, and found an extensive sutler's establishment, some dismount and enter. Every description of goods that taste or fancy might require are found in profusion here. Clothes of all descriptions and qualities, cutlery, sabres, pistols, shoes, preserves, conserves, boots, stationery, wines, liquors, tobacco, cigars, tea, coffee, sugar, tapioca, maccaroni, champagne, sherry, and burgundy in great quantity; in fine, all that man could buy for money was there discovered, while round the store lolled Union soldiers, and the sleek, fat proprietor eloquently holding forth upon McClellan's wonderful genius as a commander, and the speedy subjugation of the rebels. Our wearied horsemen called for refreshments, which the sutler handed to the 'Maryland Cavalry' (!) with great alacrity; but when pay was demanded, our troopers roared with laughter, told the proprietor who they were, and, much to his surprise and indignation, pronounced them all prisoners of war.

"As the other troops arrived, it was found that a magnificent Union ambulance had been captured on the route, containing many valuable medical stores. The vehicle and contents were burned when overtaken, the driver, good-looking, well-dressed doctor and companions being accommodated with a mule each, and were at the moment to be found among nearly 200 other nondescripts—sailors, soldiers, teamsters, negroes, sutlers, etc., etc., in the motley cavalcade at the rear. Helping themselves liberally to all the stores afforded, our troops remained at the sutler's until near midnight (Friday), when, being comparatively refreshed, and all present, the head of the column was turned toward the Chickahominy and home. Champagne, we are told, flowed freely while any remained—wines, liquors, and cigars were all consumed. Yankee products of every description were appropriated without much ado, and with light hearts all quietly journeyed by a lonely road, near the main body of the enemy, and a little before dawn of Sunday were on Chickahominy's bank, ready to cross.

"Being far below all the bridges, and where deep water flows, they knew not how or where to cross. Here was an awful situation for our gallant band. Directed to Blind Ford, it was fifteen feet deep! The enemy had blocked up all the main roads, and had thousands scouring the country, eager to entrap or slaughter them!—but two miles from McClellan's quarters, within sound of their horse pickets—and without means

to cross! Quietly taking precautions against all surprise, strict silence being enjoined upon the prisoners, first one horseman plunged into the flood and then another at different points—all too deep: no ford discoverable, no bridge! The horses, it was thought, would follow each other and swim the stream; it was tried, and the horses carried away by the current! Breaking into small parties, the cavalrymen swam and re-swam the river with their horses, and when some fifty or more had been landed, a strange but friendly voice whispered in the dark: 'The old bridge is a few yards higher up—it can be mended!' It was found, and mended it could be!

"Quietly working, tree after tree was felled; earth, and twigs, and branches were carried and piled up on the main props; old logs were rolled and pitched across the stream; yet after long and weary labor the bridge was built, and the long and silent procession of cavalry, artillery, prisoners, and spoils, safely and quietly passed this frail impromptu bridge, scarcely any sounds being heard but the rush of waters beneath. Once across and in the swamp, all was industry and expedition. Artillery axles sank low in the mire; ten Yankee horses were hitched to each piece, and as the first rays of morning crimsoned the tree-tops, the long line rapidly sought the shade of woods away from the Union lines. Yet our troops had not proceeded far when the advance were halted. 'Who comes there?' cried the Union horsemen in the swamp. 'Who goes there?' calls another, and quicker than thought our advance guard (by order) dash away into the open ground; the Unions fire half a dozen shots and rush in pursuit. Into the thicket some half dozen Union horsemen dart after our men, and quicker than lightning are surrounded and prisoners.

"Once more within our lines, all went merry as a marriage bell. Quickly the dirty, weary band sped along the Charles City road; dawn revealed them to our pickets, and they entered our camps faint and famished, but the noblest band of heroes that ever bestrode a charger or drew a battle-blade for their birthright as freemen.

"'What, then, was the general result?' asked we of a wearied, dusty trooper, watering his jaded and faithful animal by a roadside spring. 'The result,' answered he proudly, but much exhausted, 'the result? We have been in the saddle from Thursday morning until Saturday noon, never breaking rein or breaking fast; we have whipped the enemy wherever he dared to appear, never opposing more than equal forces. We have burned 200 wagons laden with valuable stores, sunk or fired three large transports, captured 300 horses and mules, lots of side-arms, etc., brought in 170 prisoners, four officers, and many negroes; killed and wounded scores of the enemy—pleased Stuart, and had one man killed—poor Captain Latane! This is the result, and $3,000,000 cannot cover the Union loss in goods alone. As to myself,' said he, mounting and trotting away, 'I wouldn't have missed the trip for $1,000—history cannot show

such another exploit as this of Stuart's!' He spoke the truth, honestly and roughly, as a true soldier serving under an incomparable leader. More words are not now needed; the whole country is astonished and applauds; McClellan is disgraced; Stuart and his troopers are now and forever in history."

The enemy evidently intended this cavalry reconnoissance, the success of which served to confirm them in their purpose, as the preliminary to a grand flanking movement on McClellan's right. Meanwhile they kept up a show of offence against the left and centre of the Union army, by which its general seems to have been deluded, for after a brisk engagement, sustained principally by Hooker's brigade, he exultingly reported: "The affair is over, and we have gained our point fully and with but little loss, notwithstanding the strong opposition." The advance of a mile nearer to Richmond thus secured by his left was the triumph in which McClellan rejoiced. The enemy, however, had fallen back purposely, as was afterward apparent, to avoid a general engagement. They had other designs in view than wasting their efforts where their opponents had concentrated their strength. They knew McClellan's weak point, for they had thoroughly tested it by their successful reconnoissance. The attenuated line on his right was their aim, and this they prepared to attack, while the Union general was congratulating himself upon his supposed advantage on the left.

June 25.

The enemy having mustered a large army at Richmond by means of an unyielding conscription law and the concentration of their hitherto scattered forces, were now ready to carry out their designs. General Jackson, after skilfully eluding the combined efforts of Fremont and Shields to arrest him in the valley of the Shenandoah, had formed a junction with the army at Richmond, and General Beauregard, too, was supposed to have brought a large detachment of his veteran force to increase its strength. Moving a great number of troops from Richmond to the neighborhood of Mechanicsville, whither McClellan's lengthened right extended, they opened fire with their cannon upon the Union intrenchments on Wednesday, June 25th; but waited until the next morning before beginning that series of bloody battles which were destined to continue for six days, with a severity perhaps without a parallel in the history of war.

June 25.

June 26.

The Government having withheld all official reports, the contemporary chronicler is deprived of the information necessary for a detailed and authentic narrative of that eventful week. Forced to content himself with the cautious revelations of a strictly guarded press and the silence of a politic government, the writer frankly confesses his difficulties, and leaves to future historians the completion of his imperfect work. The present chronicler justifies his apparent presumption in thus presenting himself with his confessed defects, by the conviction that the patience of the reader will be exhausted long before the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but

the truth shall be spoken. This, if it should ever be fearlessly revealed, will be uttered only in the hearing of a remote posterity. A contemporary record, however, is not to be despised even though it be stained with the errors of the day. Without it there is no alternative but an unendurable ignorance, while its perversions may be guarded against, through a knowledge of the evil spirit of the times; and, disclosing the hideousness of the present in all its self-conceited prejudice and falsehood, it may serve as a warning to the future.

A statement of the general result of the long conflict between the two armies before Richmond may be ventured upon with some hope of accuracy. For the details, the reader is referred to what appear to be the least unreliable reports of the day, which are submitted to him with the suggestion to reserve the fulness of his trust for the more complete revelations of future history.

The enemy having massed their forces, attacked McClellan's right at Mechanicsville on the 26th of June. This was the first of a series of attacks which were renewed day after day with unabated impetuosity and untiring perseverance until the night of the 1st of July. McClellan's army, in the mean time, fell back to the James River, giving battle each day and checking the rapidity of the enemy's pertinacious advance by the most gallant resistance. In the course of his retreat McClellan had skilfully changed his front—a manœuvre that he was supposed to have previously contemplated, and which has been called a masterpiece of strategy. By this movement in the face of the enemy, the former base of operations at White House, on the Pamunky River, was abandoned after destroying a large quantity of valuable stores, though much had been saved by the opportune presence of the fleet in the river. Both banks of the Chickahominy were yielded to the enemy, with many of its bridges so laboriously constructed, and the elaborate intrenchments which had been raised on the borders of its fatal marshes at the cost of so much life. The loss of men in the course of this prolonged struggle has not been accurately ascertained, but is variously estimated at from sixteen to twenty thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. The dead and dying were left upon the field, after each day's battle, to the mercy of the enemy. A large quantity of artillery was lost, of which there were no less than twenty-five field guns, and it was suspected not a few of the heavy siege cannon.

McClellan finally withdrew his whole army to Harrison's Point, on the James River, nearly twenty miles from Richmond and seventeen from the most advanced point he had previously reached. Here, under the protection of a fleet of gun-boats, he found a tenable position, though his communications, being confined by the river, were liable to interruption from the enemy in possession of its opposite bank.

The effect upon the country of McClellan's retreat was very discouraging. Though consolation was sought in the

"strategy" displayed by the young leader on that memorable occasion and in the less questioned bravery of his troops, the North was overwhelmed with dismay at the failure of an army in which was centred the hope of the Union. Those who had been hitherto most hopeful, now despaired of an early termination to the civil war. The public inquietude was manifested by the deterioration of the financial credit of the Government, whose currency and stocks suddenly depreciated relatively to gold from a discount of four to twenty per cent. At the same time a sure symptom of distrust was manifested by the hoarding of the precious metals on the part of the people. Gold and silver entirely disappeared from circulation, and the Government was compelled to come to the relief of perplexed trade by the issue of postage stamps as a medium of exchange.

The President recognizing the critical condition of the military power of the North, called for an addition of three hundred thousand men to the army. This being received as a further token of the "magnitude of the rebellion," and of the difficulty in suppressing it, strengthened the public conviction of the lengthened duration of the civil war, and the increasing obstacles to the assertion of the Federal authority.

The people thus disappointed in their sanguine anticipations became suspicious of the policy of their rulers. Perplexed, however, by the prevailing discord, there was great diversity of opinion. Some attributed the disaster of the army before Richmond to the want of enterprise on the part of General McClellan; some charged it upon the Secretary of War, who was accused of having thwarted the plans of the young commander; and others found its cause in the question of slavery, the partisans of emancipation contending that it had been too gingerly treated, while their opponents argued that it had been too rudely interfered with.

The President yielded so far to the public discontent as to indicate a change of measures by a change of men. General Halleck was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and the Secretary of War was once more re- **July 11.** manded to the purely clerical duties of the bureau, after his brief field operations, which had opened with triumph and closed in disaster.

The appointment of General Halleck was received by the advocates of the immediate emancipation of slavery as a triumph of their opponents, in whose favor it was suspected the President was now disposed to throw the weight of his authority. The modification of the confiscation bill, upon which Mr. Lincoln had insisted before giving it the sanction of his signature, and the merciful proclamation* with which he had amia-

* A PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In pursuance of the sixth section of the act of Congress, entitled, "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which act, and the joint resolution explanatory thereof, are herewith published, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to

bly preceded its promulgation, served to confirm the suspicion.

Among the effects of McClellan's disaster, the resignation of the two young princes of the Orleans family, and their departure for Europe, is not unworthy of mention. Whatever may have been their real motives in abandoning their positions in the Northern army at this critical moment, it was suspected that their confidence in the restoration of the Union had been shaken during the eventful six days' struggle with the enemy, in the dangers of which they had shared. Looking to the possibility of the future independence of the Southern Confederacy, they were anxious to avoid further demonstration of hostility to a nation *in futuro*, with which, in case of their own restoration to a throne, they might find it politic to ally themselves.

Since this chapter was written, the following brief report by McClellan has been given to the public :

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP AT BERKELEY, VA., *July* 15, 1862.

"GENERAL : Without waiting to receive the reports of all the subordinate commanders, I submit the following very brief narrative of the operations of this army since the 25th ultimo :

"On the 24th of June I received information that appeared entitled to some credit, that General Jackson was at Frederick's Hall with his entire force, consisting of his own division with those of Ewell and Whiting, and that his intention was to attack our right flank and rear, in order to cut off our communication with the White House, and to throw the right wing of the army into the Chickahominy. Fortunately I had a few days before provided against this contingency by ordering a number of transports to the James River loaded with commissary, quartermaster, and ordnance supplies. I therefore felt free to watch the enemy closely, wait events, and act according to circumstances, feeling sure that if cut off from the Pamunky, I could gain the James River for a rear base.

"I placed General Stoneman in command of the cavalry on the right, intrusting to his charge the picket duty toward Hanover Court House, to give the earliest possible information of an advance of the enemy from that direction.

"On the 25th General Heintzelman was directed to drive in the enemy's pickets from the woods in his front, in order to give us command of the cleared fields still farther in advance. This was gallantly and handsomely done under a stubborn resistance, the brunt of the fighting falling upon the division of Hooker. Just as the new line was

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cease participating in, aiding, countenancing, or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures as within and by said sixth section provided.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 25th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred [L. S.] and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President—WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The sixth section and the explanatory resolutions referred to have been previously given in the chapter on the proceedings of Congress.

gained, I was called from the field by intelligence which tended strongly to confirm the belief that Jackson was approaching.

"I immediately repaired to the camp of General Fitz-John Porter, commanding on the right of the Chickahominy, to obtain further information and arrange the movements for the morrow. On my arrival I found that there was a strong probability of Jackson's advancing, although not a certainty of it. I therefore determined to leave our heavy guns in battery and to retain McCall's division in its strong position on Beaver Dam Creek, near Mechanicsville, posting merely small outposts to watch the crossing near Meadow Bridge and Mechanicsville, and to give McCall immediate notice of the enemy's approach. Porter's remaining troops were to be held in reserve, ready to act according to circumstances. The centre and left of the army were also to be held in readiness to repulse any attack, or to move to the assistance of the right.

"It had long before been determined to hold the position of Beaver Dam Creek in the event of being attacked on that side, for the reasons that the position was intrinsically a very strong one, was less liable to be turned on either flank than any position in advance of it, and brought the army in a more concentrated and manageable condition. The natural strength of the position had been somewhat increased by slight rifle-pits and felling a little timber in front of it; with the exception of epaulments for artillery near Gaines' and Hogan's houses, to act against the enemy's batteries on the right bank of the Chickahominy, there were no other artificial defences on the left bank of that stream. Our position on the right bank of the river had been rendered reasonably secure against assault by felling timber and the construction of slight earth-works. Measures had already been taken to secure the passage of White Oak Swamp.

"The right wing, under the command of General Fitz-John Porter, consisted of the divisions of Morell, Sykes, and McCall, with a large part of the cavalry reserve. He had ten heavy guns in the battery on the banks of the Chickahominy.

"Such was the state of affairs on the morning of June 26. I was by that time satisfied that I had to deal with at least double my numbers, but so great was my confidence in the conduct of the officers and the bravery, discipline, and devotion of my men, that I felt contented calmly to await the bursting of the coming storm, ready to profit by any fault of the enemy, and sure that I could extricate the army from any difficulty in which it might become involved. No other course was open to me, for my information in regard to the movements of the enemy was too meagre to enable me to take a decided course.

"I had not long to wait. During the afternoon of the 26th the enemy crossed, in several columns, in the vicinity of Mechanicsville and Meadow Bridge, and attacked McCall in his position at Beaver Dam Creek. His repeated efforts were constantly repulsed, with but little

loss on our side, but with great slaughter on the part of the enemy. The contest ceased here about nine P.M., the enemy leaving us in full possession of every part of the field of battle. During the action, McCall was supported by the brigades of Martindale and Griffin, of the division of Morell. While this was going on, there were some sharp affairs of pickets on the centre and left, but nothing of a serious nature.

"By this time I had certain information that Jackson was rapidly advancing in strong force from Hanover Court House, and that his advance guard had probably participated in the battle of Beaver Dam Creek. This rendered that position untenable. I therefore determined still further to concentrate the army by withdrawing Porter's command to a position near Gaines' Mill, where he could rest both his flanks on the Chickahominy and cover the most important bridge over that stream. The wagons and heavy guns were withdrawn during the night, the troops falling back to their new position early in the morning. The enemy attacked Seymour's brigade, constituting the rear-guard of the division of McCall, but were sharply repulsed, and the movement was not further molested.

"In the course of the morning of the 27th I received intelligence that Longstreet's corps was at Mechanicsville, ready to move down on either bank of the Chickahominy according to circumstances. This intelligence, and many threatening movements of the enemy on various parts of the centre and left, placed a limit to the amount of the reinforcements available for the support of Porter. Under the circumstances, it was impossible to withdraw him to the right bank of the Chickahominy by daylight. The enemy were so close upon him that the attempt would have insured the loss of a large portion of his corps, and, in any event, the abandonment of his position at that time would have placed our right flank and rear at the mercy of the enemy. It was necessary to fight him where we stood, to hold our position at any cost until night, and in the mean time to perfect the arrangements for the change of base to the James River.

"In the report of General Porter will be found a detailed description of the field of battle at Gaines' Mill, and the circumstances of that eventful contest, creditable alike to the energy of the enemy and the desperate valor of the comparatively small band that repelled the attacks of his enormous masses. It will suffice, for the purposes of this report, to state that the action commenced about two P.M., and that during the afternoon I ordered up the division of Slocum to the support of Porter, and soon after the brigades of French and Meagher, of Richardson's division. The latter were not engaged. At a later period two brigades of Peck's division were ordered forward, but as their services were not needed, they did not cross the Chickahominy. The contest continued, with varying fortunes, until dark, when the enemy discontinued his attack. During the night the final withdrawal of the right wing across the Chickahominy

was completed without difficulty and without confusion, a portion of the regulars remaining on the left bank until the morning of the 28th. Early on that morning the bridges were burned, and the whole army was thus concentrated on the right bank of the Chickahominy.

"During the battle of Gaines' Mill the position of General Smith was warmly attacked, but the enemy was at once repulsed with loss.

"In the course of the night of the 27th, General Keyes was ordered to cross the White Oak Swamp with the fourth corps and take up a position to cover the passage of the trains. Measures were also taken to increase the number of bridges across the swamp. The trains were set in motion at an early hour, and continued passing across the swamp, night and day, without intermission, until all had crossed.

"On the 28th, Porter's corps was also moved across the White Oak Swamp, and on the morning of the 29th took up a position covering the roads leading from Richmond toward White Oak Swamp and Long Bridges. During the night of the 28th and 29th the divisions of Slocum and McCall were ordered across the White Oak Swamp, and were placed in position to cover the passage of the remaining divisions and trains. In the course of the same night the corps of Sumner and Heintzelman and the division of Smith were ordered to fall back from their original positions to an interior line resting upon Keyes' old intrenchments on the left, and so arranged as to cover Savage Station. They were ordered to hold this position until dark, then to fall back across the swamps and rejoin the rest of the army. The order was not fully carried out, nor was the exact position I designated occupied by the different divisions concerned. Nevertheless, the result was that two attacks of the enemy—one a very determined onset—were signally repulsed by Sumner's corps, assisted in the last by Smith's division of the sixth corps. These are the two actions known as the affair of Allen's Field and the battle of Savage Station. The third corps crossed the swamp before dark, having left its position before the hour assigned, and was not in action during that day (the 29th). The second corps and Smith's division safely crossed the swamp during the night with all their guns and material, and brought up the rear of the wagon-train.

"In the night of the 29th and 30th the fourth and fifth corps were ordered to move to James River, to rest on that river at or near Turkey Bend, and occupy a position perpendicular to the river—thus covering the Charles City road to Richmond, opening communication with the gun-boats, and covering the wagon-train, which was pushed as rapidly as possible upon Haxall's and Harrison's plantations. The remaining corps were moved in the same direction, and posted so as to cover the main road leading from Richmond, as well as the crossings by which the army had passed the White Oak Swamp, and to guard the passage of our large trains to the James River.

"By this time the last of the trains had reached Haxall's Landing, and during the night the troops fell back to the vicinity of that place, all arriving in safety and unmolested at an early hour of the morning. They were promptly placed in position to offer battle to the enemy should he again attack, the left of the line resting on the admirable position of Malvern Hill, with a brigade in the low ground to the left, watching the road to Richmond, the line then following a line of heights nearly parallel to the river, and bending back through the woods nearly to the James River on our right. On the left we relied upon the natural advantages of the position; on the right, where the natural strength was less, some little cutting of timber was done and the roads blocked. Although our force was small for so extensive a position, it was necessary to hold it at any cost.

"When the troops were in position in the afternoon, before the enemy attacked, they were posted about as follows: Porter, with two divisions (Morell's and Sykes'), and the mass of the reserve artillery on Malvern Hill (the left of the position); next Couch, with one brigade of Peck's division in reserve; next Sedgwick; then McCall, Hooker, Kearny, Slocum, Naglee's brigade, Richardson, and Smith. During the actions which ensued at Turkey Bridge, on the Newmarket road (Glendale), and at White Oak Swamp, changes were made in this disposition.

"The result of the various actions of the 30th, during which our whole line was attacked, was, that the enemy was everywhere repulsed, except in his attack upon McCall's division, which, hard pressed by greatly superior numbers, and having lost three of its general officers, broke and lost most of its artillery. The gallant conduct of their comrades near by, especially Hooker's division, retrieved that mishap and rendered it impossible for the enemy to reap any advantage from it.

"When the battle commenced in the afternoon, I saw that in the faces and bearing of the men which satisfied me that we were sure of victory. The attack was made upon our left and left centre, and the brunt of it was borne by Porter's corps (including Hunt's reserve artillery and Tyler's heavy guns) and Couch's division, reinforced by the brigades of Sickles and Meagher. It was desperate, brave, and determined; but so destructive was the fire of our numerous artillery, so heroic the conduct of our infantry, and so admirable the dispositions of Porter, that no troops could have carried the position. Late in the evening the enemy fell back, thoroughly beaten, with dreadful slaughter. So completely was he crushed and so great were his losses, that he has not since ventured to attack us.

"Previous to the battle of Malvern, I had fully consulted with Commodore Rodgers, and with him made a hasty reconnoissance of the positions of the river. The difficulty of passing our transports above City Point was so great that I determined to fall back upon the position now occupied by the army—a position, too, much less extensive than

than that of Malvern, and therefore permitting me to give the men the rest they so much needed. Accordingly the army fell back during the night of the 1st and 2d of July, reaching the place at an early hour on the 2d. On the 3d the troops were placed essentially in their present position.

"To the calm judgment of history and the future I leave the task of pronouncing upon this movement, confident that its verdict will be that no such difficult movement was ever more successfully executed; that no army ever fought more repeatedly, heroically, and successfully against such great odds; that no men of any race ever displayed greater discipline, endurance, patience, and cheerfulness under such hardships.

"My mind cannot coin expressions of thanks and admiration warm enough or intense enough to do justice to my feelings toward the army I am so proud to command. To my countrymen I confidently commit them, convinced they will ever honor every brave man who served during those seven historic days with the Army of the Potomac. Upon whatever field it may hereafter be called upon to act, I ask that it may never lose its name, but may ever be known as the Army of the Potomac—a name which it never has nor ever will disgrace.

"It is not my purpose now to make mention of distinguished services. The names of those who deserve well of their country would swell this report to too great dimensions. I will simply call attention to the invaluable services rendered by the artillery, and say that its performances have fully justified my anticipations, and prove it to be our policy to cherish and increase that arm of the service.

"I cannot conclude this report without expressing my thanks to the gallant and accomplished Commodore John Rodgers for the valuable assistance rendered the army in various ways, but especially by the fire of a portion of the flotilla upon the flank of the enemy attacking Malvern Hill on the 30th of June and 1st of July. Their fire was excellent, and produced very beneficial results.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General Commanding.

"Brigadier-General L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General."

From a narrative of the Peninsular Campaign, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by Prince de Joinville, who with his nephews, the Duc d'Orleans and Duc de Chartres, were by the side of General McClellan during that eventful period, we extract the following description of the retreat of the Union army from the Chickahominy:

"Deserters, runaway negroes, the Washington telegraph itself, generally so sober in its information, agreed in this news: numerous reinforcements had reached Richmond from the South. Beauregard, set free by the cessation of operations in the Southwest, had brought the aid of his capacity and of his prestige to the pro-slavery cause.

Jackson, leaving the eighty thousand defenders of Washington breathless from their idle chase after him, had completed the concentration of the whole Southern army. His advance was already at Hanover Court House, and his corps, increased by Whiting's division, was estimated at 30,000 men.

"The Federal attack upon Richmond could no longer be prosecuted; the presence of Jackson at Hanover Court House proved that he intended to attack our communications, and cut them off by seizing the York River Railway. The manœuvre was soon put beyond a doubt. A considerable body of troops were seen to leave Richmond, move in the direction of Jackson, and execute that movement to turn us, the danger of which we have already pointed out. Profiting by his numerical superiority, the enemy offered us battle on both sides of the river at once.

"All the chances of success were in his favor. Let the reader recall the figure V which we used in describing the battle of Fair Oaks. The situation of the army of McClellan is the same now as then, excepting that the two arms of the V are now connected by bridges, which offer all necessary facilities for transporting the different corps rapidly from one bank of the river to the other. The Federal main body, composed of eight divisions, but considerably reduced in effective strength, is upon the left arm of the V—the right bank, that is, of the Chickahominy, and occupies the intrenchments which front Richmond. Before these troops lies the mass of the hostile army, also established in intrenched positions. Upon the right arm of the V, or the left bank of the river, lies the Federal General Fitz-John Porter, with two divisions and the regular reserves. Against him it was that Jackson marched with the corps of General Hill from Richmond, the whole being under the orders of General Lee, who had succeeded Johnston in the chief command.

"Substantially, then, the Army of the Potomac was about to engage two armies, each equal in force to itself. Battles have sometimes been won in such circumstances; but no one should count upon such favors from fortune. The best thing to be done was to get well out of so critical a position. There was nothing for it but to retreat promptly; unluckily, however, this was not to be so easily done. We had a choice of dangers. To concentrate on the left bank of the Chickahominy was to abandon the enterprise against Richmond, and to risk a disastrous retreat upon White House and Yorktown, with the whole Confederate army at our heels, in a country where we could hope for no support. There was no good to be expected from this plan. To pass to the right bank was to risk the enemy's cutting our communication with White House, and seizing the railway which brought us supplies. We should then be forced to open new communications with the James River, and to move in that direction *en masse* and with no delay. This would be a retreat, but for a few miles only, and if we were but

moderately reinforced, with the support of the navy, we could reassume the offensive either against Richmond itself, on the right bank of the river, or against Petersburg on the left, the fall of that place involving the fall of Richmond. McClellan chose the latter course.

"As we have said, he had long considered it as one of the necessities of his position, and had even taken some contingent steps in regard to it, the wisdom of which was about to be signally vindicated; but there was a vast difference between making this retreat at one's own time and by a free, spontaneous movement, and making it hastily under the threatening pressure of two hostile armies. But there was no time for deliberation. The resolution taken upon the spur of the moment must be carried at once into effect. The distance from Fair Oaks to the James River was not great; it was but seventeen miles. But the stores and baggage had to be moved upon a single road, exposed in front to the enemy, who by several different roads radiating from Richmond could throw a considerable force upon several different points at once. The speed with which the operation was conducted upset his calculations; he probably supposed that we should feel the ground before we acted, and perhaps he thought that McClellan would find it hard to make up his mind to abandon his lines at White House. He acted at least as if this were his view. The troops of General Hill, mentioned above, having crossed the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge on the 26th, the day after the affair with Hooker, in the afternoon attacked the troops of McCall, the advance of Porter on the left bank. This first conflict was very severe, but McCall occupied a strong position at Beaver Dam, a sort of ravine, bordered with beautiful catalpa trees, then in flower. There he had made abattis and thrown up some earth so that he could not be overcome, notwithstanding the length of the fight, which lasted until nightfall. This vigorous resistance compelled the enemy to throw numerous reinforcements across the river. This was exactly what General McClellan desired. His intention was to fix the attention of the enemy here while on the right bank he prepared his movement to the James River.

"The night was spent in passing over to this bank the whole of Porter's baggage and uniting it with the long train which was to set out in the evening of the 27th. The orders were given to reembark or destroy all the stores and magazines along the railway to White House and to evacuate that dépôt. General Stoneman with a flying column was charged with the execution of this order. He was to delay the advance of the enemy and fall back when he had done his duty upon Yorktown. All this was carried out exactly. At daybreak, on the 27th, McCall was ordered to fall back on the bridges thrown across the Chickahominy at Gaines' Mill. Followed up rapidly, as he had expected to be, he joined the other troops of Porter's corps, the division of Morell, and the regulars commanded by Gen-

eral Sykes. Porter's duty, demanding as much self-possession as vigor, was to make a stand in front of the bridges, in order to give the army time to accomplish its general movement. He was not to cross the bridges till the evening of the 27th, and was then to destroy them. His three divisions were attacked early in the day. The corps of Jackson coming in from Hanover Court House, took part in the action. The battle was fought in a rolling country, extensively wooded, but upon certain points open and cleared. The struggle was arduous; the Federals resisted with success; there was even one moment at which Porter might have thought himself victorious. This would have been a great advantage, and might have profoundly modified the position. Accordingly, during this moment of hope, McClellan hastened to throw upon the left bank all the troops not absolutely necessary to guard the lines in front of Richmond. One division, that of Slocum, crossed the bridges just before four o'clock and joined in the action. Another, Richardson's, reached the scene only at nightfall. At the moment when these reinforcements began to take part in the fight, the scene had an imposing character of grandeur. We had 35,000 men engaged, a part in the woods, a part in the plain, forming a line a mile and a half long. A numerous artillery thundered upon every side. In the valley of the Chickahominy the Lancers, with floating pennons, were stationed as a reserve; and this whole animated picture of the battle was set in a picturesque landscape illuminated by the last rays of the sun going down below a horizon as crimson as blood. Suddenly the volleys became extraordinarily intense. The reserves, which had till now been lying in the hollows, were called up, excited by shouts, and sent into the woods. The musketry becomes more and more violent, and rolls away toward the left. There can no longer be any doubt that the enemy is making a final effort on that side. The reserves are all engaged; there is not a disposable man left. It is six o'clock; the daylight is fast disappearing; if the Federal army can hold out an hour longer the battle is won, for at every other point the enemy has been repulsed, and Jackson, Hill, Lee, and Longstreet will have urged up their troops in vain. For lack of infantry, Porter has put three batteries *en potence* on his extreme left to support the troops who are there sustaining an unequal fight; but these troops have been in action since early morning, they are worn out, and have fired almost their last cartridge. Now in their turn come up the Confederate reserves; they deploy regularly into line against the Federal left, which gives way, breaks, and disbands. The disorder grows from point to point till it reaches the centre of the Federal lines. There is no panic; the men do not fly in the wild excitement of fear; but deaf to every appeal, they march off deliberately, their muskets at the shoulder, like people who have had enough of it, and do not believe success possible. In vain do the generals, the officers of the staff, among

them the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres, ride sword in hand into the *mêlée* to stop their disorderly movement; the battle of Gaines' Mill is lost. There is nothing left but to prevent a rout. The enemy, indeed, was advancing on the plain still in the same order, his infantry deployed by regiments *en echelon*, and every minute he was closing in upon the confused masses of the Federals. Such is the fury of the cannonade and the musketry fire that the cloud of dust struck up from the ground floats steadily over the battle. Then came the order for the cavalry to charge. I happened at this moment to be near its position. I saw the troopers draw their swords with the sudden and electrical impulse of determination and devotion. As I got into motion, I asked a young officer the name of his regiment. 'The Fifth Cavalry,' he replied, brandishing his sabre with a soldier's pride in his regiment. Unfortunate young man! I saw the same regiment next day. From the charge of that evening but two officers had returned. He was not one of them.

"The charge failed against the dense battalions of the enemy, and the broken regiments galloping through the artillery and the flying infantry in the clouds of dust only increased the general disorder. The artillery horses were killed, and I saw, with painful emotion, the men working with the courage of desperation at guns which could no longer be removed. They dropped one after another. Two alone were left at last, and they continued to load and fire almost at point-blank range upon the enemy. Then the deepening twilight hid the scene. All these guns were lost.

"General Butterfield had made in vain the most superhuman efforts to save them. On foot, his horse having been shot, struck in the hat by the fragment of a shell, and his sabre hit by a ball, surrounded by his aids-de-camp, of whom several fell at his side, he had tried to rally the infantry around a flag planted in the ground. He succeeded, but only for a few moments; the precipitate rush of the retreat carried everything away. Happily night came on, and after losing a mile of ground, the army reached the fresh brigades of Meagher and French, which were formed in good order. These brigades sent up a vigorous hurrah, and a few guns put anew in battery, opened their fire upon the enemy, who paused at last, checked by this final and determined resistance.

"As the last guns of this action were firing, we heard a lively rattle of musketry from the direction of Fair Oaks, on the other side of the river. It came from the Confederates who were attacking the Federal works; but the attack, which was probably only a demonstration, was vigorously repelled.

"The day had been severe. In the main battle, that of Gaines' Mill, 35,000 Federals had failed to defeat 60,000 Confederates, but they had held them in check. More could not have been expected.

"During the night the Federals repassed the bridges of the Chickahominy in perfect order, destroying them after

they had passed. They left behind them the field of battle, covered with the dead (for in this fierce conflict the losses on both sides had been considerable), a great number of wounded, too much hurt to be moved, a dozen guns, and a few prisoners, among whom was General Reynolds. The corps of Keyes, which was in the advance, fell back also toward James River, and took possession of the passage of a large morass—White Oak Swamp—which is traversed by the road the army was to take as well as by the principal lines of communication which could be used by the enemy to harass us.

"The 28th and 29th of June were passed in sending forward the train of 5,000 wagons, the siege-train, a herd of 2,500 oxen, and other *impedimenta*. The reader may judge what a piece of work this was when he reflects that it was all to be done upon a single narrow road. The first day we were undisturbed; the enemy was exhausted by the previous day's battle; he seemed, moreover, astonished and disconcerted, and did not yet fully understand the object of the Federal army. The whole of this army was united on the right bank of the Chickahominy, while the bulk of the Confederate forces was upon the left bank, and the bridges were down. To re-cross the river they would be forced either to build new bridges or to fall back some distance to the Mechanicsville bridge, either of which operations involved time. Now, time was everything, and the retreating army put it to good use. It was not until the 29th that the Southern columns came in sight of the Federal rear-guard. A battle at once began at Savage's Station, but the enemy were vigorously received, and after repulsing them the Federals waited till nightfall before recommencing their march. The last duty done by the telegraph the day before was to inform us that the Confederates were at White House. This post they had found abandoned. The morning of the 29th had been spent by us in destroying all that could not be carried away from the camps. A complete railway-train, locomotive, tender, and cars, which had been left on the rails, was sent headlong over the broken bridge into the river. Nothing was left for the foe but three siege guns which could not be moved, and which we neglected to bury. These were the only siege guns he captured, although the story has been everywhere repeated that he took the whole Federal siege-train with the exception of these three pieces. The whole of that train reached the James River in safety. Our great misfortune was, that we were obliged to abandon so many of our wounded, not only at Gaines' Mill and at Savage's Station, but along the whole line of retreat. This misfortune was inevitable. It was only by ceaseless fighting that we could protect our retreat, and the transportation of so many wounded men would have required conveniences which we did not possess.

"General McClellan, during the 29th, and the morning of the 30th, remained near White Oak Swamp, urging on the passage of his enormous train. The

heat was overwhelming. His aids-de-camp, continually galloping from the rear-guard to the advance, were utterly exhausted. So long as this huge train divided the different parts of the army we were in great danger. But nothing disturbed the serene self-possession of the General-in-chief. On the 29th he had stopped, I remember, to rest in the verandah of a house by the way-side, when the mistress of the establishment came to complain to him that the soldiers were eating her cherries. The General rose with a smile, went himself and put a stop to the pillage. But he could not prevent the shells, next day, from setting fire to the house of his pretty hostess.

"At daybreak, on the 30th, McClellan had the satisfaction of seeing all his troops and all his trains in safety beyond White Oak Swamp, which was to oppose a new barrier to the pursuit of the enemy. By the evening of the next day Generals Keyes and Porter were in communication with the gun-boats on the James. The trains had moved upon roads pointed out by the negro guides. The heads of the columns had met nothing but small detachments of cavalry, which they had easily dispersed. The hardest part of the work was done, but it was to be supposed that the enemy would renew his attempt to disturb the retreat. So the General took his measures in time. He left Sumner and Franklin to act as the rear-guard, and hold the passage of White Oak Swamp; and put Heintzelman with the divisions of Hooker, Kearny, Sedgwick, and McCall across the point of intersection of the roads leading from Richmond. They protected the trains and reached the James River at the exact moment when the transports with provisions and ammunition, and the hospital ships which with wise foresight General McClellan had ordered up ten days before, arrived from Fortress Monroe.

"Meanwhile, as had been expected, Franklin and Sumner were sharply attacked in White Oak Swamp, to which point the Confederate generals had brought a large force of artillery. They fell back step by step. Later in the day Heintzelman also was attacked at the Cross Roads. Here the battle raged with varying fortune in the woods. The division of McCall suffered severely, and its commander was made prisoner. Hooker and Kearny coming to his help, repulsed the assailants with great loss. They did not, however, succeed in rescuing the General, who was sent into Richmond to join Reynolds.

"Finally, a third attack upon the corps of Fitz-John Porter failed under the combined fire of the field artillery and the gun-boats. Porter occupied a superb position at a place called Turkey Bend, by some persons, and Malvern Hill by others. This position was a lofty, open plateau, sloping gradually down to the roads by which the enemy must debouch. The left rested upon the river, where lay the Galena, the Monitor, and the flotilla of gun-boats. The Federal army then had nothing to fear from this side, and had consequently only one flank to protect, which was

easily done with abattis and field-works. On the evening of the 30th all the divisions of the army were united in this strong position, and here the whole train, including the siege-guns, was sheltered. The army was in communication with its transports and supplies. The grand and daring movement by which it had escaped a serious danger and changed an untenable base of operations for one more safe and sure, had been accomplished; but after so prolonged an effort the troops were worn out; for five days they had been incessantly marching and fighting. The heat had added to their excessive fatigue; many men had been sun-struck; others quitted the ranks and fell into the lamentable procession of sick and wounded which followed the army as well as it could, and as fast as it could. Doubtless during this difficult retreat there had been moments of confusion and disorder, but of what army in like circumstances would not this have been true? This one fact remained unassailable: that attacked in the midst of a difficult and hostile country by twice its own force, the Army of the Potomac had succeeded in gaining a position in which it was out of danger, and from which, had it been properly reinforced, had the concentration of the enemy's forces been met by a like concentration, it might have rapidly resumed the offensive.

"As we have said, each of its necessarily scattered sections had for five days been called upon to resist the most furious assaults, and had done so with vigor. Now that it was assembled as a whole upon Malvern Hill, the Confederate army also reunited, might possibly make a last effort against it. So in the night of the 30th of June and 1st of July McClellan prepared himself for this eventuality. He put his whole artillery —at least 300 guns—into battery along the heights, arranging them in such wise that their fire should not interfere with the defence by the infantry of the sort of glacis up which the enemy would be obliged to advance to the attack. The artillery fire was to be reinforced by the 100-pounders of the gun-boats which were ordered to flank the position. It was mere madness to rush upon such obstacles, but the Confederates attempted it. Again and again during the day of the 1st of July they undertook to carry Malvern Hill, but without the slightest chance of success. The whole day for them was an idle butchery. Their loss was very heavy—that of the Federals insignificant. This success was due to two causes: first, to the fortunate foresight of the General, who, in spite of numerous obstacles to the passage of artillery, had spared nothing to bring his on; and next, to the firmness of his troops. Men do not make such a campaign and go through such experience as they had endured without coming out more or less formed to war. If their primitive organization had been better, the survivors of this rude campaign, I do not fear to assert, might be regarded as the equals of the best soldiers in the world.

"On the evening after this battle the exhausted enemy retired to appear no

BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL, VA.

Drawn by C. Parsons.

1. The Monitor.

2. The Galena.

U.S. GUN BOATS ON JAMES RIVER COVERING THE RETREAT.

Virtue, Yorston & Co. Publishers. N.Y.

more, and the Army of the Potomac took up a position and sought rest at Harrison's Bar, a spot chosen by the engineers and the navy as the most favorable for defence and for receiving supplies. The campaign against Richmond had ended, without success, but not without honor. The honor of the army was safe; but those who had looked to success for the early restoration of the Union under an impulse of generous and patriotic conciliation saw their hopes unhappily fade away."*

As a pendant to Prince de Joinville's account, we give the following narrative, published at Charleston, of the seven days' battles in front of Richmond:

"The bloody checks which the Northern army in its memorable advance up the peninsula toward Richmond had received at Williamsburg and the Seven Pines, had taught General McClellan the desperate character of the conflict, without which he could never hope to reach in triumph the capital of the Confederate States. Accordingly, after the battle of the Seven Pines, his movements became exceedingly circumspect, and, although his army already largely outnumbered that which defended the beleaguered city, he kept calling constantly and urgently on his government for reinforcements. On Wednesday, June 25, his army numbered, judging from the most authentic statements that are available, between 125,000 and 130,000 effective men. With this immense force he was cautiously pushing forward his lines. Meantime it had been determined by the Confederate generals to attack the invading host in their fortified positions, and to co-operate in this grand movement, the bulk of the Confederate forces which had recently cleared the invaders out of the valley of Virginia, were rapidly and quietly drawn toward Richmond, in order to flank McClellan's left.

"A brief reference to the situation of the opposing armies will here be necessary to enable the reader to understand the subsequent movements. If you will take a map of Virginia and run your eye along the line of the Virginia Central Railroad until it crosses the Chickahominy at the point designated as the Meadow Bridge, you will be in the vicinity of the position occupied by the extreme right of the Federal army.

"Tracing from this position a semicircular line, which crosses the Chickahominy in the neighborhood of the 'New Bridge,' and then the York River Railroad farther on, you arrive at a point southeast of Richmond, but a comparatively short distance from the James River, where rests the Federal left. To be a little more explicit, spread your fingers so that their tips will form as near as possible the arc of a circle. Imagine Richmond as situated upon your wrist, the outer edge of the thumb as the Central Railroad, the inner edge as the Mechanicsville turnpike; the first finger as the Nine Mile or New Bridge road; the second as the Williamsburg

* "The Army of the Potomac," etc. Translated from the French by William Henry Hurlburt. New York: Anson F. Randolph. 1862.

turnpike, running nearly parallel with the York River Railroad; the third as the Charles City turnpike (which runs to the southward of the White Oak Swamp), and the fourth as the Darbytown road. Commanding these several avenues were the forces of McClellan. Our own troops, with the exception of Jackson's corps, occupied a similar but smaller circle immediately around Richmond, the heaviest body being on the centre, south of the York River Railroad.

"Such was the situation previous to Thursday, the 26th of June. The plan of battle then developed was, first, to make a vigorous flank movement upon the enemy's extreme right, which was within a mile or two of the Central Railroad; secondly, as soon as they fell back to the next road below, our divisions there posted were to advance across the Chickahominy, change front, and, in cooperation with Jackson, who was to make a detour and attack the Federals in flank and rear, drive them still farther on; and finally, when they had reached a certain point, now known as the 'Triangle,' embraced between the Charles City, New Market, and Quaker roads, all of which intersect, these several approaches were to be possessed by our forces—the enemy to be thus hemmed in and compelled either to starve, capitulate, or fight his way out with tremendous odds and topographical advantage against him. How so excellent a plan eventually happened to fail, at least partially, in the execution, will presently appear.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26TH—OPENING OF THE BATTLE—CAPTURE OF MECHANICSVILLE.

"Thursday came, clear but warm. At three o'clock A.M. Major-General Jackson took up his line of march from Ashland, and, proceeding down the country between the Chickahominy and Pamunky rivers, he uncovered the front of Brigadier-General Branch by driving off the enemy collected on the north bank of the Chickahominy River at the point where it is crossed by the Brook turnpike. General Branch, who was on the south bank, then crossed the river and wheeled to the right down its northern bank. Proceeding in that direction, General Branch, in like manner, uncovered, at Meadow Bridge, the front of Major-General A. P. Hill, who immediately crossed. The three columns now proceeded *en echelon*—General Jackson in advance and on the extreme left, Brigadier-General Branch (who was now merged with General A. P. Hill) in the centre, and General A. P. Hill on the right, immediately on the river. Jackson bearing away from the Chickahominy in this part of the march, so as to gain ground toward the Pamunky, marched to the left of Mechanicsville, while General Hill, keeping well to the Chickahominy, approached that village and engaged the enemy there. The road was narrow, uneven, muddy, and impeded, and when the bridge had been crossed it became necessary to ascend a hill bare of trees or other obstructions, and all the while our gallant fellows were exposed to a plunging fire of shell, grape, round shot, and canister

from the Federal batteries; yet the column moved on steadily in files of fours, closing up their ranks as soon as they were thinned, with a sublime resolution, toward the fortifications, which, after an obstinate fight of two hours and a half, were carried in magnificent style, and their guns immediately turned upon the retreating foe. This occurred about half-past seven or eight o'clock in the evening. The cannonade was, perhaps, the most furious and incessant that had been kept up for so long a time since the beginning of the war. But the Mechanicsville intrenchments were ours, and, though with heavy loss, at a smaller sacrifice of life than had been feared, and the enemy had fallen back to Ellyson's Mills, farther down the Chickahominy.

THE ASSAULT UPON ELLYSON'S MILLS.

"The enemy's battery of sixteen guns was to the right or southeast of the Mechanicsville road, about a mile and a half distant, and was situated on a rise of ground in the vicinity of Ellyson's Mills, defended by epaulments supported by rifle-pits. Beaver Creek, about twelve feet wide and waist deep, ran along the front and left flank of the enemy's position, which from the creek to the battery was covered with abattis. The position was most formidable.

"The assault was made by Pender's brigade, of A. P. Hill's division, on the right, and by Ripley's brigade on the right in front. General Pender's brigade had been thrown out in advance, in observation of the enemy's left, when Ripley's brigade coming up, General D. H. Hill ordered two of General Ripley's regiments—the Forty-fourth Georgia and the First North Carolina—to operate on the right with General Pender, while the Forty-eighth Georgia and the Third North Carolina remained in front. General Lee then ordered the battery to be charged. The attempt was made. They all moved forward to the attack together. They cleared the rifle-pits and gained the creek, within one hundred yards of the battery; but there was still the creek and abattis to cross. The fire of shot, shell, canister, and musketry from the enemy's works was, meanwhile, murderous. The Forty-fourth Georgia and First North Carolina were heavily cut up and thrown into confusion, owing to the heavy loss of officers. General Pender's brigade was likewise repulsed from the batteries with severe loss.

"At this juncture, while the troops were holding this position, Rhett's battery, of D. H. Hill's division, succeeded in crossing the broken bridge over the Chickahominy, and took position on the high ground immediately in front of the enemy's batteries, and opened a steady and destructive fire over the heads of our troops with telling effect upon the enemy's infantry, almost silencing their fire, and drawing the fire of their batteries from our own infantry upon themselves, with the loss of a number of men and horses. Reinforced then by Bondurant's battery and one of General A. P. Hill's batteries, a steady fire was continued, while our infantry held their position about three hundred yards from the

enemy's batteries until half-past nine o'clock P.M., when the enemy's batteries ceased firing. At ten o'clock P.M. our batteries ceased also. During the night, at about twelve o'clock, the enemy abandoned some of his batteries, burning platforms, etc.

FRIDAY, JUNE 27TH—STORMING OF GAINES' MILL.

"Early the next morning, being Friday, Generals Gregg and Pryor, of Longstreet's corps, turned the enemy's left flank, and carried, with the bayonet, what guns still remained in their batteries in the front and to the right of Mechanicsville. It is said by many that this was the proper movement to have been made on the evening previous; and blame is attached to the order given to storm the work in front with an entirely inadequate force.

"In the mean time the grand advance *en echelon* again began. The troops of D. H. Hill having all joined their proper divisions, marched by the Mechanicsville road to join Jackson. The junction was made at Bethesda church, Jackson coming from Ashland. Both corps then proceeded to Cold Harbor, Hill in front. Longstreet proceeded by the right of Ellyson's Mills toward Dr. Gaines' farm, and A. P. Hill in the same direction, on the left of Longstreet. At this point they came upon the enemy, strongly posted on high and advantageous ground. The line of battle formed was as follows: Longstreet on the right, resting on the Chickahominy Swamp; A. P. Hill on his left; then Whiting, then Ewell, then Jackson (the two latter under Jackson's command), then D. H. Hill on the left of the line—the line extending in the form of a crescent beyond New Cold Harbor, south toward Baker's Mills.

"At about twelve o'clock M. the batteries of D. H. Hill, consisting of Hardaway's, Carter's, Bondurant's, Rhett's, Peyton's, and Clarke's, under command of Majors Pierson and Jones, were massed on our left. Captain Bondurant advanced to the front and took position near the powerful batteries of the enemy's artillery. But it was soon found impossible to hold the position. He was overpowered and silenced. Other batteries soon, however, came forward successively to the front of the infantry, about three hundred yards in rear of Bondurant's position. Hardaway took up the fight with rifled guns. The object was to draw the attention of the enemy from Longstreet's contemplated attack. At about half-past three o'clock P.M. Longstreet commenced firing and driving the enemy down the Chickahominy. Hardaway then ceased firing, and the other divisions on the left of Longstreet successively took up the fight—the enemy retreating and being driven back toward D. H. Hill's artillery on our left. The artillery being reinforced by a section of a Baltimore battery from Jackson's division, with English Blakely guns, opened a furious fire on the enemy at about five o'clock P.M. At four o'clock P.M. of Friday the enemy had reached Gaines' Mill, one of their strongest defences; and here, an hour later, the bloodiest contest occurred that had been witnessed during the campaign. Men

who had gone through Manassas, Williamsburg, and the Seven Pines, declared that they had never seen war before. Without a knowledge of the ground, but little conception can be formed of the difficulties of the attack upon Gaines' Mill. Emerging from the woods, the road leads to the left and then to the right round Gaines' house, when the whole country, for the area of some two miles, is an open, unbroken succession of undulating hills. Standing at the north door of Gaines' house, the whole country to the right, for the distance of one mile, is a gradual slope toward a creek through which the main road runs up an open hill and then winds to the right. In front, to the left, are orchards and gullies running gradually to a deep creek. Directly in front, for the distance of a mile, the ground is almost table-land, suddenly dipping to the deep creek mentioned above, being faced by a timber-covered hill fronting all the table-land. Beyond this timber-covered hill the country is again open, and a perfect plateau, a farm-house and out-houses occupying the centre, the main road mentioned winding to the right and through all the Federal camps. To the left and rear of the second mentioned farm a road comes in upon the flat lands joining the main road mentioned. Thus, to recapitulate, except the deep creek and timber-covered hill beyond it, the whole country, as seen from the north door of Gaines' house, is unbroken, open, undulating, and table-land, the right forming a descent to the wood-covered creek, the left being dips and gullies, with dense timber still farther to the left; the front being, for the most part, table-land. But to the southeast of Gaines' house is a large tract of timber commanding all advances upon the main road, and in this McClennan and McCall had posted a strong body of skirmishers, with artillery, to annoy our flank and rear when advancing on their camps on the high grounds, if we did so by the main road or over the table-lands to the north.

"It now being three o'clock P.M., and the head of our column in view of the Federal camps, General Pryor was sent forward with his brigade to drive away the heavy mass of skirmishers posted to our rear to annoy the advance. This being accomplished with great success and with little loss to us, Pryor returned and awaited orders. Meanwhile the Federals, from their camps and several positions on the high grounds, swept the whole face of the country with their numerous artillery, which would have annihilated our entire force if not screened in the dips of the land and in gullies to our left. Advancing cautiously but rapidly in the skirt of the woods and in the dips to the left, Wilcox and Pryor deployed their men into line of battle—Featherstone being in the rear—and, suddenly appearing on the plateau facing the timber-covered hill, rushed down into the wide gully, crossed it, clambered over all the felled timber, stormed the timber breast-works beyond it, and began the ascent of the hill under a terrific fire of sharpshooters and an incessant discharge of grape and

canister from pieces posted on the brow of the hill and from batteries in their camps to the right on the high flat lands. Such a position was never stormed before. In descending into the deep creek the infantry and artillery fire that assailed the three brigades was most terrific. Twenty-six pieces were thundering at them, and a perfect hailstorm of lead fell thick and fast around them. One of Wilcox's regiments wavered. Down the General rushed furiously, sword in hand, and threatened to behead the first man that hesitated. Pryor steadily advanced, but slowly, and by the time that the three brigades had stormed the position, passed up the hill through timber and over felled trees, Featherstone was far in advance. Quickly the Federals withdrew their pieces and took up a fresh position to assail the three brigades advancing in perfect line of battle from the woods and upon the plateau. Officers had no horses—all were shot; brigadiers marched on foot, sword in hand; regiments were commanded by captains, and companies by sergeants, yet onward they rushed with yells, and colors flying; and backward, still backward fell the Federals, their men tumbling every moment in scores. But what a sight met the eyes of these three gallant brigades! In front stood Federal camps, stretching to the northeast for miles! Drawn up in line of battle were more than three full divisions, commanded by McCall, Porter, Sedgwick, etc. Banners darkened the air, artillery vomited forth incessant volleys of grape, canister, and shell; heavy masses were moving on our left through the woods to flank us. Yet onward came Wilcox to the right, Pryor to the left, and Featherstone in the centre—one grand, matchless line of battle—almost consumed by exploits of the day—yet onward they advanced to the heart of the Federal position, and when the enemy had fairly succeeded in almost flanking us on the left, great commotion is heard in the woods; volleys upon volleys are heard in rapid succession, which are recognized and cheered by our men. 'It is Jackson,' they shout, 'on their right and rear.' Yes, two or three brigades of Jackson's army have flanked the enemy and are getting in the rear. Now the fighting was bitter and terrific. Worked up to madness, Wilcox, Featherstone, and Pryor dash forward at a run and drive the enemy with irresistible fury; to our left emerge Hood's Texas brigade, Whiting's comes after, and Pender follows. The line is now complete, and 'forward' rings from one end of the line to the other, and the Yankees, over thirty thousand strong, begin to retreat. Wheeling their artillery from the front, the Federals turn part of it to break our left and save their retreat. The very earth shakes at the roar. Not one piece of ours has yet opened; all has been done with the bullet and bayonet, and onward press our troops through camps upon camps, capturing guns, stores, arms, clothing, etc. Yet, like blood-hounds on the trail, the six brigades sweep everything before them, presenting an unbroken, solid front, and, closing in upon the enemy, keep up an incessant succession of vol-

leys upon their confused masses, and unerringly slaughtering them by hundreds and thousands. There was but one 'charge,' and from the moment the word of command was given—'Fix bayonets, forward'—our advance was never stopped, despite the awful reception which met it. It is true that one or two regiments became confused in passing over the deep ditch, abattis, and timber earth-works; it is also true that several slipped from the ranks and ran to the rear, but in many cases these were wounded men; but the total number of 'stragglers' would not amount to more than one hundred. This is strictly true, and redounds to our immortal honor. These facts are true of Wilcox's, Pryor's, and Featherstone's brigades, who formed our right, and we are positive that, from the composition of Whiting's, Hood's, and Pender's brigades, who flanked the enemy and formed our left, they never could be made to falter, for Whiting had the Eleventh, Sixteenth, and Second Mississippi, and two other regiments. Hood had four Texan and one Georgia regiment, and the material of Pender's command was equally as good as any, and greatly distinguished itself. These were the troops mostly engaged and that suffered most.

"But 'where is Jackson?' ask all. He has travelled fast and is heading the retreating foe, and as night closes in all is anxiety for intelligence from him. It is now about seven o'clock P.M, and just as the rout of the enemy is complete—just as the last volleys are sounding in the enemy's rear, the distant and rapid discharges of cannon tell that Jackson has fallen upon the retreating column. Far in the night his troops hang upon the enemy, and for miles upon miles are dead, wounded, prisoners, wagons, cannon, etc., scattered in inextricable confusion upon the road. Thus, for four hours, did our inferior force, unaided by a single piece of artillery, withstand over thirty thousand of the enemy, assisted by twenty-six pieces of artillery.

"Every arm of the service was well represented in the Federal line; cavalry were there in force, and when our men emerged from the woods, attempted to charge, but the three brigades on the right, and Jackson's three brigades on the left, closed up ranks and poured such deadly volleys upon the horsemen, that they left the ground in confusion and entirely for their infantry to decide the day. McCall's, Porter's, and Sedgwick's 'crack' divisions melted away before our advance. McClellan, prisoners say, repeatedly was present and directed movements, but when the three brigades to our left emerged from the woods, such confusion and havoc ensued that he gave orders to retreat, and escaped as best he could.

"The cannon and arms captured in this battle were numerous and of very superior workmanship. The twenty-six pieces were most beautiful, while immense piles of guns could be seen on every hand, many scarcely having the manufacturer's 'finish' even tarnished. The enemy seemed quite willing to throw them away on the slightest pretext, dozens being found with loads still

undischarged. The number of small-arms captured was not less than 15,000, of every calibre and every make. The field-pieces taken were principally Napoleon, Parrott, and Blakely (English) guns. We have captured large quantities of army-wagons, tents, equipments, shoes. Clothing in abundance was scattered about, and immense piles of new uniforms were found untouched. Every conceivable article of clothing was found in these divisional camps, and came quite *apropos* to our needy soldiery, scores of whom took a cool bath and changed old for new under-clothing, many articles being of costly material and quite unique. The amount of ammunition found was considerable, and proved of very superior quality and manufacture.

"While the storming of Gaines' Mill was in progress, a fight was raging at Cold Harbor, a short distance to the left, in which the enemy were driven off with great carnage. At this point the gay, dashing, intrepid General Wheat was instantly killed by a ball through the brain. At a later hour of the evening one of his compatriots, General Hood, of the Texas brigade, dashed into a Yankee camp and took a thousand prisoners. And so, with Jackson and Stuart pushing on toward the Pamunky to intercept the enemy's retreat to West Point, should it be attempted, and McClellan with his main body retiring toward the south (or Richmond) side of the Chickahominy before our victorious troops, the second day was brought to an end.

"All of the enemy's dead and wounded on the previous day, with few exceptions, had been carried off, and they managed also to remove a large number from the field in this running engagement. As they retired they set fire to immense quantities of their commissary stores, spiked their cannon, destroyed tents, and smashed up all of the wagons they could not run off. Our forces captured several fine batteries, consisting in all of eighteen rifled cannon and several minor pieces of artillery.

"The enemy now occupied a singular position: one portion of his army on the south side of the Chickahominy fronted Richmond, and was confronted by General Magruder; the other portion on the north side had turned their backs on Richmond and fronted destruction in the persons of Lee, Longstreet, Jackson, and the Hills. These last were, therefore, advancing on Richmond with their backs to the city. Such was the position into which General Lee had forced McClellan. The position which the latter here occupied, however, was one of great strength.

"The right wing of McClellan's army, after crossing the Chickahominy on Friday night at the Grapevine Bridge, fell back down the Williamsburg road toward the White Oak Swamp.

THE FIGHTING ON SATURDAY, JUNE 28TH.

"On Saturday, the 28th, General Toombs attacked a portion of the enemy's left wing strongly posted on a hill, and supported with artillery, near the Chickahominy, about a mile east of the New Bridge road. About eleven o'clock Moody's battery opened fire upon the

intrenchments of the enemy located just beyond Garnett's farm. The battery fired some ten or fifteen minutes, and meanwhile a body of infantry, consisting of the Seventh and Eighth Georgia regiments, moved up under cover of the fire from the field-pieces. The Eighth, in advance, charged across a ravine and up a hill, beyond which the Yankee intrenchments lay. They gained the first line of works and took possession of them ; but it is proper to state this was unoccupied at the time by the Yankees. The fire of the enemy was murderous, and as soon as our men reached the brow of the hill, rapid volleys of grape, canister, and musketry were poured into them. It was found almost impossible to proceed farther, but the attempt would have been made had not orders been received to fall back, which was done in good order, still under fire. The loss in the Seventh is reported at seventy odd men killed, wounded, and missing ; in the Eighth, upward of eighty. Colonel Lamar, of the Eighth, was severely wounded in the groin, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Towers was captured, but uninjured. The Yankees were completely hidden behind their works, and did not suffer much apparently. We took a captain, lieutenant, and some five or six privates—the Yankee picket force at the point. Subsequently a flag of truce was granted to take away our dead and wounded.

"The remainder of Saturday was marked by the capture of the Fourth New Jersey (Stockton's) Regiment, the Eleventh Pennsylvania, and the famous 'Bucktails,' with their regimental standards, by rapid and wholly successful movements of Jackson and Stuart, between the Chickahominy and the Pamunky, taking the York River Railroad, and cutting off McClellan's communication with his transports and destroying his line of telegraph. At this time high hopes were entertained of speedily destroying or capturing the entire army of McClellan. The York River Railroad, it will be remembered, runs in an easterly direction, intersecting the Chickahominy about ten miles from the city. South of the railroad is the Williamsburg road, connecting with the Nine Mile road at Seven Pines. The former road connects with the New Bridge road, which turns off and crosses the Chickahominy. From Seven Pines, where the Nine Mile road joins the upper one, the road is known as the old Williamsburg road, and crosses the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge.

"With the bearing of these localities in his mind the reader will readily understand how it was that the enemy was driven from his original strongholds on the north side of the Chickahominy, and how, at the time of Friday's battle, he had been compelled to surrender the possession of the Fredericksburg and Central railroads, and had been pressed to a position where he was cut off from the principal avenues of supply and escape. The disposition of our forces was such as to cut off all communication between McClellan's army and the White House, on the Pamunky River ; he had

been driven completely from his northern lines of defences, and it was supposed that he would be unable to extricate himself from his position without a victory or a capitulation. In front of him, with the Chickahominy, which he had crossed, in his rear, were the divisions of Generals Longstreet, Magruder, and Huger, and, in the situation as it existed Saturday night, all hopes of his escape were thought to be impossible.

THE BATTLE OF SAVAGE STATION, SUNDAY, JUNE 29TH.

"Six miles from Richmond, on the York River road, the enemy were in force on Saturday night. During the night our pickets heard them busily at work, hammering, sawing, etc. The rumble of cannon carriages was also constantly audible. Sunday, about noon, our troops advanced in the direction of the works, which were found deserted. Their intrenchments were found to be formidable and elaborate. That immediately across the railroad, at the six-mile post, which had been supposed to be a light earth-work, designed to sweep the railroad, turned out to be an immense embrasured fortification, extending for hundreds of yards on either side of the track, and capable of protecting ten thousand men. Within this work were found great quantities of fixed ammunition, which had apparently been prepared for removal, and then deserted. All the cannon, as at other intrenchments, had been carried off.

"After passing this battery, our forces cautiously pushed their way down the railroad and to the right, in the direction of the Seven Pines. At three o'clock a dense column of smoke was seen to issue from the woods, two miles in advance of the battery and half a mile to the right of the railroad. The smoke was found to proceed from a perfect mountain of the enemy's commissary stores, which they had fired and deserted. The pile was at least thirty feet high, with a base sixty feet in breadth, consisting of sugar, coffee, bacon, butter, prepared meat, vegetables, etc. The fire had so far enveloped the heap as to destroy the value of its contents. The field and woods around this spot were covered with every description of clothing and camp equipage. Blue great coats lined the earth like leaves in Vallambrosa. No indication was wanting that the enemy had left this encampment in haste and disorder.

"About one o'clock, Sunday morning, our pickets down the Nine Mile road were fiercely attacked by the enemy, and a severe and lively fight ensued. The enemy were easily driven back with loss, many prisoners falling into our hands. Many of the Federals threw down their arms and surrendered voluntarily. Sunday morning, about six or seven o'clock, another fierce picket fight occurred.

"Later in the day the enemy were again encountered upon the York River Railroad, near a place called Savage Station; the troops engaged on our side being the division of General McLaws, consisting of Generals Kershaw and Semmes' brigades, supported by General Griffith's brigade from Magruder's

division. The Federals were found to be strongly intrenched, and as soon as our skirmishers came in view they were opened upon with a furious cannonade from a park of field-pieces. Kemper's battery now went to the front, and for three hours the battle raged hotly, when the discomfited Yankees again resumed their back track. It was during this fight that General Griffith, of Mississippi, one of the heroes of Leesburg (where he commanded the Eighteenth Mississippi on the fall of Col. Burt), was killed by the fragment of a shell, which mangled one of his legs. He was the only general officer killed on our side during the whole of that bloody week. Owing to a most unfortunate accident, much of our success was marred. Our own troops, being mistaken for the enemy, were fired into by the Twenty-first Mississippi Regiment, as was Jenkins' South Carolina Regiment at Manassas, by reinforcements in the rear. During the pursuit the railroad Merrimac was far in advance of our men, and was vigorously shelling the enemy at every turn.

"About sundown, Sunday, General Magruder's division came up with the rear of the enemy, and engaged a portion of his forces for about an hour and a half. After passing the enemy's camp on the York River Railroad, our troops posted after the enemy, and came up with him on the Williamsburg road, a mile east of the Seven Pines, opposite Mr. William Sedgwick's farm. The enemy were posted in a thick piece of pines north of the Williamsburg road, behind intrenchments of great strength and elaborate finish. The Richmond Howitzer battalion began the fight by shelling the woods. From the direction of the railroad Kershaw's brigade and other troops marched down the Williamsburg road and dashed into the woods by a flank movement to the left. Here the fight raged furiously until darkness put an end to the contest. Our men lay on their arms with the design of renewing the battle with the return of daylight.

"While Magruder was thus successfully 'pushing the enemy to the wall' on the south side of the Chickahominy, the redoubtable Stuart was not less successful on the north side. Dashing down to the White House on the Pamunky, he succeeded in capturing an immense quantity of supplies, fixed ammunition, rifled ordnance, railway machinery and locomotives, wagon-trains, a balloon and an apparatus of inflation, quartermaster's stores, etc., with 1,500 prisoners, besides burning seventeen large transports at the wharves.

"During Sunday the mortifying fact became known to our generals that McClellan had in a measure succeeded in eluding us, and that, having massed his entire force on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, he was retreating toward the James River—having stolen a march of twelve hours on General Huger, who had been placed in a position on his flank to watch his movements.

THE BATTLE OF MONDAY, JUNE 30.

"By daybreak, on Monday morning, the pursuit was actively resumed. D.

H. Hill, Whiting, and Ewell, under command of Jackson, crossed the Chickahominy by the Grapevine Bridge, and followed the enemy on their track by the Williamsburg road and Savage Station. Longstreet, A. P. Hill, Huger, and Magruder pursued the enemy by the Charles City road, with the intention of cutting them off. At the White Oak Swamp our left wing came upon the Yankee forces at about eleven o'clock A.M.; but they had crossed the stream and burned the bridge behind them. Their artillery was also posted in immense numbers, commanding both the bridge and the road. General Jackson, with Major Crutchfield, chief of his artillery, and the several captains of D. H. Hill's artillery, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, ordered forward the whole of D. H. Hill's artillery, under Colonel Crutchfield. Under cover of the hill on the left, or north bank of the White Oak Swamp, our artillery was brought forward, thrown rapidly upon the crest of the hill, and suddenly opened fire upon the enemy's batteries with twenty-six field-pieces in seven batteries. This was at about twelve o'clock M. A tremendous fire was kept up from the batteries on both sides, the enemy having in position near fifty pieces. During this time one or more of the enemy's caissons was exploded, while they suffered with a heavy loss of men and horses. The enemy then fell back some distance behind a skirt of woods, abandoning three of their guns on the field, and there, hidden from sight, renewed the fight at long range, which, with their Parrott guns, gave them great advantage. The fight of artillery, nevertheless, continued with great spirit and determination until night closed the scene. The casualties on both sides in this fight were very heavy. Indeed, this is said to have been probably the heaviest fight of field artillery which has taken place during the war.

"About four o'clock, Monday afternoon, General Longstreet having been called away, the command of his division was assumed by General A. P. Hill, who, with both divisions—that of Longstreet and his own—engaged the enemy at a late hour in the evening. The battle was thus fought under the immediate and sole command of General A. P. Hill, in charge of both divisions. The position of the enemy was about five miles northeast of Darbytown, on the New Market road. The immediate scene of the battle was a plain of sedge pines, in the cover of which the enemy's forces were skilfully disposed.

"In advancing upon the enemy, batteries of sixteen heavy guns were opened upon the advance columns of General Hill. Our troops, pressing heroically forward, had no sooner got within musket range, than the enemy, forming several lines of battle, poured upon them from his heavy masses a devouring fire of musketry. The conflict became terrible, the air being filled with missiles of death; every moment having its peculiar sound of terror, and every spot its sight of ghastly destruction and horror. Never was a more glorious victory plucked from more desperate and

threatening circumstances. While exposed to the double fire of the enemy's batteries and his musketry, we were unable to contend with him with artillery. But, although thus unmatched, the heroic command of General Hill pressed on with unquailing vigor and a resistless courage, driving the enemy before them. This was accomplished without artillery, there being but one battery in General Hill's command on the spot, and that belonged to Longstreet's division, and could not be got into position. Thus the fight continued with an ardor and devotion that few battle-fields have ever illustrated. Step by step the enemy were driven back, his guns taken, and the ground he abandoned strewn with his dead. By half-past eight o'clock we had taken all his cannon, and, continuing to advance, had driven him a mile and a half from his ground of battle. Our forces were still advancing upon the retreating lines of the enemy. It was now about half-past nine o'clock, and very dark. Suddenly, as if it had burst from the heavens, a sheet of fire enveloped the front of our advance. The enemy had made another stand to receive us, and, from the black masses of his forces, it was evident that it had been heavily reinforced, and that another whole *corps d'armée* had been brought up to contest the fortunes of the night. Line after line of battle was formed. It was evident that his heaviest columns were now being thrown against Hill's small command, and it might have been supposed that he would only be satisfied with its annihilation. The loss here on our side was terrible.

"The situation being evidently hopeless for any further pursuit of the fugitive enemy, who had now brought up such overwhelming forces, General Hill retired slowly. At this moment, seeing their adversary retire, the most vociferous cheers arose along the whole Yankee line. They were taken up in the distance by the masses which for miles and miles beyond were supporting McClellan's front. It was a moment when the heart of the stoutest commander might have been appalled. General Hill's situation was now as desperate as it well could be, and required a courage and presence of mind to retrieve it which the circumstances that surrounded him were not well calculated to inspire. His command had fought for five or six hours without reinforcements; all his reserves had been brought up in the action; Wilcox's brigade, which had been almost annihilated, was re-forming in the rear. Riding rapidly to the position of this brigade, General Hill brought them by great exertions up to the front, to check the advance of this now confident, cheering enemy. Catching the spirit of their commander, the brave but jaded men moved up to the front, replying to the enemy's cheers with shouts and yells. At this demonstration, which the enemy no doubt supposed signified heavy reinforcements, he stopped his advance. It was now about half-past ten o'clock in the night. The enemy had been arrested; and the fight—one of the most remarkable, long-

contested, and gallant ones that has yet occurred on our lines—was concluded with the achievement of the field under the most trying circumstances, which the enemy, with the most overpowering numbers brought up to reinforce him, had not succeeded in reclaiming.

"The battle of Monday night was fought exclusively by General A. P. Hill and the forces under his command. General Magruder's did not come up until eleven o'clock at night, after the fight had been concluded. By orders from General Lee, Magruder moved upon and occupied the battle-ground, General Hill's command being in a condition of prostration from their long and toilsome fight, and suffering in killed and wounded, that it was proper they should be relieved by the occupation of the battle-ground by a fresh *corps d'armée.* In the long and bitter conflict which General Hill had sustained with the enemy, he had driven him about a mile and a half; and at the conclusion of the battle, although he had retired somewhat, he still held the ground from which, in the early part of the action, he had driven the enemy.

"President Davis was on the field during the day, and made a narrow escape from injury, which might possibly have proven fatal. He had taken position in a house near the scene, when word was sent him by General Lee to leave it at once, as it was threatened with danger. He had scarcely complied with the advice before the house was literally riddled with shell from the enemy's batteries.

"Prisoners state that on Monday evening McClellan addressed his troops in an animated strain, conjuring them 'for God's sake, and the sake of their country, and the old flag around which so many fond recollections cluster, to join in one more last struggle to reach our gun-boats on the James River. I have been frustrated in all my plans against Richmond. We must cut our way to the river, and then I shall await reinforcements. I do not give up the hope of yet capturing Richmond.' Their fighting subsequently showed that his words were not without effect. During the night the enemy retreated again down the Quaker road toward Malvern Hill, about a half mile within the intersection of the New Market or River road, and the Quaker road. Here he took strong position on this hill, about two miles and a half from his gun-boats on the James River. This closed the scene of Monday.

THE BATTLE OF TUESDAY, JULY FIRST.

"The army of McClellan was now getting into the triangle formed by the three roads already alluded to, and in which it was hoped that he would be entrapped. It was in this area that the great battle of Tuesday took place. All of our forces, however, failed to be in position in the right time; and those in the rear, who were to cut him off and hem him in, allowed the game to slip from their hands and quietly make his escape, which he subsequently did by roads easily traceable on the map.

"McClellan, in making his way in all haste, but in good order, to the waters

of James River, had reached on Tuesday, July 1, a point about sixteen miles below Richmond, and two miles above Turkey Island, where it was determined to make a stand with the purpose of effectually covering the retreat of the main body to their gun-boats. The ground was admirably chosen. An elevated plateau of 1,200 yards in length and 350 yards width lay between a skirt of woods, dark and dense, and a plantation dwelling, which will be known in the official reports as 'Crew's house,' with its surrounding buildings. Upon the crest of a gentle slope in front of this country seat the Yankees planted four heavy batteries, commanding the plateau, and every square yard of it, to the woods.

"On Tuesday morning D. H. Hill's division, on the right of Jackson, with Whiting, Ewell, and Jackson's own division on the left (Jackson commanding the three latter divisions), crossed the White Oak bridge and took up their position in this order, on the left of our line, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. D. H. Hill's artillery was sent to the rear to rest. Longstreet, A. P. Hill, Magruder, and Huger, on our right wing, pushed down the Long Bridge road in pursuit, and took position on the left and front of the enemy, under fire of all his artillery on land and water.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon, the skirmishers of our pursuing column, on emerging from the wood, were met by the fire of the enemy, and fell back to report to the commanding general, Magruder, whose division — embracing the brigades of Howell Cobb, Toombs, Wright, and Armistead—was in the advance. Two batteries of light artillery, Grimes' and the Second Richmond Howitzers, were immediately ordered to take position in the cleared field, some fifty yards from the edge of the forest, and to open fire upon the enemy's batteries, while the infantry were drawn up under cover of the woods, to be pushed across the field at the proper moment. Grimes' battery was thrown into hopeless disorder by the killing of three of its horses and the wounding of several others in the act of taking its ground, and never did get into position; whereupon the Purcell battery, Captain Pegram, was ordered to replace it. The Howitzers and Captain Pegram's veterans at once opened a furious cannonade on the Yankees, firing with great steadiness and effect, but so desolating was the rain of shot, shell, and spherical case showered upon them by the enemy's guns, which had obtained the exact range, that they were greatly cut up in a short time, and had to be withdrawn. At the same moment a column of not more than 600 Confederate troops, which had moved with wonderful precision and celerity across the plateau to a point within 150 yards of the Yankee batteries, was compelled to retire with heavy loss, and in some disorder. The Letcher artillery, of six pieces, under command of Captain Davidson, was now ordered to the spot till then occupied by the Purcell battery, and getting their guns quickly in place, despite the withering tempest of flame and iron, commenced to serve them with

the utmost efficiency, firing twelve or fifteen discharges to the minute, while a second column of infantry advanced through the cleared space at double quick to storm the terrible batteries of the foe. The fire was now appalling, and to add to the horrors of the scene, the gun-boats of the enemy in the river began to throw the most tremendous projectiles into the field. The column moved on, nearer and yet nearer, its ranks thinned at every moment, and lost to sight in the thick curtain of smoke which overspread the crimsoned battle-ground. But once again the whirlwind of death threw the advancing mass of gallant men into inextricable disorder, and they retired. Still the Letcher artillery held its ground. A brave lieutenant and two of the men had been killed at their pieces; nineteen others had fallen wounded by their side, and the horses were piled around them in heaps; a caisson had exploded, yet their fire was kept up as steadily as if they had been firing a holiday salute. An hour and a half or more had now passed since the opening of the battle, and a third column upon the centre moved onward to the Yankee guns. The dark mass soon disappeared in the cloud which enveloped all objects, and though it lost strength and solidity at every step—in the brave fellows who fell struck by the hurtling missiles that strewed the air—it still gained the slope where stood the enemy's batteries, but only to be driven back, as had been their comrades before them. Meanwhile the indomitable Jackson had assailed the enemy with great energy on the right of their position, and soon drove them from the field. The dusk of evening, deepening into darkness, favored the retreat of the Yankees, who succeeded in carrying off their pieces, though with a loss in killed and wounded equal to, if not greater, than our own.

"Thus closed the terrible battle of the first of July. The battle-field and the region round about seemed as if the lightnings of heaven had scathed and blasted it. The forest shows, in the splintered branches of a thousand trees, the fearful havoc of the artillery; the houses are riddled, the fences utterly demolished, the earth itself plowed up in many places for yards; here stands a dismantled caisson, there a broken gun-carriage; thick and many are the graves, the sods over which yet bear the marks of the blood of their occupants; on the plateau, across whose surface for hours the utmost fury of the battle raged, the tender corn that had grown up as high as the knee betrays no sign of having ever 'laughed and sung' in the breeze of early summer—everything, in short, but the blue heaven above, speaks of the carnival of death which was there so frightfully celebrated. About a quarter of a mile from the field stands on the roadside the house occupied by General Lee as his headquarters during the battle. The weather boarding and the shingled roof exhibit abundant evidences of the terrible nature of the cannonade. The elongated shells thrown by the gun-boats were most fearful projectiles, mea-

suring twenty-two inches in length by eight in diameter. It is remarkable that, as far as we know, the only damage done by them was to the enemy. Not having the proper range, the gunners so elevated their pieces as to let these messengers of death fall mostly among the ranks of their own men. The effect of one which burst near Crew's house was indescribably fatal. It struck a gun of one of the batteries, shattering it into fragments, and by the explosion, which followed instantaneously, seven men standing near the piece were killed in the twinkling of an eye. They fell without the movement of a muscle, in the very attitudes they occupied the moment before, stiffening at once into the stony fixedness of death. One, indeed, was almost blown into annihilation; but another was seen still grasping the lanyard of his gun; yet another, belonging to an infantry regiment, held in his hand the ramrod with which he was driving home the load in his Belgian rifle; while a fourth, with clenched lips, retained in his mouth the little portion of the cartridge he had just bitten off. The faces of the victims even still expressed the emotions which animated them in battle—indifference, hope, terror, triumph, rage, were there depicted, but no traces of the suffering which should be caused by the death pang. They had passed into eternity unconscious of the shaft that sent them there!

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2.

"The severe struggle of Tuesday had given the main body of McClellan's army ample time to reach the much-coveted positions in the neighborhood of Berkeley and Westover, on the James River, where availing themselves of the strong natural defences of the place, and under cover of their gun-boats, they were relieved from the apprehension of an immediate attack. In this situation of affairs, a description of the locality and topographical features of the enemy's selected place of refuge will be a matter of interest:

"Berkeley, now the residence of Doctor Starks, lies on the north side of James River, five miles below City Point, and by the course of the river sixty-five miles, but by the Charles City road not more than twenty-five miles from Richmond. The building, an old-fashioned brick edifice, stands upon an eminence a few hundred yards from the river, in a grove of Lombardy poplars and other trees. President Harrison was born here in 1773.

"The Westover plantation, long the seat of the distinguished family of Byrds, and at present owned by Mr. John Selden, adjoins Berkeley on the east, the dwelling-houses being some two miles apart. Charles City Court House is between eight and ten miles east of the latter place. It is not to be supposed the enemy selected these plantations as the scene of his last great stand without good reasons. The first and most apparent of these is, that the Westover landing is, perhaps, the very best on James River, and the stream for miles up and down being broad and deep affords both excellent sea room and anchorage for their gun-boats and trans-

ports. But this is by no means the only advantage of the position. On the west of Berkeley are innumerable impassable ravines, running from near the Charles City road, on the north, to James River, making a successful attack from that quarter next to impossible. Within a quarter of a mile of where these ravines begin, Herring Run Creek crosses the Charles City road, and running in a southeasterly direction, skirts, on the north and east, the plantations of Berkeley and Westover, and empties into James River at the extreme eastern boundary of the latter. The whole course of this creek is one impassable morass, while along its northern and eastern banks extend the heights of Evelinton—a long range of hills that overlook the Westover and Berkeley estates, and which offer eligible positions for heavy guns. It will be seen that, protected on the south by the river and their gun-boats, on the west by impassable ravines, and on the north and east by Herring Creek and the heights of Evelinton, the enemy's position presents but one pregnable point—the piece of level country northwest of Westover, from a quarter to a half mile in width, lying between the head of the ravines and the point where Herring Creek crosses the Charles City road. But it required only a very brief period for the enemy, with their immense resources of men and machinery, to obstruct by art this only natural entrance to their stronghold. Already it was within range of their gun-boats, and of their siege guns planted on the Evelinton hills; another day saw it strewn with felled timber and bristling with field batteries.

"The James River was soon covered with the transports and gun-boats of the enemy, and McClellan, secure in his 'new base of operations,' vigorously began the work of infusing courage and confidence among his beaten and demoralized troops. On the fourth of July he issued the following address, which, considering the events immediately preceding, is certainly a rather remarkable document:

"'HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, CAMP NEAR HARRISON'S LANDING, *July* 4, 1862.

"'SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC: Your achievements of the past ten days have illustrated the valor and endurance of the American soldier. Attacked by superior forces, and without hopes of reinforcements, you have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement — always regarded as the most hazardous of military operations. You have saved all your guns except a few lost in battle, taking in return guns and colors from the enemy.

"'Upon your march you have been assailed day after day with desperate fury, by men of the same race and nation, skilfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of number, and necessarily of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter.

"'Your conduct ranks you among the celebrated armies of history. None will now question what each of you may always, with pride, say: "I belonged

From an Ambrotype by Brady

Expressly for this work

AFTER GETTYSBURG.

R E Lee

Entered according to Act of Congress A.D. 1865 by Virtue and Yorston, in the clerks office of the district court of the United States for the southern district of

to the Army of the Potomac." You have reached this new base complete in organization and unimpaired in spirit. The enemy may at any time attack you —we are prepared to meet them. I have personally established your lines. Let them come, and we will convert their repulse into a final defeat.

"'Your government is strengthening you with the resources of a great people. On this, our nation's birthday, we declare to our foes — who are rebels against the best interests of mankind— that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; that our national constitution shall prevail; and that the Union, which can alone insure internal peace and external security to each State, must and shall be preserved —cost what it may in time, treasure, and blood. GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

"'Major-General Commanding.'

"This narrative cannot be better concluded than by the reproduction of the following general orders of General Lee in reference to the battle. These orders give an official and probably the most trustworthy summary of the results that can now be had, and afford a striking contrast to the address of Gen. McClellan:

GENERAL ORDERS—NO. 75.

"'HEADQUARTERS, IN THE FIELD, *July 7th*, 1862.

"'The General Commanding, profoundly grateful to the only Giver of all victory for the signal success with which He has blessed our arms, tenders his warmest thanks and congratulations to the army by whose valor such splendid results have been achieved.

"'On Thursday, June 26th, the powerful and thoroughly equipped army of the enemy was intrenched in works vast in extent and most formidable in character, within sight of our capital.

"'To-day the remains of that confident and threatening host lie upon the banks of the James River, thirty miles from Richmond, seeking to recover, under the protection of their gun-boats, from the effects of a series of disastrous defeats.

"'The battle beginning on the afternoon of the 26th June, above Mechanicsville, continued until the night of July 1st, with only such intervals as were necessary to pursue and overtake the flying foe. Their strong intrenchments and obstinate resistance were overcome, and our army swept resistlessly down the north side of the Chickahominy, until it reached the rear of the enemy and broke their communication with the York, capturing or causing the destruction of many valuable stores, and by the decisive battle of Friday, forcing the enemy from their line of powerful fortifications on the south side of the Chickahominy and driving them to a precipitate retreat. This victorious army pursued as rapidly as the obstructions placed by the enemy in their rear would permit, three times overtaking their flying column, and as often driving them with slaughter from the field, leaving their numerous dead and wounded in our hands in every conflict.

"'The immediate fruits of our success are the relief of Richmond from a state of siege, the rout of the great army that

so long menaced its safety, many thousand prisoners, including officers of high rank, the capture or destruction of stores to the value of millions, and the acquisition of thousands of arms and fifty-one pieces of superior artillery.

"'The service rendered to the country in this short but eventful period can scarcely be estimated, and the General commanding cannot adequately express his admiration of the courage, endurance, and soldierly conduct of the officers and men engaged.

"'These brilliant results have cost us many brave men; but while we mourn the loss of our gallant dead, let us not forget that they died nobly in defence of their country's freedom, and have linked their memory with an event that will live forever in the hearts of a grateful people.

"'Soldiers! your country will thank you for the heroic conduct you have displayed—conduct worthy of men engaged in a cause so just and sacred, and deserving a nation's gratitude and praise.

"'By command of General Lee.

"'R. H. CHILTON, A. A. General.'"

REVIEW OF THE BATTLE AND ITS RESULTS.

The following clear and impartial review of the conduct and results of the battles is taken from the columns of the Richmond *Examiner* of Tuesday, July 8th:

"We have now reached a period at which we may calculate the value of the result of the great battle of Richmond, and make a summary review of the grand diorama of events that has so recently passed before our eyes. We propose to do this in a historical spirit, without reference to the mean objects of personal compliment or personal detraction, anxious only to interpret with justice and intelligence the events of the past week, and to define the result of one of the gravest incidents that has yet occurred in the history of the war.

"The general estimation of the battle of Richmond, expressed in a spirit of candor, would be that it was a most excellent plan, indifferently executed in the field. The work of the closet was good. The design was comprehensive and sagacious, and calculations upon which it was based were nicely arranged; but its execution, unfortunately, was full of flaws, which, to some degree, have marred the results of our victory, or reduced them below public expectation. Reviewing the situation of the two armies at the commencement of the action, the advantage was entirely our own, the fact being that the plan of McClellan was as defective as our own was excellent. He had divided his army on the two sides of the Chickahominy, and operating apparently with the design of half circumvallating Richmond—which was exceedingly foolish, considering the size and situation of this city—he had spread out his forces to an extent that impaired the facility of concentration, and had made a weak and dangerous extension of his lines.

"It will be observed that the attack was made on our side by a rear and flank movement at the same time, intending to crush the enemy successively along the whole extent of his lines, from

Mechanicsville to his batteries on the south side of the Chickahominy, and on that side of the river to fall upon him with the whole weight of our forces, with the expectation of putting him to a general rout.

"A most remarkable feature of all the battles which attended the general line of movement we have described is, that at no time were more than 20,000 Confederates actually engaged with the enemy. After the first demonstration in force on the enemy's extreme right, he retired from Mechanicsville, and we pursued. When, by this retiring movement, he had concentrated, as he supposed, sufficient troops to contest a decisive field with us, we fell upon him with one division at a time. The consequence of imperfect attack was that the enemy was never crushed, though he was always defeated. It is not unreasonable to suppose, in view of what was accomplished by piecemeal, that if, at any critical time, several divisions had been thrown upon the enemy, he would have been routed, demoralization would have ensued, and the result of our victory been fully and summarily accomplished.

"By the desperate valor of our troops and the conspicuous exertions of General Ambrose P. Hill, whose division was in the extreme advance, and was engaged successively at Ellyson's Mills, Cold Harbor, and Frazier's Farm, each of the fields was signalized by the success of our arms. But with the remarkable and hard-fought field at Frazier's Farm our congratulations must stop. The brilliant chain of victories is broken here. After all that had been achieved, and all that had been expended in the toil and blood of three days' fighting, we had failed to cut off the enemy's retreat to the river, and to accomplish the most important condition for the completion of our victory. The whole army of McClellan had passed along our right wing, and had been permitted, as it were, to slip through our fingers. There is nothing in the subsequent operations of our forces to repair the effect of this fatal blunder. At Malvern Hill the result to us was deplorable in the amount of our loss, and negative as to any advantage gained over the enemy.

"We are unwilling, however, to dwell with any pertinacity upon errors which have diminished the fruits of our victory, or even upon such staring and enormous blunders as gave to a defeated enemy open egress to the strongest places of refuge he could have desired, as long as we may congratulate ourselves that the result of the battle of Richmond, as a whole, was a success to the Confederacy, and a most grateful relief to the long pent-up anxieties of the people of the South. We have raised, at least for a time, the siege of Richmond; we have the moral effect of at least three distinct victories; and we have taken from the defeated enemy a rich and splendid prize, in stores, artillery, and prisoners. So far, the result of the battle of Richmond is pleasing and grateful to the country. The mixture of disappointment is in the undeniable fact that

McClellan and his army still exist, when we might easily have destroyed both.

"The Northern newspapers claim that the movements of McClellan from the Chickahominy River were purely strategic. Up to the first decisive stage in the series of engagements—Cold Harbor—there were certainly plain strategic designs in his backward movement. His retirement from Mechanicsville was probably voluntary, and intended to concentrate his troops lower down, where he might fight with the advantages of numbers and his own selection of position. At Ellyson's Mills he had a strong position, which was contested with desperate obstinacy and taken by desperate valor. Continuing his retreat, however, he fixed the decisive field at Cold Harbor, where he had massed his troops and brought up to action his trusted regiments of old United States Regulars. He was attacked by General Hill's division in advance, and at this critical juncture is to be found the most doubtful predicament in which the fortunes of the long and elaborate contest around Richmond ever stood. Had McClellan won the day here, his right wing would have been in advance upon Richmond, and his strategy would have been brilliantly successful. The turning point of the battle was when Ewell's division appeared among the trees back of the fork of the roads and the house which constitute the locality of Cold Harbor. The rest of Jackson's army, and a part, we believe, of General Longstreet's division, appeared on the field some time after this, and the battle was gained.

"Having been pushed from his stronghold north of the Chickahominy, the enemy made a strong attempt to retrieve his disasters by renewing a concentration of his troops at Frazier's Farm. Here, however, the result was less doubtful than at Cold Harbor, for here it was that General Ambrose P. Hill, commanding his own division and that of Longstreet, achieved the most remarkable victory over the enemy that had yet been won—capturing all the artillery that he had engaged, and breaking the last hope of a change of fortune which had attended him on his retreat. In the fight at Frazier's Farm we detect the same error that seems to have imperilled our fortunes in every stage of the contest, and to have detracted from all the results gained by us, to wit: the plan of attacking the enemy in imperfect force, and putting him off by defeating him with one or two divisions, when he might have been crushed by a fearless and decisive concentration of many divisions. At Frazier's Farm two divisions were thrown against the whole Yankee army; and, indeed, the error might have been fatal had the commander on the spot been less energetic, the troops in his small command been less devoted, or had the darkness of night not obscured their numbers.

"From the time of the two principal battles (that of Cold Harbor and that of Frazier's Farm), all pretensions of the enemy's resort to strategy must cease. His retreat was now unmistak-

able ; it was no longer a falling back to concentrate troops for action ; it is, in fact, impossible to disguise that it was the retreat of an enemy who was discomfited and whipped, although not routed. He had abandoned the railroads ; he had given up the strongholds which he had provided to secure him in case of a check ; he had destroyed from eight to ten million dollars' worth of stores ; he had deserted his hospitals, his sick and wounded, and he had left in our hands thousands of prisoners and innumerable stragglers.

"Regarding all that had been accomplished in these battles, the displays of the valor and devotion of our troops, the expenditure of blood, and the helpless and fugitive condition to which the enemy had at last been reduced, history will record it as a burning shame that an enemy in this condition was permitted to secure his retreat. The result of the fight at Malvern Hill was to secure to the enemy full protection for a retreat, which should have been made a rout long before he ever reached there. The enemy had made no effort for a victory there ; it was a stand, not a battle. If he had been let alone he would have gone away the next day of his own accord. The two wings of our army were in a position to cut off his retreat to the river, and yet nothing was done but to make an attack, in which we sustained a great loss, in which the enemy was not driven, and by which, in fact, he effected exactly what he desired—a cover for his retreat.

"All that has been said of the 'masterly retreat' of McClellan, and his displays of generalship, sounds very well ; but the compliments, we believe, are but little deserved, and can scarcely serve as excuses to be made to public disappointment over the result of the battle of Richmond, when we come to examine the circumstances in which they have been displayed. His 'masterly retreat' consisted in our own blunders. He was permitted to get through our fingers, when everybody thought we had only to close the hand to crush him. He has secured a strong position on the James River, where he hopes to establish a new base of operations. But the position he now holds was notorious in the military history of the country. It was twice occupied by the British when they invaded Virginia, and was pointed out as a commanding position for a power that was strong on the water, long anterior to the date of McClellan's generalship.

"We repeat that we are not inclined to diminish the actual result, because they have fallen below expectation, and it has been unwillingly that we have referred to that part of the history of the battle of Richmond which casts a dark shadow over the track of our victories. The result of the conflict is sufficiently fortunate to excite joy, and grave enough to engage the most serious speculations as to the future. In the North and in Europe its moral effect must be immense. It is absolutely certain that Richmond cannot be taken this year, or by this army of McClellan. The mouth of the Yankee Government

is shut from any more promises of a speedy termination of the war. The powers of Europe see that the Southern Confederacy is not yet crushed, or likely to be crushed by its insolent foe; and we have again challenged the confidence of the world in the elasticity of our fortunes and the invincible destiny of our independence. The results of the battle of Richmond are worthy of congratulation, although attended with unavailing regrets that the valor of our troops and the talents of some of our generals in the field were not rewarded with greater prizes. Although the painful fact exists that McClellan has secured a position where he can receive reinforcements, and where he cannot be well attacked, there are yet abundant reasons for congratulating the country and the army on the events which have gone so far to secure the safety of our capital and to illuminate the fortunes of the Confederacy.

INCIDENTS.

"The farmers residing in the neighborhood of the battle-fields, with great unanimity and patriotic devotion, responded to the demand for hospital accommodations, and opened their dwellings and outhouses for the use and occupation of the wounded.

"Throughout the whole country the houses are shattered and nearly shot into pieces by the cannon-balls of the opposing armies. At Mechanicsville the explosion of a shell knocked a large house into fragments and killed six men who were resting there.

"Three Texans came upon a body of 200 Yankee stragglers and took them all prisoners by frightening them with the story that Jackson, with a 'black flag,' had cut off their retreat, and that if they would submit, their captors would take them into Richmond without the risk of losing their heads.

"The Pennsylvania Eleventh (reserve) and the Fourth New Jersey were taken entire, every commissioned officer—colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, surgeons, and assistant surgeons—falling into our hands. Beyond these two regiments the prisoners were mostly United States Regulars, with a slight sprinkling of Connecticut Yankees.

"Major-General McCall, of Pennsylvania, was captured in Friday's fight by a private in General Hill's division of the name of Rawlings. The General insisted upon receiving the prisoner from the hands of his captor, who had modestly retired and was doing his duty in the ranks when the distinguished prisoner was escorted to the presence of General Hill by an officer.

"In the possession of a great many of the prisoners brought to Richmond were found bogus Confederate bills of small denominations, which they attempted to palm upon boys in the streets for bread, confectionery, etc. The notes were evidently prepared in the North, and circulated in McClellan's army with a view to putting them in circulation, when the Yankees got into the city of Richmond, and thus injure the Confederate currency.

"The Federal flag, made by the Yankees to float over our Capitol, was cap-

tured in the Federal camps, and was exhibited with great applause to our troops. It was an immense piece of work, fully twenty feet long, having thirteen stripes and thirty-two stars thereon. We understand McClellan received it as a present from the ladies of the city of Boston, and promised to plant it in the veritable 'last ditch' to which the rebels should be run, and afterward would elevate it with all military honors on our Capitol at Richmond.

"An interesting incident occurred on the Pamunky on Thursday. A raft battery, protected with iron sides, was annoying our troops in that direction, when a regiment of sharpshooters was detailed to capture it. They proceeded to the brow of a hill immediately commanding the battery, and opened fire down into it. About a dozen Yankees were killed and wounded by the volley—a shock which took them so much by surprise that they concluded to give up; so, hoisting a shirt out upon a pole, the survivors sung out, "We surrender!" Our sharpshooters immediately went down, took possession, and sent the craft to the bottom of the river."

The Richmond correspondent of the Charleston *Mercury* writes:

"Mr. Crockers, Superintendent of the Army Intelligence Office, states that his books show between 11,000 and 12,000 wounded in the battles before Richmond, and thinks the whole number, including those in private houses not reported to him, will be about 12,500. General Lee, I am told, estimates the killed at 3,500. To these must be added a great many who were disabled by exhaustion, want of food, and bad water, so that the sum total would amount, perhaps, to 18,000 or 20,000. The per-centage of deaths among the wounded has been heavy, owing to the hot weather. I have heard it put at 80 per cent., but this is foolish. No case of amputation above the knee is said to have recovered, but this also I doubt."

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Danger of the Country.—Provision of the Government to guard against it.—New Call for Troops.—Appeals and Stimulants to Patriotism.—A Draft.—Arbitrary Orders to Prevent Evasion of Military Duty.—Interference with Personal Rights.—Explanations of Government.—Liberal Volunteering.—General Pope commanding in Virginia.—Resignation of Fremont.—Rufus King.—Sigel.—Pope's Address.—A Series of emphatic Orders.—Effect upon the Enemy.—Threats of Retaliation.—Pope on the Move.—Preliminary Skirmishes.—Advance of the Enemy to Gordonsville.—Battle of Cedar Mountain.—Pursuit of the Enemy.—Skilful retreat of Jackson.—The Victory claimed by both sides.—Advance of Pope to the Rapidan.—Burnside at Fredericksburg.—Activity of McClellan.—Occupation and Abandonment of Malvern Hill.—The Right Bank of the James River occupied.—McClellan preparing to co-operate with Pope.—Retirement of the Army from the Peninsula.—McClellan opposed to the Movement.—Effect upon the Public.

FULLY aroused to the danger in which
1862. the country was placed by the disaster to McClellan's army, the Government manifested an earnest determination to provide against its consequences. Soon after the call for 300,000 additional volunteers, the President demanded from the several States the same large number of militia to serve for nine months, the full term established by a late act of Congress. Great efforts were made to obtain these 600,000 men by voluntary enlistments. Large meetings were held throughout the country, at which popular orators appealed to the patriotism of their hearers. Liberal bounties were offered by the Government, and considerable sums of money were contributed by private generosity, to promote enlistments.

Patriotic endeavor and pecuniary expenditure, however, were found not to operate upon the people with the rapidity the occasion seemed to demand. The President accordingly had recourse to a draft.* This, believed to be indispensable, was accepted not unwillingly, **Aug. 4.** in spite of the sacrifice of private interests it threatened, and the natural repugnance of American citizens to compulsory service.

The people, patriotically willing as they were to give generously, and to suffer all, even to a temporary encroach-

* WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *August 4th*, 1862.

Ordered, First—That a draft of 300,000 militia be immediately called into the service of the United States, to serve for nine months, unless sooner discharged. The Secretary of War will assign the quotas to the States, and establish regulations for the draft.

Second—That if any State shall not by the 15th of August furnish the quota of the additional 300,000 volunteers authorized by law, the deficiency of volunteers in that State will also be made up by a special draft from the militia. The Secretary of War will establish regulations for this purpose.

Third—Regulations will be prepared by the War Department and presented to the President, with the object of securing the promotion of officers of the army and volunteers for meritorious and distinguished services, and of preventing the nomination and appointment in the military service of incompetent or unworthy officers. The regulations will also provide for ridding the service of such incompetent persons as now hold commissions.

By order of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

ment upon their liberties, were, however, disquieted by the subsequent "orders" of the Government "to prevent the evasion of military duty."

These orders* forbade any citizen liable to be drafted into the militia to go to a foreign country, or even to absent himself from his county or State. Arbitrary as were such orders, there would have been, perhaps, a ready compliance had the necessity of their issue been manifest to the common sense of the people. Universally stirred as they were by an unexampled spirit of patriotism, they were conscious that none but the exceptional few, the cowards and the disaffected, would seek to avoid the call of duty. It seemed, therefore, an unnecessary stretch of authority on the part of Government to take so largely from the rights of the citizen to accomplish so small an object as the prevention of the escape of that paltry number who had the disposition to leave the country. To hinder the flight of perhaps a few hundred, the patriotism of a great and loyal nation was insulted, and millions of citizens were deprived of a right which has thus been emphatically declared by an authority that none are disposed to question: "No citizen," says Chancellor Kent, "can be sent abroad, or, under the existing law of the land, prevented from going abroad, except in those cases in which he may be detained by civil process or upon a criminal charge. The constitutions of several of the United States have declared that all people have a natural right to emigrate from the State, and have prohibited the interruption of that right."

It was soon manifest that it was impracticable to execute the orders. If faithfully carried out, they would have

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* War Department, Washington, D. C., *August 8th*, 1862.

Ordered, First—That all United States marshals and superintendents, or chiefs of police, of any town, city, or district, be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to arrest and imprison any person or persons who may be engaged, by act, speech, or writing, in discouraging volunteer enlistments, or in any way giving aid and comfort to the enemy, or in any other disloyal practice against the United States.

Second—That an immediate report be made to Major L. C. Turner, Judge Advocate, in order that such persons may be tried before a military commission.

Third—The expenses of such arrest and imprisonment will be certified to the Chief Clerk of the War Department for settlement and payment.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

War Department, Washington City, D. C., *August 8th*, 1862.

Ordered, First—By direction of the President of the United States it is hereby ordered that, until further orders, no citizen liable to be drafted into the militia shall be allowed to go to a foreign country, and all marshals, deputy marshals, and military officers of the United States are directed, and all police authorities, especially at the ports of the United States on the seaboard and on the frontier, are requested to see that this order is faithfully carried into effect. And they are hereby authorized and directed to arrest and detain any person or persons about to depart from the United States in violation of this order, and report to Major L. C. Turner, Judge Advocate, at Washington City, for further instructions respecting the person or persons so arrested and detained.

Second—Any person liable to draft, who shall absent himself from his county or State before such draft is made, will be arrested by any provost marshal or other United States or State officer wherever he may be found within the jurisdiction of the United States, and conveyed to the nearest military post or dépôt, and placed on military duty for the term of the draft; and the expenses of his own arrest and conveyance to such post or dépôt, and also the sum of five dollars as a reward to the officer who shall make such arrest, shall be deducted from his pay.

Third—The writ of *habeas corpus* is hereby suspended in respect to all persons so arrested and detained, and in respect to all persons arrested for disloyal practices.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

paralyzed at once all the movement of trade and the intercourse of society. The resident of Brooklyn, for example, arrested on the route to his counting-house or shop in New York, might be forced to fail in his engagement at the bank or in the market, or, seized on his return home, be suddenly torn from all companionship of wife and children. The Government finally becoming conscious of the impracticability of the orders, strove to render them less offensive by enjoining in their execution the exercise of sound judgment.*

In the mean time, while plans for a draft were being organized, and the severe orders to secure it were being executed, the people were so promptly volunteering as to prove, if not that the former was unnecessary, that the latter were superfluous. With the additional reinforcements, supplied by the patriotism of the country, the Government was enabled to pursue its military operations with renewed vigor. This revival of activity was first displayed in Central Virginia, where the several *corps d'armée* of Major-Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell had been consolidated into one army, and placed under the command of Major-General Pope, whose energy in the West gave hope of increased enterprise in the East. **June 26.**

This appointment of Pope led to a request on the part of Fremont to be relieved from his command, which was granted by the President.† General

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* War Department, Washington, D. C., *August* 11, 1862.

To Military Commandants, Provost Marshals, U. S. Marshals, and Police Officers:

You will receive herewith an order from the War Department to prevent the evasion of military duty, and for the suppression of disloyal practices, dated the 8th of August, 1862.

This order, to be efficient, is necessarily very comprehensive in its terms, and its proper execution requires the exercise of sound judgment and discretion by the officers to whom its enforcement is intrusted; and, to guard you in its execution, the following instructions are to be observed:

First—The order comprises two classes of persons, viz.: those who are about leaving the United States to evade military duty, and those who, for the same purpose, leave their own State. Leaving the United States, until the military draft is perfected, is absolutely prohibited; but it was not the intention of the order to interfere with the transit, from State to State, of any persons but those who designed to evade military duty. Whenever you have reason to believe that the purpose is to evade military duty, the order will authorize the detention of any person leaving his own State, county, or military district.

Second—Any person detained may be released on giving bonds to the United States, with sufficient security, in the sum of $1,000, conditional for the performance of military duty if he should be drafted, or the providing of a proper substitute.

Third—Immediate report is to be made to this office of all persons detained, with the cause of their detention.

Fourth—You will exercise the powers of arrest and detention with caution and forbearance, so as to avoid giving annoyance or trouble to any persons excepting those who are seeking to evade the performance of their duty to their country.

Fifth—The Governors of the respective States are authorized to give passes and permits to their own citizens desiring to leave the State without intent to evade military duty.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. C. Turner, Judge Advocate.

† The following was the order granting the request of General Fremont:

"War Department, Washington, *June* 27, 1862.

"I.—Major-General John C. Fremont having requested to be relieved from the command of the first army corps of the Army of Virginia, because, as he says, the position assigned him by the appointment of Major-General Pope as commander-in-chief of the Army of Virginia is subordinate and inferior to that heretofore held by him, and to remain in the subordinate command now assigned would, as he says, largely reduce his rank and consideration in the service, it is ordered that Major-General John C. Fremont be relieved from his command.

"II.—That Brigadier-General Rufus King be and he is hereby assigned to the command of the first army corps

From an Ambrotype by Brady.

Expresaly for this work.

Jno. Pope

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1864 by Virtue & Yorston, in the clerk's office of the district court of the United States, for the southern district of New York.

Rufus King was appointed the successor of Fremont; but this having given rise to much complaint and threats of resignation on the part of other officers, who claimed priority of rank, he was induced to yield the command in favor of General Sigel.

June 27.

General Pope having assumed the command of the consolidated army in Central Virginia, began, even before taking the field, to exhibit his characteristic promptitude and energy by issuing *en route* a glowing address and a series of emphatic orders. This is the address of General Pope:

June 28.

"WASHINGTON, *July* 14, 1862.

"TO THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF VIRGINIA:

"By special assignment of the President of the United States, I have assumed command of this army.

"I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants; in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose.

"I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found—whose policy has been attack, and not defence.

"In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in a defensive attitude.

"I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy.

"It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily.

"I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving. That opportunity I shall endeavor to give you.

"Meantime, I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find much in vogue among you.

"I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat, and of bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas.

"The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy.

"Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves.

"Let us look before, and not behind.

"Success and glory are in the advance—disaster and shame lurk in the rear.

"Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

"JOHN POPE, Maj.-Gen. Com'ding."

The severity of the orders in regard to the disloyal inhabitants of Virginia, jointly with the order of the President, embodying the principles of the Congressional act of confiscation, greatly stirred the animosity of the enemy, who threatened retaliation.

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of the Army of Virginia, in place of General Fremont, relieved.

"By order of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

The purport of General Pope's orders, which, however, were subsequently modified, and their effect upon the enemy, may be gathered from the declaration to retaliate, thus officially proclaimed:

"GENERAL ORDERS—NO. 54.

"ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, RICHMOND, *Aug.* 1, 1862.

"*First*—The following orders are published for the information and observance of all concerned.

"*Second*—Whereas, by a general order, dated 22d July, 1862, issued by the Secretary of War of the United States, under the order of the President of the United States, the military commanders of that Government, within the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, are directed to seize any property, real or personal, belonging to the inhabitants of this Confederacy, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands; and no provision is made for any compensation to the owners of private property thus seized and appropriated by the military commanders of the enemy.

"*Third*—And whereas, by General Order No. 11, issued on the 2d day of July, 1862, by Major-General Pope, commanding the forces of the enemy in Northern Virginia, it is ordered that all commanders of any army corps, divisions, brigades, and detached commands, will proceed immediately to arrest all disloyal male citizens within their limits, or within their reach, in the rear of their respective commands. Such as are willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and will furnish sufficient security for its observance, shall be permitted to remain at their homes and pursue in good faith their accustomed avocations. Those who refuse shall be conducted South, beyond the extreme pickets of the army, and be notified that if found again anywhere within our lines, or at any point in the rear, they will be considered as spies, and subjected to the extreme rigor of military law. If any person, having taken the oath as above specified, be found to have violated it, he shall be shot, and his property be seized and applied to the public use.

"*Fourth*—And whereas, by an order issued on the 13th of July, 1862, by Brigadier-General A. Steinwehr, Major William Steadman, a cavalry officer of his brigade, has been ordered to arrest five of the most prominent citizens of Page County, Virginia, to be held as hostages, and to suffer death in the event of any of the soldiers of the said Steinwehr being shot by bushwackers, by which term is meant the citizens of the Confederacy who have taken up arms to defend their homes and families.

"*Fifth*—And whereas it results from the above order that some of the military authorities of the United States, not content with the unjust and aggressive warfare hitherto waged with savage cruelty against an unoffending people, and exasperated by the failure of their efforts to subjugate them, have now determined to violate all the rules and usages of war, and to convert the

hostilities hitherto waged against armed forces into a campaign of robbery and murder against unarmed citizens and tillers of the soil.

"*Sixth*—And whereas this Government, bound by the highest obligations of duty to its citizens, is thus driven to the necessity of adopting such just measures of retribution and retaliation as shall seem adequate to repress and punish these barbarities; and whereas the orders above recited have only been published and made known to this Government since the signature of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war, which cartel, in so far as it provides for an exchange of prisoners hereafter captured, would never have been signed or agreed to by this Government, if the intention to change the war into a system of indiscriminate murder and robbery had been made known to it; and whereas a just regard to humanity forbids that the repression of crime which this Government is thus compelled to enforce, should be unnecessarily extended to retaliation on the enlisted men of the army of the United States, who may be unwilling instruments of the savage cruelty of their commanders, so long as there is hope that the excesses of the enemy may be checked or prevented by retribution on the commissioned officers, who have the power to avoid guilty action by refusing service under a government which seeks their aid in the perpetration of such infamous barbarities.

"*Seventh*—Therefore it is ordered that Major-General Pope, Brigadier-General Steinwehr, and all commissioned officers serving under their respective commands, be, and they are hereby expressly and specially declared to be not entitled to be considered as soldiers, and, therefore, not entitled to the benefit of the cartel for the parole of future prisoners of war.

"*Ordered*—Further, that in the event of the capture of Major-General Pope, or Brigadier-General Steinwehr, or of any commissioned officers serving under them, the captive so taken shall be held in close confinement so long as the orders aforesaid shall continue in force, and unrepealed by the competent military authority of the United States; and that in the event of the murder of any unarmed citizen or inhabitant of this Confederacy, by virtue or under pretext of one of the orders herein before recited, whether with or without trial, whether under the pretence of such a citizen being a spy or hostage, or any other pretence, it shall be the duty of the Commanding General of the forces of this Confederacy to cause immediately to be hung, out of the commissioned officers, prisoners as aforesaid, a number equal to the number of our own citizens thus murdered by the enemy. By order.

"S. COOPER,

"Assistant Adjutant General."

The following is a copy of the letter of Jefferson Davis to General Lee, instructing him to communicate the facts in the above order to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States armies:

"RICHMOND, VA., *July* 31, 1862.

"SIR: On the 23d of this month a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners of war was signed between Major-General D. H. Hill, in behalf of the Confederate States, and Major-General John A. Dix, in behalf of the United States. By the terms of that cartel it is stipulated that all prisoners of war hereafter taken shall be discharged on parole till exchanged. Scarcely had that cartel been signed, when the military authorities of the United States commenced a practice of changing the character of the war from such as becomes civilized nations into a campaign of indiscriminate robbery and murder. The general order issued by the Secretary of War of the United States in the city of Washington, on the very day that the cartel was signed in Virginia, directs military commanders of the United States to take the private property of our people for the convenience and use of their armies without compensation.

"The general order issued by Major-General Pope, on the 23d of July, the day after the signing of the cartel, directs the murder of our peaceful inhabitants as spies, if found quietly tilling the farms in his rear, even outside of his lines; and one of his brigadier-generals (Steinwehr) has seized upon innocent and peaceful inhabitants to be held as hostages, to the end that they may be murdered in cold blood, if any of his soldiers are killed by some unknown persons whom he designates as 'bushwackers.' Under this state of facts, the Government has issued the inclosed general order, recognizing General Pope and his commissioned officers to be in the position they have chosen for themselves—that of robbers and murderers, and not that of public enemies, entitled, if captured, to be considered as prisoners of war. We find ourselves driven by our enemies, by steady progress, toward a practice which we abhor, and which we are vainly struggling to avoid. Some of the military authorities of the United States seem to suppose that better success will attend a savage war, in which no quarter is to be given, and no age or sex to be spared, than has hitherto been secured by such hostilities as are alone recognized to be lawful by civilized men in modern times.

"For the present we renounce our right of retaliation on the innocent, and shall continue to treat the private enlisted soldiers of General Pope's army as prisoners of war; but if, after notice to the Government at Washington of our confining repressive measures to the punishment only of commissioned officers, who are willing participants in these crimes, the savage practices are continued, we shall reluctantly be forced to the last resort of accepting the war chosen by our foes, until the outraged voice of a common humanity forces a respect for the recognized rules of war. While these facts would justify our refusal to execute the generous cartel, by which we have consented to liberate an excess of thousands of prisoners held by us beyond the number held by the enemy, a sacred regard to plighted faith,

shrinking from the mere semblance of breaking a promise, prevents our resort to this extremity.

"Nor do we desire to extend to any other forces of the enemy the punishment meted above to General Pope and such commissioned officers as choose to participate in the execution of his infamous orders.

"You are therefore instructed to communicate to the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States the contents of this letter and a copy of the inclosed general order, to the end that he may be notified of our intention not to consider any officers hereafter captured from General Pope's army as prisoners of war.

"Very respectfully yours, etc.,

"JEFF. DAVIS.

"General R. E. LEE, Com'ding, etc."

General Pope began at once to concentrate his scattered forces, and to prepare to advance against the enemy. Detachments were pushed forward as far as Luray, on the west slope of the Blue Ridge, and the towns of Warrenton and Little Washington being abandoned by the enemy and occupied by the Union troops, reconnoitring forces drove the enemy's scouts and guerrilla bands from Culpepper Court House and Orange Court House, and penetrated as far south as Gordonsville, the junction of the Orange and Alexandria and Virginia Central railroads, where they destroyed a large quantity of railroad property and stores.

July 18.

July 20. An expedition sent out by General King, consisting of the Harris Light Cavalry, Colonel Davies, was executed in an equally spirited and successful manner.

"They left Fredericksburg," reported General Pope, "at seven P.M., on the 19th, and after a forced march during the night, made a descent at daylight upon the Virginia Central Railroad at Beaver Dam Creek, twenty-five miles west of Hanover Junction, and thirty-five miles from Richmond. They destroyed the railroad and telegraph line for several miles, burned up the dépôt, which contained 40,000 rounds of musket ammunition, one hundred barrels of flour, and much other valuable property, and brought in a captain in charge as a prisoner. The whole country was thrown into a great state of alarm. One private was wounded on our side. The cavalry marched eighty miles in thirty hours. The affair was most successful, and reflects high credit upon the commanding officer and his troops."

A second expedition, also sent out by General King from Fredericksburg on the road to Richmond, met and defeated a body of the enemy's horse, a hundred strong, near Carmel church, burned their camp and six cars loaded with corn, and broke the telegraph to Gordonsville. On the return of the Unionists they were attacked by a large body of Stuart's cavalry, who were however defeated, driven across the North Anna River, and pursued within sight of Hanover Junction. "A march of seventy miles, the encounter and defeat of two bodies of rebel cavalry were accomplished," reported Gen-

July 22.

eral Pope, "in twenty-nine hours, and without the loss of a man."

These successful movements were, however, merely preliminary to a general concentration and advance of his forces by General Pope, who now assumed the command in person.

July 29.

The enemy, aroused to their danger, had in the mean time advanced from Richmond to Gordonsville, where they posted their main body, but threw forward their advance and scouts as far as Orange Court House.

A reconnoitring column, however, under General Crawford, having crossed the Rapidan, succeeded in clearing Orange Court House of the two regiments of cavalry which occupied it, and taking possession of the town. Eleven of the enemy were killed and fifty-two taken prisoners. The Union loss was but two killed and three wounded. The railroad and telegraph line to Gordonsville were at the same time destroyed. The subsequent movements of the army of General Pope, and the bloody encounter at Cedar Mountain which resulted, are best related by the General himself.

Aug. 3.

"On Thursday morning," says General Pope, in his report of August 13th, "the enemy crossed the Rapidan at Barnett's Ford, in heavy force, and advanced strong on the road to Culpepper and Madison Court House. I had established my whole force on the turnpike between Culpepper and Sperryville, ready to concentrate at either place as soon as the enemy's plans were developed.

Aug. 7.

"Early on Friday it became apparent that the move on Madison Court House was merely a feint to detain the army corps of General Sigel at Sperryville, and that the main attack of the enemy would be at Culpepper, to which place I had thrown forward part of Generals Banks' and McDowell's corps. Brigadier-General Bayard, with part of the rear of McDowell's corps, who was in advance near the Rapidan, fell slowly back, delaying and embarrassing the enemy's advance as far as possible, and capturing some of his men.

"The forces of Generals Banks and Sigel, and one of the divisions of General McDowell's corps, were rapidly concentrated at Culpepper during Friday and Friday night, Banks' corps being pushed forward five miles south of Culpepper, with Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps three miles in his rear.

"The corps of General Sigel, which had marched all night, was halted in Culpepper to rest for a few hours.

"On Saturday the enemy advanced rapidly to Cedar Mountain, the sides of which they occupied in heavy force.

"General Banks was instructed to take up his position on the ground occupied by Crawford's brigade, of his command, which had been thrown out the day previous to observe the enemy's movements. He was directed not to advance beyond that point, and if attacked by the enemy to defend his position and send back timely notice.

"It was my desire to have time to give the corps of General Sigel all the rest possible after their forced march,

and to bring forward all the forces at my disposal.

"The artillery of the enemy was opened early in the afternoon; but he made no advance until nearly five o'clock, at which time a few skirmishers were thrown forward on each side under cover of the heavy wood in which his force was concealed.

"The enemy pushed forward a strong force in the rear of his skirmishers, and General Banks advanced to the attack.

"The engagement did not fairly open until after six o'clock, but for an hour and a half was furious and unceasing.

"Throughout the cannonading, which at first was desultory, and directed mainly against the cavalry, I had continued to receive reports from General Banks that no attack was apprehended, and that no considerable infantry force of the enemy had come forward.

"Yet, toward evening, the increase in the artillery firing having satisfied me an engagement might be at hand, though the lateness of the hour rendered it unlikely, I ordered General McDowell to advance Ricketts' division to support General Banks, and directed General Sigel to bring his men upon the ground as soon as possible.

"I arrived personally upon the field at seven P.M., and found the action raging furiously. The infantry firing was incessant and severe.

"I found General Banks holding the position he took up early in the morning. His losses were heavy.

"Ricketts' division was immediately pushed forward and occupied the right of General Banks, the brigades of Crawford and Gordon being directed to change their position from the right and mass themselves in the centre.

"Before this change could be effected it was quite dark, though the artillery fire continued at short range without intermission.

"The artillery fire at night, by the Second and Fifth Maine batteries in Ricketts' division of General McDowell's corps, was most destructive, as was readily observable the next morning in the dead men and horses and broken gun-carriages of the enemy's battery which had been advanced against it.

"Our troops rested on their arms during the night in line of battle, the heavy shelling being kept up on both sides until midnight.

"At daylight the next morning the enemy fell back two miles from our front, and still higher up the mountain.

"Our pickets at once advanced and occupied the ground.

"The fatigue of the troops, from long marches and excessive heat, made it impossible for either side to resume the action on Sunday. The men were therefore allowed to rest and recruit the whole day, our only active operation being of cavalry on the enemy's flank and rear.

"Monday was spent in burying the dead and in getting off the wounded.

"The slaughter was severe on both sides, most of the fighting being hand to hand.

"The dead bodies of both armies were found mingled together in masses over the whole ground of the conflict.

"The burying of the dead was not completed until dark on Monday, the heat being so terrible that severe work was not possible.

"On Monday night the enemy fled from the field, leaving many of his dead unburied, and his wounded on the ground and along the road to Orange Court House, as will be seen from General Buford's dispatch.

"A cavalry and artillery force under General Buford was immediately thrown forward in pursuit, and followed the enemy to the Rapidan, over which he passed with his rear-guard by ten o'clock in the morning.

"The behavior of General Banks' corps during the action was very fine. No greater gallantry and daring could be exhibited by any troops.

"I cannot speak too highly of the coolness and intrepidity of General Banks himself during the whole of the engagement. He was in front, and exposed as much as any man in his command. His example was of the greatest benefit to his troops, and he merits and should receive the commendation of his Government.

"Generals Williams, Augur, Gordon, Crawford, Prince, Green, and Geary behaved with conspicuous gallantry.

"Augur and Geary were severely wounded, and Prince, by losing his way in the dark, while passing from one flank to another, fell into the hands of the enemy.

"I desire publicly to express my appreciation of the prompt and skilful manner in which Generals McDowell and Sigel brought forward their respective commands and established them in the field, and of their cheerful and hearty co-operation with me from beginning to end.

"Brigadier-General Roberts, chief of cavalry of this army, was with the advance of our forces on Friday and Saturday, and was conspicuous for his gallantry and for the valuable aid he rendered to Generals Banks and Crawford.

"Our loss was about 1,500 killed, wounded, and missing, of whom 290 were taken prisoners. As might be expected from the character of the engagement, a very large proportion of these were killed.

"The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, we are now satisfied, is much in excess of our own."

General Buford, who was sent in pursuit of the retiring enemy, thus reported the results of his operations:

"I have the honor to report," wrote the General on the 13th of August, "that, in obedience to instructions received from the Major-General commanding the Army of Virginia, this morning I proceeded in the direction of Orange Court House, with the First Vermont, Colonel Tompkins; First Michigan, Colonel Broadhead; First Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond; Fifth New York, Colonel DeForest (cavalry regiments), and four pieces of artillery.

"About three or four miles from your headquarters I discovered the pickets of the enemy, and soon after two large bodies of cavalry, and the woods filled

with footmen. A strong line of skirmishers was thrown out, who rode along in the pathway. When in range of the enemy a few shells were thrown, which dispersed him in all directions. The footmen kept in the woods, and fled by Rapidan Station. The cavalry fled down the Orange Court House roads.

"I pursued them cautiously, fearing an ambuscade, to Crooked River, which had swollen to such an extent that my artillery could not cross. Part of the First Vermont and First Virginia cavalry swam the river, and continued the pursuit to Robinson River, which was so full and turbulent as to be extremely dangerous.

"In the pursuit, a good many prisoners wounded in Saturday's fight were found almost abandoned. Major Andrews, chief of artillery to General Jackson, was found badly wounded at Crooked River, in charge of an assistant surgeon.

"The flight of the enemy after Saturday's fight was most precipitate and in great confusion. His old camp was strewn with dead men, horses, and arms. His flag of truce yesterday to bury his dead afforded some more time for his escape.

"The enemy to-day has the benefit of a hard rain, which put high water between us."

General Jackson, though his flight was "most precipitate," gave proof of his characteristic skill in retreat, by managing to move off all his supposed large force safely, "excepting a few stragglers."

Both antagonists claimed the victory on that bloody field of Culpepper. General Halleck, the commander-in-chief of the United States forces, expressed his satisfaction with the result, and paid an emphatic tribute to the gallantry of General Pope and his army.*

The enemy† manifested no less satisfaction with the conduct of their army and its commander, and boasted of a victory over superior numbers. With the capture of several of General Pope's officers, the Confederate Government was enabled to put into execution its threatened acts of retaliation, and accordingly refused to treat them with the consideration due to honorable prisoners of war.

General Pope, daily receiving reinforcements, was emboldened to continue his advances on the north of the Rapidan, the crossing of which the enemy, in strong force on the other side, seemed disposed to dispute.

General Burnside having landed at Acquia Creek, with the troops he had so successfully led in North Carolina, and being strengthened by reinforcements from McClellan's camp on the James River and other quarters, occupied Fredericksburg, and prepared to

* WASHINGTON, *Aug.* 15, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE:

Your telegram of last evening was most satisfactory, and I congratulate you and your army, and particularly General Banks and his corps, on your hard-earned but brilliant success against vastly superior numbers. Your troops have covered themselves with glory, and Cedar Mountain will be known in history as one of the great battle-fields of the war.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

† The strength of the enemy was computed to be 24,913 men.

co-operate with Pope's army on the Rapidan.

General McClellan himself made a show of activity, either with the view of creating a diversion in favor of General Pope or of concealing an important manœuvre of his own army, which will soon be related.

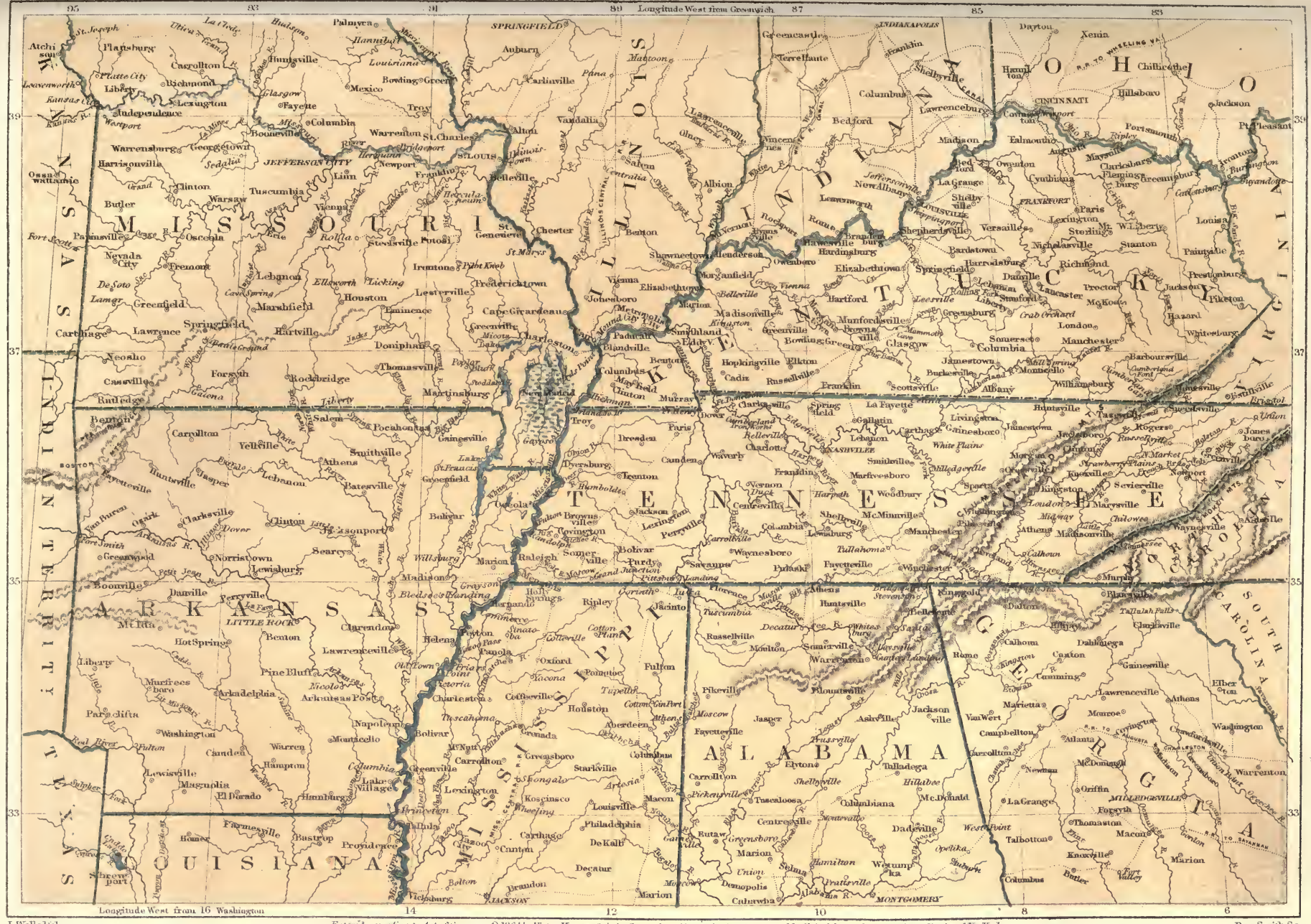
Malvern Hill, which had been the last and bloodiest scene of the six days' struggle during McClellan's retreat, was now occupied by a column under the command of General Hooker, after a severe artillery engagement with the enemy. This position, however, was only held a single day, when General Hooker skilfully retired on the approach of the enemy in great numbers, who were allowed to re-occupy the hill without resistance. Aug. 5.

Greatly annoyed by the enemy's frequent interruptions to his only communication, McClellan drove the enemy away from the right bank of the James River, which he occupied with a considerable force. He thus secured his camp, his gun-boats, and transports from the fire of artillery to which they had been hitherto exposed. Having thus provided for the safety of his army, he at the same time bent all his energies toward restoring it to its former effective condition. The sick, wounded, and incapable were sent away by thousands, and the serviceable were got ready for immediate and active duty, preparatory to a movement in co-operation with the new campaign in Virginia.

The important manœuvre for which McClellan had been preparing his army proved to be the evacuation of the encampment at Harrison's Landing, which was finally accomplished on the 16th of August. On that day the advance had reached Williamsburg, preparatory to a removal of the whole army from the peninsula of Virginia formed by the York and James rivers. The success with which this manœuvre was accomplished was creditable to the prudence of McClellan, who had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy, by whom nothing was attempted to embarrass the movement. It was reported* "that Major-General McClellan had stoutly protested against its policy, and even went so far as to repair to Fortress Monroe, from there to hold telegraphic communication with the authorities at Washington, and if possible to induce them to alter their plan of operations. Aug. 16.

"General McClellan contended that inasmuch as Pope has drawn the largest portion of the rebel forces to the Shenandoah valley, our army could march into Richmond within twenty-four hours after receiving orders to that effect. But the Army of the Potomac must leave its advanced position, give up the hard-earned laurels won on the peninsula, and return—where? Probably to a place where stereotyped dispatches may be sent every day that 'everything is quiet on the lines of the Potomac.' There is not a man in McClellan's entire army, who has the faculty to reflect upon the state of affairs, that does not hang his head in

* Correspondent N. Y. *Herald*, Aug. 19.



J. Wells Del.

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Rae Smith Sc.

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mortification at the idea of a retrograde movement. Every one regrets it, and the question among them naturally arises, 'What are we to do next?'"

The public confidence was encouraged, however, by a movement which secured the safety of an army so dearly cherished for its proven courage, and set it free to perform that service to the country of which it was known to be capable.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Character of the War in the West.—Beauregard's Army broken up.—Disposition of its parts.—General Bragg succeeds Beauregard.—Rumors in regard to the latter.—Movements of Bragg.—Van Dorn at Vicksburg.—Kirby Smith at Chattanooga.—Price on the Mississippi.—Disposition of the Union Generals in the West.—A war of Posts.—Advantage to the Enemy.—The Guerrilla Warfare.—Audacious Exploits of Morgan.—His Raid into Kentucky.—Ohio and Indiana invaded.—General Alarm.—Safe return of Morgan.—His Deeds summed up.—Again in the Saddle.—Capture of Gallatin.—Attack on McCook.—Exploits of Forrest.—Nashville in Danger.—The Activity of the Enemy in East Tennessee.—Attack on Tazewell.—Capture of Clarksville.—Morgan again at Gallatin.—Bragg concentrates a large Force at Chattanooga.—Great Designs.—Agitation in Kentucky.—Action of Magoffin.—His Resignation.—His Successor.—Trouble in Missouri.—Activity of Guerrillas.

AFTER the retreat* of the enemy under General Beauregard from Corinth, the character of the war in the West became changed. The concentrated hosts which had struggled together on the field of Shiloh, and had so long confronted each other before Corinth, were broken into detachments,

1862.

* The following is the enemy's account of Beauregard's retreat from Corinth:

"The enemy before Corinth would not accept battle in the open field, although his forces greatly exceeded ours. Between the first and the last of May we marched out of our intrenchments four times and offered him battle. At Farmington, on the 9th, we attacked his position and took it, almost without resistance. He made no effort to reinforce or support the brigades which occupied that place, and they soon retired before the superior forces we brought against them.

"This, and subsequent events, proved that the enemy was resolved not to give us battle except behind his own breast-works, and when he would have in his favor every advantage which superiority of position, of forces, and of means could give him. He sought to invest Corinth, and by means of his vast resources and of his convenient dépôts on the Tennessee River to compel its surrender.

"After full consideration of these facts, General Beauregard resolved to withdraw his army to a position where the enemy would be compelled either to give battle in a fair field or to confess before the world that he dare not do so. The preparations for withdrawing the forces commenced about one week before we left Corinth. The interval was occupied in cutting out and opening wagon roads to our rear, and in moving the sick, the heavy baggage, and the surplus stores of the army.

"On the 28th the troops, ready for battle, moved out from their intrenchments and took position before the lines of the enemy.

"The writer of this can only state what was subsequently done by the Army of the West, commanded by General Van Dorn. For more than two days and nights we remained within a mile or little more of the enemy's main forces. During this time we had several inconsiderable affairs with his advanced troops. A Texas regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, attacked two regiments on the morning of the 29th and drove them back to their main body, after inflicting heavy loss.

"A hastily constructed redan, in which were placed two twelve pounders and two twenty-four pounders of a field battery, gave great annoyance to the enemy, silencing his guns whenever he brought them up, and driving off in confusion a large force of infantry.

"At eleven o'clock on the night of the 30th the advanced brigade of the Army of the West commenced to

some of which were sent to reinforce the armies in Virginia, some to guard and strengthen the various posts in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, and others to take part in the guerrilla warfare which now prevailed in most of those States.

General Beauregard, having been relieved of the command of the Confederate army of the Mississippi, was succeeded by General Bragg. The mysterious movements of the former gave rise to much vague conjecture. At one time he was reported to be actively engaged in the defence of Richmond, whither, undoubtedly, many of his best troops had been sent; at another, to have been removed from command and disgraced for his retreat from Corinth; and again, to have retired for ever from service, so broken in spirit and weakened in mind as

withdraw from before the army commanded by General John Pope. The rear-guard moved at about half-past one o'clock A.M. The night was dark. The ambulance, ordnance, and artillery train was long, and the column moved very slowly, so that it was eight A.M. before the rear-guard had crossed Bridge Creek, five miles from where it had moved at half-past one A.M.

"The whole army, with every wheeled vehicle belonging to it, having passed this creek, the rear-guard remained to obstruct and defend the passage until the army could have time to take up its position for battle, in the event of the enemy's resolving to follow us.

"The passage of the creek was soon effectually blockaded, and the rear-guard took position to oppose the enemy. Here we remained until eleven o'clock, quietly awaiting the approach of General Pope's army. We then, leaving our cavalry with orders to remain for several hours, unless forced by the enemy, resumed our march.

"We marched slowly, stopping to obstruct all passes, until about five o'clock in the afternoon, when we rejoined the army, encamped upon a creek about eleven miles from our camp at Corinth. The cavalry of the rear-guard rejoined us about sunset, and reported no signs of the enemy being in our rear.

"The next day we marched thirteen miles, and encamped several miles beyond Booneville; on the next day we marched to Baldwin, about twelve miles, and took position to receive an attack in case the enemy could resolve to make one. We waited for him here six days, when we moved to Tupello for the sake of better water. From the first to the last of this extraordinary movement we had no intimation of a desire for action on the part of the enemy or any portion of his forces. It is difficult to account for this upon any other supposition than that he dared not attack us. Military men, and the common sense of the people, will ascribe his conduct to this cause alone.

"No movement was ever conducted with more complete success than was our change of position from the immediate front of the enemy to where we now are, without loss of men or material. We destroyed in Corinth an inconsiderable amount of stores. A railroad bridge over the Tuscumbia was ordered to be burned at sunrise of the 31st ult. The officer charged with the duty executed it according to his orders. Unfortunately, seven trains of cars loaded with stores had not yet passed, and were consequently destroyed by our troops. On the 30th the enemy sent a detachment of cavalry down to Booneville, which we failed to intercept. This detachment appears to have been cleverly commanded; it got well behind us, destroyed our railroad train of stores, and escaped the parties which had been sent to attack it.

"Besides these, there were no contretemps or accidents to interfere with the complete execution of one of the most remarkable feats of the war.

"The statements of General Pope that he took 10,000 prisoners and 15,000 stand of arms can be readily explained by those who know the fervor of his sanguine imagination. The results of his 'hard pushing' in pursuit of an enemy he dared not come up with, will be found to be as real as the gushing artesian wells which his official reports developed on the staked plains, during the three years' expensive explorations which he conducted in those regions.

"It is more inexplicable that the commander-in-chief of the enemy's great army can undertake to satisfy his public by such chaff as is contained in his official dispatch of the —— inst., and that he should endeavor to gloss over his failure by forwarding to his Government the transparent inventions of General John Pope. How depraved must a people be, how degraded a Government, when, in this age of intelligence and of moral progress, its great military commanders lay aside truth and resort to shallow falsehoods to serve as temporary substitutes for victories they dare not attempt!

"This movement of General Beauregard will convince all military men that he is the master of General Halleck in the art of war. And all will perceive that our troops are regarded by the enemy as very formidable antagonists, since they dare not engage us when greatly outnumbering us, unless protected by their gun-boats or breast-works."

to be indisposed and incapable of further duty. Gen. Bragg, in the mean time, having made a stand with a portion of the fugitives of Beauregard's army at Grenada, Okolona, and Tupello, was hovering about the borders of Mississippi and Alabama to guard those States against invasion from the Union troops which occupied Grand Junction, Corinth, Florence, Huntsville, Tuscumbia, and other points on the Memphis and Richmond Railroad and the Tennessee River. General Van Dorn had taken the command at Vicksburg, whose success in the defence of that city has been already related. Chattanooga, in southeastern Tennessee, was still held by the enemy in considerable force under General Kirby Smith, and in the northeast of the same State they were sufficiently powerful to check the immediate advance of the Union troops, which, however, had secured possession of the pass of the Cumberland Gap.

General Price was manœuvring on the borders of the Mississippi River, with the view of co-operating with the enemy in Arkansas and marching once more into Missouri, which had so frequently suffered from his merciless raids.

July 20. On the departure of General Halleck to assume his high position at Washington, General Grant became the commander-in-chief of the Union forces in the West, and soon after, being appointed to the command of Western Tennessee, proceeded to Memphis. General Buell was stationed at Huntsville, Alabama; Rosecrans, lately transferred to the West, was at Tuscumbia; Corinth was held by two divisions under command of General Thomas; General Sherman was also in Mississippi; General McClernand was at Jackson, in Tennessee; General Nelson at Nashville; General Pope had been called to the command in Central Virginia, and General Mitchell ordered to Washington in consequence of charges of misconduct.

With this dispersion of the opposing armies, the struggle in the West became a war of posts and guerrillas. So fully occupied were the scattered Union troops in holding the cities and strategic positions on the railways and rivers which had been wrested from the enemy, that it was found impossible to concentrate them in sufficiently large bodies for carrying on an offensive campaign. This proved of great advantage to the enemy, who, finding that they were no longer in danger of being overwhelmed by great armies which could be only opposed by great armies, at a cost which, with their inferior resources, they could not well sustain, gladly accepted the change in the style of warfare. Our necessity thus became their opportunity. With their armies divided into small detached forces and guerrilla bands, they could now make the war self-supporting. There was no further need of commissary and paymaster, for their adventurous soldiers were willing to trust to their own unrestrained enterprise for supplies, subsistence, and payment of wages. The war being, moreover, in their own country, they were familiar with every road, pass, and

hiding-place, and thus could surprise and attack with effect, or fly and escape with impunity.

The enemy soon gave proof of their skill and enterprise in a rapid succession of guerrilla attacks in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. It is impossible to narrate in detail these movements of an irregular warfare, so offensive to the dignity of the official bulletin, and so perplexing to the industry of the curious chronicler, that the one does not condescend, and the other is unable, to record them. A general statement, however, will suffice for the purposes of this narrative, and be sufficient to give the reader an idea of the progress of the civil war, and the character of the struggle in that portion of the country where this irregular warfare was waged.

The audacious expeditions of the leader Morgan were the most notable of these guerrilla expeditions of the enemy. This daring partisan chief having crossed from Tennessee into Kentucky with a small band of horsemen, which, however, he increased to several thousands on his march, surprised and captured at Tankinsville 270 men of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, with a large quantity of stores and munitions of war. He then passed rapidly into the interior of Kentucky, showing himself now at Glasgow, and soon after at Lebanon, where he "burned the town and robbed the bank." Again in the saddle, he crossed the Kentucky River, threatening Lexington and Frankfort. He, however, passed beyond to the north, and penetrated almost to the borders of Ohio. Paris and Cynthiana—the latter only sixty miles from Cincinnati—were surprised and captured, and the people of Ohio even became anxious lest the daring marauder should invade their State. He, however, suddenly changed his course, and sent a squad of his troops to Henderson (Ky.), which they captured, and thence crossing the Ohio River into Indiana, took possession of Newburg.

July 17.

July 17.

The fact is thus described by the Evansville (Ind.) *Journal*, July 18:

"About three o'clock yesterday afternoon our city was thrown into great excitement by the arrival of a messenger from Newburg, with the intelligence that a squad of forty of A. R. Johnson's marauders had crossed the river at Newburg and plundered the hospital at that place.

"The signal of danger was at once given, and in less than one hour 1,000 men were under arms, and cannon went rattling through our streets. The city, which has been in a most lamentable state of torpor for months, was thoroughly aroused, and every man who could get a musket, rifle, shot-gun, or revolver was at once under arms, and hundreds more were eagerly seeking weapons for aggression or defence.

"The alacrity with which the citizens responded gave most cheering evidence that when convinced of danger our people are equal to any emergency. A company of infantry, with a squad of artillery with two guns, left on board the Eugene, at half-past five o'clock, for Newburg.

"Captain Dexter had the Courier fired up with all dispatch, and having armed his crew, and with a small squad of infantry, steamed off up the river. He was fearfully in earnest, and declared his determination to prevent the rebels from re-crossing the river, if they were found on this side, and to use the Courier as a ram in case of need. The saucy little Courier went out 'flying light and running for glory.'

"The Eugene made excellent time also, and with guns on each guard and decks, and crowded with men, made a formidable appearance.

"We learn that the chivalrous horde, who make war on sick soldiers in unguarded hospitals, did not tarry long in Newburg, but skulked back across the river after they had stolen what they could.

"A Union soldier arrived from Newburg after dark last night. He says the rebels numbered thirty-two men. They stole all the arms and equipments to be found, a lot of provisions, parolled all the Union soldiers in the hospital, stole a wagon and two horses, and then re-crossed the river.

"Two men—residents of Newburg—who were notorious secesh sympathizers, and who came over the river with the guerrillas, and remained when the latter returned, were shot down and killed by a citizen. Their names were Carney and Mefford.

"The Courier returned at nine o'clock, and reports that she proceeded to the mouth of Green River, where they found the boat in which the marauders had crossed the river, and which they took possession of.

"A man on the point, dressed in a red shirt, stepped out of the brush and fired on the boat with a shot-gun, wounding one of the hands on the boat slightly. The boys on the boat fired into the brush, but with what effect is not known. They took one man prisoner, whom they handed over to the Eugene. The Courier, having performed her mission, returned to the city.

"The Eugene proceeded to Newburg. It is said the rebels had four pieces of artillery planted on the Kentucky shore. If this is so, and they remained there until the Eugene arrived, there would be somebody hurt, sure, as our boys went up to rid the world of all such cowardly thieves as those who rob hospitals.

"Several reports of artillery were heard about eight o'clock, since which time all has been quiet. Evansville is full of armed men, and an earnest spirit prevails. It is supposed the guerrillas got some 200 guns, and parolled about eighty-five sick soldiers. They occupied the town some three or four hours.

"The citizens watched the guerrillas crossing the river, and strange as it may seem, offered not the slightest resistance."

Morgan's men were thus the first of the enemy to invade a Northern State. In the course of this bold raid Morgan had gathered to his standard a considerable number of recruits, subsisted his band on the country, destroyed large quantities of stores and munitions of

war belonging to the United States Government, interrupted its communications by tearing up rails and severing telegraph wires, and added to the bitterness of civil contention in Kentucky. Although these exploits had aroused the Unionists to a full sense of their danger, they were unable, with all the armed force at their command throughout the State, to arrest the daring Morgan, who succeeded in resisting their power and eluding their vigilance, and returned in safety to Tennessee, with but a small loss of men in the occasional skirmishes he had had with the United States troops, while he boasted that "he had taken seventeen cities and towns, with a very heavy amount of army stores."

A Kentucky Unionist wrote: "Morgan is ubiquitous in more senses than one. We feel his power east and west of us. His force, divided, has appeared in the Blue Grass region, and in the tobacco fields in the Green River valley. * * * * * Morgan travels with speed. His operations are rapid and vigorous. In a decent cause they would deserve success. Even in this vile cause they meet with unprecedented success, and would stamp the rascal who plans them as a man of ability, if we did not know that he was only a bad gambler and a faro dealer. (This was his former occupation in peaceable times in Kentucky.*)"

Once more in Tennessee, the active Morgan did not allow the grass to grow beneath his horse's feet, but suddenly galloped into Gallatin, and finding the sentinels asleep, captured the Union commander of the post, together with eight hundred men, nineteen freight-cars, eighty-seven horses, and "a lot of corn and oats." In less than a week he reappeared at the same place, and not finding much booty gave vent to his disappointment by "burning the houses and hanging some of the Union citizens." While not engaged in taking cities and seizing property, Morgan and his men busied themselves in destroying railways and telegraph lines. He was constantly interrupting the communications of the Union forces, which were kept busy in restoring them. The road from Nashville to Louisville, by the way of Gallatin, was thus so much damaged that it took the Unionists several weeks to mend it, while they were in constant fear of its being again injured by the ever-active guerrillas. Aug. 12.

The following is General Morgan's official report of his raid into Kentucky:

"HEADQUARTERS MORGAN'S COMMAND,
KNOXVILLE, TENN., *July* 30.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL E. KIRBY, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF EAST TENNESSEE:

"GENERAL: I have the honor to report that upon the day of the engagement at Tompkinsville, * * * I moved my command—consisting of my own regiment, the Georgia Regiment of Partisan Rangers, commanded by Colonel A. A. Hunt, and Major Gano's Texas squadron, to which were attached two companies of Tennessee Cavalry—in the direction of Glasgow, which place I reached at twelve o'clock last night.

"There were but few troops in the

* This is believed to be incorrect.

town, who fled at our approach. The commissary stores, clothing, etc., together with a large supply of medical stores, found in Glasgow, were burned, and the guns were distributed among my command, about 200 of whom were unarmed when I left Knoxville.

"From Glasgow I proceeded along the main Lexington road to Barren River, halting for a time near Cave City —my object being to induce the belief that I intended destroying the railroad bridge between Bowling Green and Woodsonville. I caused wires connected with a portable battery which I carried with me to be attached to the telegraph line near Horse Cave, and intercepted a number of dispatches.

"At Barren River I detached three companies, under Captain Jack Allen, to move forward rapidly and destroy Salt River bridge, that the troops along the line of railroad might be prevented from returning to Louisville.

"On the following morning I moved on toward Lebanon, distant thirty-five miles from Barren River. At eleven o'clock at night I reached the bridge over Rolling Fork, six miles from Lebanon. The enemy had received information of my approach from their spies, and my advance guard was fired upon at the bridge. After a short fight the force at the bridge was dispersed, and the planks, which had been torn up, having been replaced, the command moved forward to Lebanon. About two miles from the town a skirmish took place between two companies that I caused to dismount and deploy and a force of the enemy posted upon the road, which was soon ended by its dispersion and capture. Lieutenant-Colonel A. Y. Johnson, commanding the troops in town, surrendered, and I entered the place. The prisoners taken, in number about sixty-five, were parolled.

"I took immediate possession of the telegraph, and intercepted a dispatch to Colonel Johnson, informing him that Colonel Owen with the Sixtieth Indiana Regiment had been sent to his assistance; so I at once dispatched a company of Texan rangers, under Major Gano, to destroy the railroad bridges on the Lebanon Branch, which he successfully accomplished in time to prevent the arrival of the troops. I burned two long buildings full of commissary stores, consisting of upward of 500 sacks of coffee, and a large amount of other supplies in bulk, marked for the army at Cumberland Gap. I also destroyed a very large amount of clothing, boots, etc. I burned the hospital buildings, which appeared to have been recently erected and fitted up, together with about thirty-five wagons and fifty-three new ambulances. I found in the place a large store of medicines, 5,000 stand of arms with accoutrements, about 2,000 sabres, and an immense quantity of ammunition, shells, etc. I distributed the best arms among my command, and loaded one wagon with them, to be given to the recruits that I expected to join me. I also loaded one wagon with ammunition. The remainder of the arms, ammunition, and the hospital and medical stores I destroyed.

"While in Lebanon, I ascertained from

telegraphic dispatches that I intercepted, that the force which had been started from Lebanon Junction to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, had met and driven back the force under Captain Jack Allen, killing one of his men, and preventing him accomplishing the purpose for which he had been detailed.

"I proceeded from Lebanon on the following day through Springfield to Macksville, at which point I was attacked by Home Guards. Two of my men were taken prisoners, and one severely wounded. I remained at Macksville that night to recover the prisoners, which I did early the next morning. I then left for Harrodsburg, capturing a Federal captain and lieutenant on the road; reached Harrodsburg at half-past twelve o'clock, and found that the Home Guards of all that portion of country had fled to Lexington. A force was also stationed on the bridge where the Lexington road crossed the Kentucky River. My reception at this place was very encouraging. The whole population appeared to turn out and vie with each other as who should show us most attention.

"I left Harrodsburg at six o'clock the same evening, and moved to Lawrenceburg, twenty miles distant, threatening Frankfort in order to draw off the troops from Georgetown. Remained there until the return of my courier from Frankfort, who brought the information that there was a force in Frankfort of two or three thousand men, consisting of Home Guards collected from the adjacent counties, and a few regular troops.

"From Lawrenceburg I proceeded to Shryke's Ferry, on the Kentucky River, raised the boat, which had been sunk, and crossed that evening, reaching Versailles at seven o'clock. I found this place abandoned by its defenders, who had fled to Lexington; remained there that night, and on the next morning marched toward Georgetown. While at Versailles I took about 300 Government horses and mules.

"I passed through Midway on the road to Georgetown, and was informed, just before reaching the place, that a train from Frankfort was nearly due, with two regiments of Federals. I tore up the track and posted a howitzer to command it, and formed my command along the line of the road; but the train was warned of our presence and returned to Frankfort. Having taken possession of the telegraph office, I intercepted a dispatch asking if the road was clear, and if it would be safe to start the train from Lexington. I replied to send the train, and made preparations to receive it; but it was also turned back and escaped.

"I reached Georgetown, twelve miles from Lexington, that evening. Just before entering the town, I was informed that a small force of Home Guards had mustered to oppose us. I sent them word to surrender their arms and they should not be molested, but they fled. The people of Georgetown also welcomed us with gladness, and provided my troops with everything that they

needed. I remained at Georgetown two days, during which time I sent out a company under Captain McMillen to destroy the track between Midway and Lexington, and Midway and Frankfort, and to blow up the stone bridge on that road, which he successfully accomplished. Hearing that a company of Home Guards were encamped at Stamping Ground, thirteen miles distant, I dispatched a company under Captain Hamilton to break up the encampment, burn the tents and stores, and destroy the guns. This was also accomplished—Captain Hamilton taking fifteen prisoners and all their guns, and destroying a large amount of medical and commissary supplies. I also, while at Georgetown, sent Captain Castleman, with his company, to destroy the railroad bridges between Paris and Lexington, and report to me at Winchester. This was done.

"Determining to move on Paris, with a view of returning, and hearing that the place was being rapidly reinforced from Cynthiana, I deemed it of great importance to cut off the communication from that place, while I drew off the troops that were already there, by a feint on Lexington. I therefore dispatched a portion of two companies toward Lexington, with instructions to drive the pickets to the very entrance of the city, while I moved the command toward Cynthiana. When I arrived within three miles of the place, I learned that it was defended by a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. I dispatched the Texas squadron, under Major Gano, to enter the town on the right, and the Georgia Regiment to cross the river and get into the rear, while I moved my own regiment, with the artillery under the command of Lieutenant J. E. Harris, down the Georgetown pike. A severe engagement took place, which lasted about an hour and a half, before the enemy were driven into the town and compelled to surrender. I took 420 prisoners, including about seventy Home Guards. I regret to have to mention the loss of eight of my men in killed and twenty-nine wounded. The enemy's loss was ninety-four killed and wounded, according to their own account. Their excess in killed and wounded is remarkable, as they fought us from behind stone fences, and fired at us from buildings as we charged through the town. We captured a very fine twelve-pounder brass piece of artillery, together with a large number of small-arms, and about 300 Government horses. The arms and Government stores were burned, and as many of the horses as we could bring with us were kept. I found a very large supply of commissary and medical stores, tents, guns, and ammunition at this place, which I destroyed. The parolled prisoners were sent under an escort to Falmouth, where they took the train for Cincinnati.

"I proceeded next morning toward Paris, and was met on the road by a bearer of a flag of truce, offering the unconditional surrender of the place. I reached Paris at four o'clock, remained there that night, and started toward

Winchester next morning. As my command was filing out of Paris on the Winchester pike, I discovered a large force of Federals coming toward the town from the direction of Lexington. They immediately countermarched, supposing, no doubt, that my intention was to get into the rear. This enabled me to bring off my entire command without molestation, with the exception of two of my pickets, who were probably surprised. I reached Winchester that day at twelve o'clock, and remained until four o'clock, when I proceeded toward Richmond.

"At Winchester I found a number of arms, which were destroyed.

"I arrived at Richmond at twelve o'clock that night, and remained until the next afternoon, when I proceeded to Crab Orchard. I had determined to make a stand at Richmond and await reinforcements, as the whole people appeared ready to rise and join me; but I received information that large bodies of cavalry, under General Clay Smith, and Colonels Wolsford, Metcalf, Mundy, and Wynkoop, were endeavoring to surround me at this place; so I moved on to Crab Orchard. There I attached my portable battery to the telegraph leading from Stanford to Louisville, and learned the exact position of the enemy's forces, and directed my movements accordingly.

"Leaving Crab Orchard at eleven o'clock, I arrived at Somerset, distant twenty-eight miles, at sundown. I took possession of the telegraph, and countermanded all the previous orders that had been given by General Boyle to intercept me, and remained in perfect security all night. I found a very large supply of commissary stores, clothing, blankets, shoes, hats, etc., at this place, which were destroyed. I also found the arms that had been taken from General Zollicoffer, together with large quantities of shell and ammunition, all of which were destroyed. I also burned at this place and Crab Orchard about 130 Government wagons.

"From Somerset I proceeded to Monticello, and from thence to between Livingston and Sparta, where my command is now encamped.

"I left Knoxville on the 4th day of this month, with about 900 men, and returned to Livingston on the 28th inst., with nearly 1,200, having been absent just twenty-four days, during which time I travelled over 1,000 miles, captured seventeen towns, destroyed all the Government supplies and arms in them, dispersed about 1,500 Home Guards, and paroled nearly 1,200 regular troops. I lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, of the number that I carried into Kentucky, about ninety.

"I take great pleasure in testifying to the gallant bravery and efficiency of my whole command. There were individual instances of daring so conspicuous that I must beg the privilege of referring to them. Private Moore, of Louisiana, a member of Company A, of my regiment, particularly distinguished himself in leading a charge at Cynthiana, which had an important effect in winning the battle. * * * * * * *
I feel indebted to all my aids for the

promptness with which my orders were executed, and particularly to Colonel St. Leger Grenfel, for the assistance which his experience afforded me.

"All of which is respectfully submitted. JOHN H. MORGAN,

"Acting Brigadier-General, C. S. A.

"R. A. ALSTON, A. A. G."

While the audacity of Morgan and his band did not fail to find admirers among those who are always ready to applaud courageous enterprise, in whatever cause displayed, there was a unanimous expression of indignation on the part of the Unionists at the conduct of the marauders toward General McCook. This distinguished officer was attacked while unable from illness to defend himself, and killed. He had proceeded in an ambulance to a spot near Salem (Ala.), for the purpose of marking out an encampment, when he was set upon by a guerrilla band. **Aug. 6.**

"It was impossible to think of flight," wrote a chronicler, "and General McCook's condition prohibited any idea of rescuing him. The guerrilla leader ordered the ambulance to stop, the assassins at the same time surrounding it. The vehicle was then upset, and the sick officer turned into the road. While on his knees, helpless, sick, and pleading for quarter, he was fired at by a ruffian and shot through the side.

"The wound was fatal, General McCook surviving it but a few hours. He bore his sufferings heroically, and to the last manifested an undaunted spirit. His last words were: 'Tell Aleck (alluding to his brother, General Alexander McDowell McCook) and the rest that I have tried to live like a man and do my duty.'

"When the news of the murder became known among the camps, the excitement was intense. The Ninth Ohio, McCook's own regiment, on learning of the assassination, marched back to the scene of the occurrence, burned every house in the neighborhood, and laid waste the lands. Several men who were implicated in the murder were taken out and hung to trees by the infuriated soldiery."

Other leaders rivalled the exploits of Morgan. Among them, Colonel Forrest was the most conspicuous; with several thousand Georgia and Alabama cavalry, Texan Rangers, and a guerrilla band he attacked two Union regiments, the Third Minnesota and Eleventh Michigan, 1,400 strong, posted at Murfreesboro, in Tennessee, and forced them to surrender, capturing, at the same time, a large quantity of valuable stores. In accordance with the usual tactics of guerrilla warfare, Colonel Forrest did not pretend to hold the post he had captured, but immediately retired with his booty and prepared for further raids. The nearness of Murfreesboro to Nashville caused great anxiety for the safety of the latter place; but General Nelson being on the alert, and having marched a formidable force to McMinnville, compelled Colonel Forrest, who was occupying the place, to retire. **July 13.**

In East Tennessee the enemy were no less bold. The Union troops, after securing Cumberland Gap and entering East Tennessee, occupied Tazewell,

an important position on the road to Knoxville. This place, the enemy, under General Stevenson, attempted to capture, and, apparently, with success, though the Federal general, George W. Morgan, seemed not depressed at the result. He said in his official report:

"On the 5th and 6th (August), De Courcey's brigade, with the Fourteenth Kentucky, had a series of brilliant affairs with Stevenson's division, in entire force. The enemy outnumbered De Courcey four to one.

"The enemy lost 225, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, of the Eleventh Tennessee, was taken prisoner. We captured two hundred wagon-loads of forage, 1,200 pounds of tobacco, and 30 horses and mules. We lost three killed, fifteen wounded, and fifty prisoners. Two companies of the Sixteenth Ohio were surrounded by two rebel regiments, but two-thirds of them cut their way through."

The general of the enemy, Stevenson, reported:

"After a gallant engagement of four hours we have routed the enemy, and they are in full retreat to their strongholds."

The enemy's partisan corps and guerrilla bands continued their bold and successful forays. Clarksville, in Tennessee, on the Cumberland, at the mouth of the Red River, about fifty miles from Nashville, was captured by Woodward, at the head of 900 men—the Union garrison, consisting of a portion of the Seventy-first Ohio Regiment, surrendering without a blow.

Aug. 19.

Again, the alert Morgan, with his 1,800 men, "finely mounted," fell upon General Johnson, with a force of 700, near Gallatin, captured the General with seventy-five of his soldiers, and put the rest to flight.

Aug. 21.

Encouraged by these successes, the enemy were reported to have concentrated considerable forces at Chattanooga (whither General Bragg had finally repaired) and Knoxville, in Tennessee, with the view of marching upon Nashville and Cumberland Gap, and making a combined effort to wrest the State once more from the Federal authority. After securing Tennessee, the enemy purposed, it was rumored, to advance into Kentucky, and even to extend their invasion to Ohio.

The successful raids of the guerrillas in Kentucky greatly agitated that State. Governor Magoffin convened the Legislature in consequence, and in his message mourned over the unhappy condition of Kentucky. He emphatically condemned the invasion of the State by the audacious Morgan, but was no less adverse to the stringent proceedings of the Federal Government, objecting to its arrest of citizens without legal process. Still bent upon compromise, the Governor once more urged the adoption of the Crittenden resolutions as a standing proposition of peace. Finally, Magoffin, expressing himself wearied of the cares and labors of office, and piteously complaining of the calumny to which he alleged he had been subjected, resigned the governorship of Kentucky. The newly elected Speaker

Aug. 14.

Aug. 17.

of the State Senate, James F. Robinson, became *de facto* governor for the unexpired term.

In Missouri, the partisan corps and guerrilla bands of the enemy were no less active than in Tennessee and Kentucky. "From every section of the State," bewailed a chronicler, "we received the same report—guerrillas arming, guerrillas robbing Union families, guerrillas plundering towns, guerrillas attacking small squads of Union soldiers in overwhelming numbers, guerrillas threatening this point, guerrillas stopping wagon trains and Missouri River steamboats—and, in short, perpetrating all conceivable sorts of thieving and assassination." General alarm prevailed throughout the State; the loyal citizens fled for safety to the protection of the Union garrisons, and the banks sent their treasure to St. Louis for security.

Quantrell, Porter, and McBride were among the most conspicuous of these partisan chiefs, and their success in taking towns and devastating the property of Unionists was hardly less remarkable than that of Morgan. Independence, Newark, Liberty, Canton, Alexandria, Memphis, Greenville, and a number of other posts throughout the State of Missouri were surprised, their garrisons captured or put to flight, and all they contained carried off or destroyed. Though the Union troops were frequently successful in their skirmishes with these bold marauders, the State of Missouri, in spite of the vigilance and power of the Federal authority, continued for a long time to suffer from this irregular warfare.

CHAPTER XXXI.

General Curtis in Arkansas.—His Plans thwarted.—In search of Supplies.—A trying March.—Arrival at Helena.—Expeditions by Land and Water.—General Williams removes to Baton Rouge.—Attack by the Enemy under Breckenridge.—Death of Williams.—Victory claimed by both sides.—Losses.—Destruction of the Rebel "ram" Arkansas.—General satisfaction.—Baton Rouge evacuated by the Unionists.

AFTER the battle of Pea Ridge, and the dispersion of the enemy under Van Dorn and Price, General Curtis, it will be recollected, retired for awhile within the borders of Missouri. Thence he resumed his march with a force composed of three divisions, respectively commanded by Generals Steele, Carr, and Osterhaus, into the interior of Arkansas, with the view of capturing Little Rock, the capital of that State. On reaching Batesville, on the White River, it was found impossible to subsist his army, and General Curtis accordingly, giving up his design of attacking Little Rock, determined to make his way through Arkansas as rapidly as possible to the Mississippi River, where he might once more open communications with a basis

1862. May 6.

of supply, and obtain the subsistence necessary for his half-famished troops.

Having learned that transports with supplies were on their way to Jacksonport, situated at the confluence of the White and Black rivers, General Curtis determined to move his troops first to that point.

"On the 24th of June," wrote a correspondent* who accompanied the army, "we took up our line of march for Jacksonport, and reached it on the second day following. We were obliged to cross Black River near its junction with White River, and for this purpose made successful use of a rubber pontoon bridge, constructed under the superintendence of Major Weston, of the Twenty-fourth Missouri Infantry. The stream here is a little more than one hundred yards in width, flowing with a deep but sluggish current. No difficulty was experienced in crossing, and the last of the rear-guard passed the bridge safely on the evening of the 26th, unmolested by the enemy.

"While at Batesville, General Curtis caused five large flatboats, with strong decks, to be constructed, with a view to using them in crossing the river whenever such a movement might be necessary. When the march commenced from Batesville, these flatboats were provided with breast-works of cotton along their sides, as a protection from musket and rifle balls, and were furnished with sweeps, whereby they could be moved and directed down the river. They were placed in charge of one company of the Thirteenth Illinois Infantry, and started for Jacksonport. As the road from Batesville to Jacksonport does not follow the river bank, but winds among the hills at some distance from the stream, this enterprise of detaching a small body of infantry was looked upon as quite hazardous. The boats succeeded in descending in safety, and arrived at Jacksonport simultaneously with the main body of the army.

"At Jacksonport, General Curtis learned that the boats could come no higher up than Clarendon, seventy-five miles below, as there was less than four feet of water in the channel, and most of the boats drew upward of five feet. He had foreseen this difficulty before starting from Batesville, and arranged his small stock of provisions to carry him through to the Mississippi. For ten days previous to the departure from Batesville, Captain Winslow, the quartermaster-in-chief of the army, had stored all the supplies received from Rolla, and furnished in their place rations of corn meal and beef, gathered from the country around. With these and other stores procured from the vicinity, a supply of three-quarter rations for twenty days was gathered and on hand at the time the march commenced. A train of fifty wagons had been burned a few weeks before while on its way to the army, and this loss fell quite heavily upon the troops. Notwithstanding its various privations, the army was never without a plentiful supply of sugar, coffee, and salt, though it often suffered for want of hard bread and flour. There

* N. Y. *Herald.*

was little wheat near Batesville, but corn was procured in abundance.

"The uniform price of the latter staple was fifty cents per bushel. No one was at any time paid for his corn unless he made a solemn assurance that he was and had been a Union man, and subscribed to the oath of allegiance. It is a singular fact, however, that among all the men who had dealings with the quartermaster there was not one who would permit his loyalty to be doubted for a single moment. All took the oath without the slightest hesitancy.

"Our forces tarried five days at Jacksonport, making ready to proceed down the banks of the stream. While there, General Washburne arrived from Springfield, with the Second Wisconsin Cavalry, having been unable to reach the army before it started from Batesville. The strength of General Curtis' command had been from time to time augmented by the arrival of various small bodies of troops from Missouri, and by inconsiderable reinforcements from Kansas, so that at the time it left Jacksonport it presented an imposing appearance. On the 2d of July the five flatboats started down from Jacksonport, manned by Company I, of the Thirteenth Illinois Infantry, under command of Captain Wadsworth. They were ordered to proceed to Grand Glaze, twelve miles below, and there await orders before going farther. At the same time the army took up its line of march by the road through the hills and swamp land east of the river, not expecting to reach the stream again before arriving at Augusta, thirty-five miles from Jacksonport. The boats reached Grand Glaze in due time, and were there met by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood's Sixth Missouri Cavalry, with orders to move on to Augusta. After seeing them safely under way, Colonel Wood started to rejoin the main army; but, before proceeding far, shots were heard from the dense bushes lining the banks of the river, about a mile below Grand Glaze. Hastily returning with a portion of his force, Colonel Wood found, on reaching the river, that the enemy had dispersed, after firing several shots at the boats and seriously wounding Captain Wadsworth, but injuring none of his men. The fire of these guerrillas was promptly returned, but as the bushes were not searched their loss was not ascertained. Natives in the vicinity reported nineteen of the rebels killed; but their statement seems hardly credible, when we recollect that the rebels were engaged by but a single company of infantry. After this occurrence the boats moved unmolested to Augusta, where the project of taking them farther down was abandoned; such portions of the cargoes as were useful to the army were removed, and the boats and the remainder of their lading committed to the flames. Colonel Wood was fired into on his way back to the army, and lost three of his men.

"We reached Augusta on the 4th of July, and on our arrival fired a salute in honor of the nation's independence, and enjoyed ourselves as best we could under our adverse circumstances. Tarrying here for two days, the order was

issued for the entire force to move out on the following morning in the direction of Clarendon. The country through which the army marched, after leaving Jacksonport, is one of the finest regions of Eastern Arkansas. A short distance from the river the bluffs along its banks fall away into low hills and gentle undulations, these becoming less distinct until, at the divide of the St. Francis and White rivers, it becomes an almost unbroken level. A portion of this flat alluvial country is in many places covered with canebrakes, and is often overflowed in high water. At such times it becomes an almost impassable succession of swamps and quagmires. At present it is dry and firm, and affords no obstacle to passage save an occasional slough at the crossing of a creek. Interspersed with these lowlands is a series of higher grounds, level, and unbroken by any considerable elevations. These lands are considered excellent for cotton, and until the present year have sent to market a large amount of the textile product. The inhabitants are of the true Arkansas stamp, and walk about clad in the unpretending butternut of the Southern rustics, while they display the usual prejudices of the Arkansas natives against all innovations—from the perusal of Webster's spelling-book up to the vindication of the national honor. At present their bucolic pursuits are generally limited to the raising of corn and a few other inconsiderable products, the Confederate authorities having here, as elsewhere, discouraged the culture of cotton.

"In many places along our line of march the houses were deserted, but the corn had not been destroyed, save in a few instances. The only Union sentiment manifested was by the negroes, who flocked in large numbers whenever they were allowed. General Curtis freed all those who had been used in cutting timber to obstruct the roads on our line of march. The whites were everywhere sullen and uncommunicative. One man at Jacksonport built a high plank fence around his house to keep off the contamination of the Yankees.

"All things being in readiness, the army moved out on the morning of the 7th (July), the head of the column getting in motion about half-past three o'clock. About four miles from the town it was found that the enemy had felled timber across the road in order to impede the march, but it was not long before the obstructions were removed. It was well known that the rebels had a considerable force at Des Arc and Duvall's Bluff, composed mainly of Texas cavalry and Arkansas conscripts, under command of General Albert Rust. General Curtis learned that 6,000 of these rebels were at Des Arc, and would probably march out to give us battle, and was consequently carefully watching for any demonstration upon the line. The obstructions in the road so soon after leaving Augusta gave us warning of the proximity of the rebels, and caused us to complete preparations for resisting attack.

"About eight A.M. the advance reached the crossing of Cache River, and

found a new cause of delay. There was no bridge over the river—which, elsewhere, would deserve only the name of creek—and the low bottom on each side was a soft muck, in which the animals sunk girth deep at every step. With much difficulty the wagons were drawn through, and once more emerged upon dry ground. A short distance farther the road came to Bayou de Cache, a small slough running inland from the river, with banks similar to those of the stream. Through this fringe of mud deposits the extended lines dragged their slow lengths along, the teams occasionally miring, and being extricated with the utmost difficulty. Beyond this Slough of Despond the rebels had made another barricade of log obstructions, which again proved a hindrance to our progress. On emerging from this difficulty, the advance, consisting of four companies of the Thirty-third Illinois, with four companies from the Eleventh Wisconsin—all under command of Colonel Hovey, of the former regiment—moved cautiously forward. The cavalry had been drawn in, with the exception of some twelve or fifteen mounted men, who were kept in front as lookouts. It was not deemed proper to have a large cavalry force exposed in front during the march, where it would be liable to ambuscade, but to hold it in reserve where it would be ready at any moment when needed.

"About two P.M., when five miles from the crossing of Bayou de Cache, the advance approached the plantation of Colonel Hill, an officer of the Confederate army, who was away from home at the time of our visit. At this plantation the road from Des Arc intersects the one over which our army was travelling, at nearly right angles, the point of junction being about ten miles from Des Arc and four miles from Cotton Plant, a small hamlet in the northern part of St. Francis County. The land around this road crossing is mostly open timber and cleared patches, though a few clumps of small trees are occasionally seen. The road from Des Arc runs nearly due east and west. South of it, and west of the main road, the timber is quite dense. Hill's house is at the south-west angle of the intersection, and his outbuildings are scattered miscellaneously around. North of the Des Arc road is a cotton gin and press, and near it are two aboriginal mounds, twenty or thirty feet in height. Mr. Hill is now blessed with his third wife, and on the summits of each of these mounds he has located the graves of his first and second wives, and surrounded them with a fence of white palings. On this side of the road the ground is cleared, and there are few irregularities to afford cover to troops.

"The mounted men in advance discovered signs of an enemy lurking in the timber and brush on the southerly side of the Des Arc road, and both east and west of Hill's house. Word was communicated to the infantry, and the latter deployed for skirmishing, the Thirty-third Illinois taking the right wing and the Eleventh Wisconsin the left. The eight companies of infantry were less than 600 strong, and soon

found that they were opposed to 1,500 men drawn up in line of battle. The disparity was in numbers, not in efficiency, for the rebel forces consisted of parts of two raw cavalry regiments, from Texas, and a portion of a regiment of Arkansas conscripts, as green as the most verdant troops in the Confederate service. The rebels opened fire as our men advanced, and though the conscripts fled early in the fight, the Texan cavalry, which had been dismounted for the occasion, stood its ground finely. As our right approached the enemy's left, it was received by a sudden fire from the bushes, which caused two of the Illinois companies to recoil. The enemy perceived the advantage gained, and pressed forward to improve it, but was received by a well-directed volley of musketry, followed by a discharge of grape from the two steel howitzers accompanying the First Indiana Cavalry, whose arrival was most opportune. Rapid discharges from the two howitzers soon broke the rebel line, and the cavalry completed the disorder and put all the enemy to flight. Some of them fled along the road in the direction we were travelling, while others took the right-angled route toward Des Arc. In addition to the 1,500 rebels thus dispersed, were 5,000 who were three or four miles distant at the crossing of the Cache River, and who had been unable to get to the east bank of the stream, as the water is there too deep to ford, and the ferry accommodations are necessarily slow. These returned to Des Arc the same evening, and at last accounts were still there, having given up the project of intercepting our march.

"The camp was made that night a short distance from the scene of the contest, and our hospital established at Hill's house. Our casualties were five killed and thirty-two wounded, most of the latter slightly. Major Glendenin, of the First Indiana Cavalry, was seriously, and it is feared fatally, wounded by a rifle-ball in the breast. Captain Sloane, of the Eleventh Wisconsin, was killed while gallantly leading his men. Colonel Hovey states that the details from his command report that they buried ninety-seven of the enemy's dead. Most of our shots were supposed to have been fatal. But few of the enemy's wounded fell into our hands, and in all these cases lacerations caused by the Minnie and Enfield balls were very severe. A flag of truce approached our lines on the evening after the flight, but for some unexplained reason did not come within. The next day a flag was received, and kept in our lines the entire day. It was unnecessary for parties to be sent from the rebel camp, as the dead had already been buried.

"On the afternoon of the 8th (July) the army moved forward toward Clarendon, having learned that Colonel Fitch was there with supplies. We reached Clarendon on the evening of the 9th (July), deeply chagrined to find that Colonel Fitch, with his transports, had departed the evening previous, with no prospect of returning. There was no alternative left for General Curtis except to move to the nearest point on the

Mississippi, and there communicate with the outer world, from which we had so long been cut off."

The army accordingly took up its march for Helena, where the advance, under General Washburn, arrived on the 11th of July, and was soon after followed by the rest of the troops. General Curtis had thus, since he left Rolla in Missouri, in February, fought the bloody battle of Pea Ridge, marched 600 miles through a comparatively wild country, with all the obstructions of bad roads, unbridged streams, and marshes, and brought his soldiers to a place of safety, after the severest trials of hunger and thirst, fatigue and danger, in a region inhabited by a hostile people, scoured by the guerrilla bands of a vigilant enemy, and destitute of the means of subsistence. The faulty plan of the campaign seems almost to have been redeemed by the fortitude with which its sufferings were endured.

July 11.

General Curtis, soon after his arrival at Helena, having been reinforced, was enabled to counteract the manœuvres of the enemy, under Jefferson Thompson, who was striving to cross the Mississippi River from Austin, in the State of Mississippi, into Arkansas. He also sent out a detachment, under General Hovey, to Clarendon, on the White River, to check the guerrilla bands in that quarter, and joined in an expedition against the enemy on the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers. The result of this last enterprise is thus stated by Commodore Davis, the commander of the fleet:

Aug. 12.

"The rebel transport Fair Play has been captured, containing 1,200 new Enfield rifles, 4,000 new muskets, with accoutrements complete, a large quantity of fixed ammunition, four field-guns, mounted howitzers, and some small-arms.

Aug. 26.

"Colonel Woods landed and captured the encampment of the Thirty-first Louisiana Regiment, with all their arms, the enemy flying before him. He captured another camp, with tents, baggage, and provisions, burning the depôt and eight cars, and destroying the telegraph.

"The combined expedition proceeded up the Yazoo, where it captured a battery consisting of a sixty-four pounder and a forty-two pounder gun, and a twenty-four pounder and a twelve-pounder field piece, with 7,000 pounds of powder and 1,000 pounds of shot and shell, and grape. Colonel Woods dispersed the rebels in several places."

After the combined naval and military forces of the Union had been forced to raise the siege of Vicksburg, General Williams moved his troops, which had suffered greatly from the unwholesome region on the marshy banks of the Mississippi, where they had been stationed, to Baton Rouge. Reinforcements were at the same time sent from New Orleans to strengthen General Williams, while the fleet, under Commodore Farragut, took such a position on the river as to be in readiness to extend to him the protection of its guns. The enemy now determined to attack General Williams. General Breckenridge accordingly marched to Baton Rouge, with, as he reported,

"less than 3,000 men." He at the same time relied upon the co-operation of the formidable Arkansas, which was to attack the Federal fleet.

Aug. 5. Early in the morning the enemy began the assault with their land forces, but found the Unionists on the alert to meet them. A severe struggle ensued, which lasted five hours, at the close of which the enemy, although at the beginning they had gained some advantage, having driven back the Unionists "about a quarter of a mile," taken possession of some of the camps, and destroyed considerable baggage, were finally forced to retire, and leave their antagonists masters of the day. Breckenridge, however, still made a vague claim to the victory. "After a struggle of five hours," he reported, "we drove the enemy from all points to the arsenal and tower, and to the cover of their gun-boats, taking a number of prisoners, several flags, and a considerable quantity of property." To this boast of success Breckenridge was compelled to add this confession of failure: "My diminished, exhausted force," he says, "could not take the arsenal, and the troops almost perishing for water, we have withdrawn one mile and a half from the city." It is true he concluded with the expression of a hope "to resume the attack in half an hour." In this, however, he was destined to be disappointed, and was compelled to date his dispatch on the next day, "Ten miles from Baton Rouge," and to acknowledge that "no decisive result was gained," while he declared that he had gone back thus far for water, though he had removed at his "own time, and in order."

Colonel Cahill, on the other hand, who had succeeded to the command of the Federal forces on the death of General Williams, spoke in his report of the "glorious victory" won by the Union troops, and gave this account of the battle:

"Rumors," he says, "of the advance of the enemy in heavy force had prevailed for some days. On the afternoon of August 4th General Williams called the attention of commanders of regiments and batteries to the probability of an attack at an early hour in the morning. The Fourteenth Maine, Colonel A. Nickerson; the Twenty-first Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Keith; the Sixth Michigan, under acting Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, and Seventh Vermont, Colonel Roberts, were encamped, the first, with its right resting on the intersection of the Greenwell Springs road, and fronting on a road running to the intersection of the Bayou Sara and Clinton roads. These encampments were in heavy timber. The Twenty-first Indiana were encamped on about the same line front, and on the right of the Greenwell Springs road. On nearly the same line front, but still farther to the right, at the intersection of the Clay Cut and Perkins roads, were the Sixth Michigan. The Seventh Vermont were some distance to the rear, and between the Sixth Michigan and Twenty-first Indiana, with the camp fronting the city. Everett's battery, under Lieutenant Carruth, were in bivouac on the

right of the Fourteenth Maine and on the right of the Twenty-first Indiana. Still farther to the right were the guns in charge of the Twenty-first Indiana. On the extreme right, the guns of Nim's battery were brought into position early in the action. The Thirtieth Massachusetts, under Colonel Dudley, were brought up from their quarters in the Capitol on the night of the 4th, and took position on the left of the Sixth Michigan. On the extreme left, in advance of the left bank of the Bayou Gap, with an oblique front toward the intersection of the Bayou Sara and Clinton roads, with two pieces of Manning's battery, were the Ninth Connecticut and Fourth Wisconsin. The remaining guns of Manning's battery were in position on the right bank of the bed of Bayou Gap. This was the real line of defence for the left flank, covering the north and east of the arsenal grounds. General Williams, in his instructions to myself and Lieutenant-Colonel Bean, commanding Fourth Wisconsin Volunteers, was very clear and positive in his orders to hold this position at all hazards, as he anticipated the enemy would advance (under cover of the fire of the ram Arkansas, with the gun-boats from the Red River) through the open grounds of the Sawmill and Dougherty's plantation, and take possession of the Manae ground. The above-mentioned advance on the left bank of the bayou was only ordered by General Williams, after a lengthy consideration, on the evening of the 4th inst., with the intention of checking an advance on the same position by the Bayou Sara and Clinton roads, and for that reason we only brought forward the light howitzers of Manning's battery to the advance positions, leaving the heavy guns on the original line.

"At early daylight on the morning of August 5th the enemy threw his whole force on the camp of the Fourteenth Maine, Twenty-first Indiana, and Sixth Michigan, with the batteries attached to each regiment. These troops stood their ground nobly, meeting the tremendous force thrown upon them with unflinching bravery. On looking over the battle-ground since the engagement, I find it difficult to conceive how it was possible for so many men to have been engaged in so small a space of ground.

"The attack was nearly simultaneous, but the first fire in line from the enemy's right was directed on the Fourteenth Maine, and was instantly answered by that regiment by a solid line volley, which must have done terrible execution. The companies of the Twenty-first Indiana, which were in advance as pickets, had fallen back in order. The whole regiment advanced toward the Magnolia Cemetery, and east of it. At this time Major Hayes was seriously wounded, and was taken from the field. The regiment worked, advancing, and retiring, and changing front, as the enemy showed himself through the smoke.

"At nearly the close of the action, Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, commanding regiment, had to leave the field, badly wounded, leaving the regiment without a field officer, in command of Captain

Grimsby. It was at this stage of the battle that General Williams fell, mortally wounded. He had just said to the men of the Twenty-first, 'Boys, your field-officers are all gone. I will lead you.' The men answered with three cheers for the General. The sounds had scarcely died away when he fell. The General had previously issued an order for the lines to fall back, and the artillery having done so, the regiments retired in good order to the positions now occupied."

The loss of the Unionists, as officially reported, was eighty-two killed, 255 wounded, and thirty-four missing. General Williams' force engaged amounted to less than 2,500 men, while that of the enemy was computed to be 5,000 instead of 3,000, as reported by Breckenridge, and their loss confessed by him to be equal to that of the Unionists.

The most interesting incident of the battle of Baton Rouge was the destruction of the "rebel ram Arkansas." This formidable vessel had started out to co-operate with General Breckenridge, in the attack on Baton Rouge, but while coming down the Mississippi, her machinery was so disabled as to prevent her from taking part in the enterprise. Commander Porter, having prepared to receive her, but finding that she did not make her appearance, went—after rendering valuable assistance in repelling the enemy at Baton Rouge—in search of her, with his gun-boat, the Essex.

"I had information," he says in his report, "of the vicinity of the ram Arkansas, about four miles above my anchorage on the river, and this morning I determined to steam up the river, attack her, and, if possible, prevent her rendering further assistance to the land forces she was co-operating with. At ten A.M. I came in sight of her at about the distance of half a mile, and immediately opened fire. After an action of about twenty minutes I succeeded in setting her on fire,* and at meridian she blew up with a tremendous explosion." Aug. 6.

Commodore Farragut declared in his report: "It is one of the happiest moments of my life that I am able to inform the Department of the destruction of the ram Arkansas, not because I held this iron-clad in such terror, but because the community did."

This satisfaction was as general at the North as the fearlessness was peculiar to the gallant Commodore. The destruction of a vessel that had defied a whole fleet, though commanded by the brave Farragut himself, was a great relief to a people whose hopes of success, based upon the generous profusion with which they had poured out their great resources, had been so often disappointed by the pertinacious efforts of a feebler enemy.

This was the enemy's account of the destruction of the Arkansas, as given by one of her officers:

"The Arkansas left Vicksburg at two o'clock Sunday morning, and steamed

* Porter claims to have set the Arkansas on fire by an "incendiary shell" of his own invention. The enemy declared, however, that they themselves burned the vessel, when it was found that she was unmanageable from the derangement of her machinery. Her officers and crew escaped.

leisurely down the river, having ample time to reach Baton Rouge at the appointed hour. When she arrived within fifteen miles of Baton Rouge her starboard engine broke down. Repairs were immediately commenced, and at eight o'clock were partially completed, though she was not in a condition to engage many of the Yankee vessels, on account of the injuries received.

"At four o'clock, almost to a minute, General Breckenridge opened the attack on Baton Rouge. A messenger was dispatched at eight o'clock to ascertain the strength of the enemy's fleet, and the Arkansas proceeded to a point five miles above Baton Rouge, when she was cleared for action.

"We learned from the guerrillas on shore that there were only three gunboats. On rounding the point, the starboard engine again broke down, and the ship drifted ashore in sight of Baton Rouge, on the Arkansas side. Repairs were immediately commenced, and the ship got afloat at five o'clock the same evening. The engineer reported that the engines were unreliable. It was determined to make a trial trip up the river to ascertain the strength of the engines—proceeded some 500 yards up the river, when her engines again broke, more seriously than ever. The crew were engaged all night in repairs.

"Next morning at eight o'clock the lookouts reported the Federal fleet coming up. The ship was moored head down stream and cleared for action, and in this condition was determined to fight to the last. At nine o'clock the Essex came round the point and opened fire. At this moment the engineers reported the engines ready, and that they would last half a day.

"The lines were cut, and the Arkansas started for the Essex, with the intention of running her down. Proceeded about 300 yards in the direction of the Essex, and the larboard engine suddenly stopped. She then makes for the bank, her stern down, the Essex pointing a hot fire into her. In this condition we opened fire with the stern.

"The Essex continued to advance, and when within 400 yards the crew of the Arkansas were ordered ashore, and the vessel fired. After all hands were ashore, the Essex fired on the disabled vessel most furiously. In an hour after her abandonment the fire communicated to her magazine, and all that remained of the noble Arkansas was blown up.

"Lieutenant Stevens was in command of the Arkansas and displayed remarkable coolness under the most perilous and distressing misfortunes. Our informant, Lieutenant R., states that but for the misfortune to her engines, the expedition would have been a most brilliant success, and the Yankees would have been driven from New Orleans in a few days."

Notwithstanding the success of the Unionists in defending Baton Rouge against the attacks of the enemy, it was deemed expedient, soon after the repulse of Breckenridge, to evacuate the place. Aug. 21.

CHAPTER XXXII.

General Pope's Report of his Campaign in Virginia.—Pope's Object.—A Failure or a Success?—The Enemy concentrating their Attention upon Pope.—The Escape of Pope's Army to Washington.—Public Feeling.—Indignation against the Leaders.—Pope sent to the Northwest.—McDowell granted a leave of absence.—McDowell demands a Court-martial.—Alarm at Washington.—Concentration of Forces.—Defence of the Capital.—Perplexity of the President.—McClellan restored to Command.—The Enemy's Scheme of Invasion.—The Enemy in Maryland.—Proclamation of Lee.—Its Effect.

1862. THOUGH at the risk of some recapitulation, the full report of General Pope is here given as the most authentic account of his Virginian campaign.

"On the 26th day of June, 1862, by special order of the President of the United States," wrote General Pope, "I was assigned to the command of the Army of Virginia. That army was constituted as follows:

"First Corps, under Major-General Fremont.

"Second Corps, under Major-General Banks.

"Third Corps, under Major-General McDowell.

"In addition to these three corps, a small and unorganized force, under Brigadier-General Sturgis, was posted in the neighborhood of Alexandria, and was then in process of being organized for field service. The forces in the intrenchments around Washington were also placed under my command. All the disposable movable forces consisted of the three corps first named. Their effective strength of infantry and artillery, as reported to me, were as follows:

"Fremont's Corps, 11,500 strong; Banks' Corps, reported at 14,500, but in reality only about 8,000; McDowell's Corps, 18,400; making a total of 38,000 men.

"The cavalry numbered about 5,000, but most of it was badly mounted and armed, and in poor condition for service. These forces were scattered over a wide district of country, not within supporting distance of each other, and many of the brigades and divisions were badly organized and in a demoralized condition. This was particularly the case with the army corps of Major-General Fremont, a sad report of which was made to me by General Sigel, when he relieved General Fremont in command of the corps.

"My first labors were directed to the reorganization of some of the divisions and brigades of that corps, and to supply the whole force with much of the material absolutely necessary for troops in the field. The corps of Banks and Fremont were in the valley of the Shenandoah, between Winchester and Middletown, the bulk of the forces being in the vicinity of the latter place.

"One division of McDowell's corps was at Manassas Junction, with its advance thrown forward to Catlett's Station. The other division was posted in the vicinity of Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg.

"When I first assumed command of these forces, the troops under Jackson had retired from the valley of the Shenandoah, and were in rapid march toward Richmond, so that, at that time, there was no force of the enemy of any consequence within a week's march of any of the troops assigned to my command.

"It was the wish of the Government that I should cover the city of Washington from any attacks from the direction of Richmond, make such dispositions as were necessary to assure the safety of the valley of the Shenandoah, and at the same time to operate upon the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Gordonsville and Charlottesville, as to draw off, if possible, a considerable force of the enemy from Richmond, and thus relieve the operations against that city of the Army of the Potomac. The first object I had in view was to concentrate, as far as possible, all the movable forces under my command, and to establish them in such positions as best to effect the objects set forth. It seemed to me that the security of the Shenandoah valley was not best attained by posting troops within the valley itself, but that the necessary results could be better accomplished, and the other objects with which I was charged best promoted, by concentrating these forces at some point or points from which, if any attempts were made to enter the valley of the Shenandoah from Richmond, I should be able by rapid marches to interpose between such force and the main body of the enemy, and cut off its retreat. I felt confident—and this confidence was justified by subsequent results—that no considerable force of the enemy would attempt to enter the valley of the Shenandoah while the forces under my command were so posted as to be able without difficulty to intercept its retreat and fall upon its rear. I accordingly sent orders to Major-General Sigel, commanding the First Corps, to move forward from Middletown, cross the Shenandoah at Front Royal, and pursuing the west side of the Blue Ridge, to take post at Sperryville by passing through Luray Gap. At the same time I directed Major-General Banks, crossing the Shenandoah at the same point, to move forward and take post between six and ten miles east of Sperryville. General McDowell was ordered to move Ricketts' division of his corps from Manassas Junction to Waterloo Bridge, the point where the turnpike from Warrenton to Sperryville crosses the Upper Rappahannock. King's division of the same corps it was thought best to leave at Fredericksburg, to cover the crossing of the Rappahannock at that point, and to protect the railroad there to Acquia Creek and the public buildings which had been erected at the latter place.

"While I yielded to this wish of the War Department, the wide separation

of this division from the main body of the army, and the ease with which the enemy would be able to interpose between them, engaged my earnest attention, and gave me very serious uneasiness. While these movements were in progress, commenced the series of battles which preceded and attended the retreat of General McClellan from the Chickahominy toward Harrison's Landing. When first General McClellan began to intimate by his dispatches that he designed making this movement toward James River, I suggested to the President of the United States the impolicy of such a movement, and the serious consequences which would be likely to result from it, and urged upon him that he should send orders to General McClellan that if he were unable to maintain his position on the Chickahominy, and were pressed by superior forces of the enemy, to mass his whole force on the north side of that stream, even at the risk of losing much material of war, and endeavor to make his way in the direction of Hanover Court House; but in no event to retreat with his army farther to the south than the White House, on York River. I stated to the President that the retreat to James River was carrying General McClellan away from any reinforcements that could possibly be sent him within a reasonable time, and was absolutely depriving him of any substantial aid from the forces under my command; that by this movement the whole army of the enemy would be interposed between his army and mine, and that they would then be at liberty to strike in either direction as they might consider it most advantageous; that this movement to James River would leave entirely unprotected, except in so far as the small force under my command was able to protect it, the whole region in front of Washington, and that it would then, therefore, be impossible to send any of the forces under my command to reinforce General McClellan, without rendering it certain that the enemy, even in the worst case for themselves, would have the privilege and power of exchanging Richmond for Washington city; that to them the loss of Richmond would be trifling, while the loss of Washington to us would be conclusive, or nearly so, in its results upon this war. I was so deeply impressed with these views, that I repeatedly and earnestly urged them upon the President and the Secretary of War.

"After General McClellan had taken up his position at Harrison's Landing, I addressed him a letter stating to him my position and the distribution of the troops under my command, and requested him in all earnestness and good faith to write me fully and freely his views, and to suggest to me any measures which he thought desirable to enable me to co-operate with him, or to render any assistance in my power in the operations of the army under his command. I stated to him that I had no object except to assist his operations, and that I would undertake any labor and run any risk for that purpose. I therefore desired him to feel no hesitation in communicating freely with me,

as he might rest assured that every suggestion that he would make would meet all respect and consideration at my hands, and that so far as it was in my power to do so, I would carry out his wishes with all energy, and with all the means at my command.

"In reply to this commmunication I received a letter from General McClellan, very general in its terms, and proposing nothing toward the accomplishment of the purpose I had suggested to him. It became apparent that, considering the situation in which the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Virginia were placed in relation to each other, and the absolute necessity of harmonious and prompt co-operation between them, some military superior, both of General McClellan and myself, should be called to Washington and placed in command of all the operations in Virginia. In accordance with these views, Major-General Halleck was called to Washington and placed in general command. Many circumstances, which it is not necessary here to set forth, induced me to express to the President, to the Secretary of War, and to General Halleck, my desire to be relieved from the command of the Army of Virginia, and to be returned to the Western country. My services, however, were considered necessary in the projected campaign, and my wishes were not complied with. I accordingly took the field in Virginia with grave forebodings of the result, but with a determination to carry out the plans of the Government with all the energy and with all the ability of which I was master. Previous to taking the field I issued the following orders, which set out very fully the policy which I considered advisable, and which, at the time, received the sanction of the Government and, so far as I know, the approval of the country:

"The order requiring the troops to subsist upon the country in which their operations were conducted has, with a wilful disregard of its terms, been construed greatly to my discredit, as authorizing indiscriminate robbery and plunder. Yet the terms of this order are so specific as to the manner and by whom all property or subsistence needed for the use of the army should be seized, and the order is so common in the history of warfare, that I have been amazed that it could have been so misinterpreted and misunderstood. It is therefore submitted here for the calm examination of the Government and of the public. I believed then, and I believe now, that the policy there laid down was wise and just, and was well calculated to secure efficient and rapid operations of the army, and in case of reverse to leave the enemy without the means of subsisting in the country over which our army had passed, and over which any pursuit must be conducted.

"The long delay and embarrassment of the army under General Lee, in its subsequent movements toward Washington, occasioned largely by the want of supplies taken from the country under this order, fully justified its wisdom.

"It was determined, before I left Washington, to take the field in Virginia,

that the union of the armies of Virginia and of the Potomac was absolutely essential both to the safety of the national capital and to the further successful prosecution of the operations against Richmond. The mission of the army under my command, therefore, was to cover, as far as possible, the front of Washington, and make secure the valley of the Shenandoah, and so operate upon the enemy's lines of communication to the west and north-west as to force him to make such heavy detachments from his main force at Richmond as would enable the Army of the Potomac to withdraw from its position at Harrison's Landing, and to take shipping for Acquia Creek or for Alexandria; and if, as was feared, the enemy should throw his whole force in the direction of Washington, it became my duty to resist his advance at all hazards, and so to delay and embarrass his movements as to gain all the time possible for the arrival of the Army of the Potomac behind the Rappahannock. Meantime, before the arrival of General Halleck, I instructed General King, at Fredericksburg, to send forward detachments of his cavalry to operate upon the line of the Virginia Central Railroad, and as far as possible to embarrass and destroy communication between Richmond and the valley of the Shenandoah. Several cavalry expeditions which that officer dispatched for the purpose were completely successful, and succeeded in breaking up the railroad at several points upon several occasions. At the same time I directed Major-General Banks to send forward an infantry brigade, with all his cavalry, to march rapidly upon Culpepper Court House, and after taking possession of that place, to push forward cavalry toward the Rapidan, in the direction of Gordonsville. On the 14th of July, after this movement was successfully accomplished, I directed General Banks to push forward, during the night of that day, the whole of his cavalry force under Brigadier-General Hatch, from Culpepper, with orders to take possession of Gordonsville, and to destroy the railroad for ten or fifteen miles east of that place with a portion of his force, while all remaining pushed forward in the direction of Charlottesville, destroying the railroad bridges and interrupting that line of communication as far as practicable.

"At that time there was no force of the enemy at Gordonsville or in the vicinity, and the whole operation as ordered was not only easily practicable, but would have been attended with serious consequences to the enemy; but to my surprise and dissatisfaction I received, on the 17th of July, from General Banks, a report that General Hatch had taken with him infantry, artillery, and trains of wagons, and that in consequence of bad roads he had, at that date, only succeeded in going as far as Madison Court House.

"Meantime, on the 16th of July, the advance of Jackson's forces under Ewell had reached Gordonsville, and the proposed movement, as ordered, became impracticable. No satisfactory explanation has ever been made to me

of this departure from my orders on the part of General Hatch. Finding it no longer practicable to occupy Gordonsville as I had designed, I sent orders to General Banks to direct General Hatch to select from his own cavalry and that of General McDowell, which I had sent forward, fifteen hundred to two thousand of the best mounted men, and to proceed from Madison Court House around the west side of the Blue Ridge, to a point whence he could make an easy descent upon the railroad west of Gordonsville, and if successful to push forward to Charlottesville and, if possible, destroy the railroad between that place and Lynchburg. In compliance with this order, General Hatch commenced to make the movement as directed, but abandoned it very soon after he started, and returned by the way of Sperryville to his post. As soon as I had received the report of this second failure I relieved General Hatch from the command of the cavalry of General Banks' corps, and sent Brigadier-General Buford to report to General Banks as the chief of cavalry of his corps. On the 29th of July I left Washington, and after reviewing Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, at Waterloo Bridge, repaired to the headquarters of General Banks, a few miles south-east of Little Washington. All preparations having been completed, I instructed General Banks to move forward on the 7th of August, and take post at the point where the turnpike from Sperryville to Culpepper crosses Hazel River. General McDowell was ordered on the day previous to move forward with Ricketts' division from Waterloo Bridge to Culpepper Court House, so that on the 7th of August all the infantry and artillery forces of the Army of Virginia were assembled along the turnpike from Sperryville to Culpepper, and numbered about 28,000 men.

"King's division, as I have before stated, was left on the Lower Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, and was not then available for active operations in the direction of Gordonsville. The cavalry forces covering the front of the army on that day were distributed as follows: General Buford, with five regiments, was posted at Madison Court House, with his pickets along the line of the Rapidan, from Burnett's Ford, as far west as the Blue Ridge. General Sigel had been directed to post a brigade of infantry and a battery of artillery at the point where the road from Madison Court House to Sperryville crosses Robertson's River, as a support to the cavalry of General Buford, in front of him. General Bayard, with four regiments of cavalry, was posted near Rapidan Station, the point where the Orange and Alexandria road crosses the Rapidan River, with his pickets extended as far to the east as Racoon Ford, and connecting with General Buford on his right at Burnett's Ford.

"From Racoon Ford to the forks of the Rappahannock, above Falmouth, the Rapidan was lined with cavalry pickets. On the top of Thoroughfare Mountain, about half-way between Generals Bayard and Buford, was estab-

lished a signal station, which overlooked the whole country as far south as Orange Court House.

"On the 7th I proceeded to Sperryville, and inspected the corps of Major-General Sigel. I remained at Sperryville until four o'clock in the afternoon of that day, during which time I received several reports from the front that the enemy were crossing the Rapidan at several points between the railroad crossing of that river and Liberty Mills.

"I reached Culpepper Court House on the morning of the 8th of August. The town had been occupied for several days by Crawford's brigade, of General Banks' corps, and on the 7th, Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, had also reached there, from Waterloo Bridge. During the whole of the morning of the 8th I continued to receive reports from General Bayard, who was slowly falling back in the direction of Culpepper Court House, from the advance of the enemy, and from General Buford, who also reported the enemy advancing in heavy force upon Madison Court House. My instructions required me to be careful, and keep my communications good with Fredericksburg, and by no means to permit the enemy to interpose between me and that place. Although during the whole of the 8th of August it was very doubtful, from the reports of Generals Bayard and Buford, whether the enemy's movement was in the direction of Madison Court House or of Culpepper, I considered it advisable, in view of my relations with Fredericksburg, to concentrate my whole force in the direction of Culpepper, so as to keep myself constantly interposed between the main body of the enemy and the lower fords of the Rappahannock. Early in the day I pushed forward Crawford's brigade, of Banks' corps, in the direction of Cedar or Slaughter Mountain, to support General Bayard, who was falling slowly back in that direction, and to assist him as far as practicable in determining the movements and the forces of the enemy.

"I sent orders also to General Banks to move forward promptly from Hazel River to Culpepper Court House, and also to General Sigel to march at once from Sperryville to the same place. To my surprise, I received, after night on the 8th, a note from General Sigel, dated at Sperryville, at half-past six o'clock that afternoon, asking me by what road he should march to Culpepper Court House. As there was but one road between those two points, and that a broad stone turnpike, I was at a loss to understand how General Sigel could entertain any doubts as to the road by which he should march. This doubt, however, delayed the arrival of his corps at Culpepper Court House several hours, and rendered it impracticable for that corps to be pushed to the front, as I had designed, on the afternoon of the next day.

"Early on the morning of the 9th of August I directed General Banks to move forward toward Cedar Mountain with his whole corps, and to join the brigade of that corps under General

Crawford, which had been pushed forward on the day previous. I directed General Banks to take up a strong position at or near the point occupied by that brigade, to check the advance of the enemy, and to determine his forces and the character of his movements as far as practicable.

"The consolidated report of General Banks' corps, received some days previously, exhibited an effective force of something over 14,000 men. Appended to this report will be found the return in question. It appeared subsequently, however, that General Banks' forces at that time did not exceed 8,000 men. But, although I several times called General Banks' attention to the discrepancy between this return and the force he afterward stated to me he had led to the front, that discrepancy has never been explained, and I do not yet understand how General Banks could have been so greatly mistaken as to the forces under his immediate command.

"I directed him, when he went forward from Culpepper Court House, that if the enemy advanced to attack him in the strong position which I had instructed him to take up, that he should push his skirmishers well to the front, and notify me immediately. Three miles in his rear, and within easy supporting distance, Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps had been posted at the point where the road from Madison Court House to Culpepper intersects the road from Culpepper to Cedar Mountain. This division was so posted because it was not certain whether a considerable force of the enemy was not advancing on Culpepper from the direction of Madison Court House, General Buford having reported to me very early on the morning of the 9th from Madison Court House that the enemy was in heavy force on his right, his left, and partly on his rear, and that he was retreating in the direction of Sperryville.

"Desultory artillery firing had been kept up all day on the 9th, in the direction of General Banks' corps, but I continued to receive, during the whole of that day, reports from General Banks that no considerable force of the enemy had come forward, and that his cavalry had been ostentatiously displayed. He did not believe that the enemy were in sufficient force to make any attack upon him. As late as five o'clock in the afternoon General Banks wrote me substantially to the same effect; but before I had received this last note, the artillery firing had become so rapid and continuous that I feared a general engagement was going on, or might be brought on at any moment. I therefore instructed General McDowell to move forward Ricketts' division rapidly to the field, and accompanied that division myself. At no time during the day did General Banks express any apprehensions of attack in force by the enemy, nor did he ask, nor intimate that he needed reinforcements.

"General Sigel's corps began to march into Culpepper Court House late in the afternoon, and just as I was leaving that place, having been delayed several hours by General Sigel's singular

uncertainty as to what road he ought to pursue. I had given orders a number of days previously that all the troops belonging to the Army of Virginia should be ready to march at the shortest notice, and should habitually keep two days' cooked rations in their haversacks. Notwithstanding this order, General Sigel's corps arrived in Culpepper without any rations, and was unable to move forward until provisions could be procured from McDowell's train, and cooked at Culpepper Court House.

"I have received no report from General Banks of his operations at Cedar Mountain, but I had sent forward Brigadier-General Roberts, chief of cavalry of my staff, and had directed him to report to General Banks in the early part of the day of the 9th, and to advise freely with him as to the operations of his corps. General Roberts as well as General Banks was fully advised of my wishes, and that I desired General Banks merely to keep the enemy in check, by occupying a strong position in his front, until the whole of the disposable force of my command should be concentrated in the neighborhood. General Roberts reported to me that he had conferred freely with General Banks, and urgently represented to him my purposes, but that General Banks, contrary to his suggestions and to my wishes, had left the strong position which he had taken up, and had advanced two miles to assault the enemy, believing that they were not in considerable force, and that he would be able to crush their advance before their main body could come up from the direction of the Rapidan. He accordingly threw forward his whole corps into action against superior forces of the enemy strongly posted, and sheltered by woods and ridges. His advance led him over the open ground, which was everywhere swept by the fire of the enemy, concealed in the woods and ravines beyond. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, his corps gallantly responded to his orders, and assaulted the enemy with great fury and determination. The action lasted about an hour and a half, and during that time our forces suffered heavy loss, and were gradually driven back to their former position, at which point, just at dusk, Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps came up and joined in the engagement.

"As soon as I arrived on the field, at the head of Ricketts' division, I directed General Banks to draw in his right, which was much extended, and to mass the whole of his right wing at the centre of his line, pushing forward at the same time Ricketts' division to occupy the ground thus vacated. The enemy followed Banks as he retired, with great caution, and emerging from the woods which had sheltered him all day, attempted to push forward to the open ground in front of our new line. A sharp artillery engagement immediately commenced, when the enemy were driven back to the woods, principally by the batteries of Ricketts' division. The artillery firing was kept up until near midnight of the 9th.

"Finding that Banks' corps had been

severely cut up, and was much fatigued, I drew it back to the rear, and pushed forward the corps of Sigel, which had begun to arrive, to occupy the woods on the left of the road, with a wide space of open ground in his front. Ricketts' division was also drawn back to the cover of the woods, and behind the ridges, in the open ground on the right of Sigel.

"These dispositions were completed about daybreak on the morning of the 10th. Banks' corps, reduced to about 5,000 men, was so cut up and worn down with fatigue that I did not consider it capable of rendering any efficient service for several days. I therefore directed General Banks, or, in his absence, General Williams, who succeeded to the command, to assemble his corps on the road to Culpepper Court House, and about two miles in the rear of our front, to collect his stragglers, send back his wounded to Culpepper Court House, and proceed as rapidly as possible to put the corps in condition for service. In consequence of the vigorous resistance of the night previous, and the severe loss of the enemy in attempting to advance before daylight of the 10th, Jackson drew back his forces toward Cedar Mountain, about two miles from our front. Our pickets were immediately pushed forward, supported by Milroy's brigade, and occupied the ground.

"The day of the 18th was intensely hot, and the troops on both sides were too much fatigued to renew the action. My whole effective force on that day, exclusive of General Banks' corps, which was in no condition for service, was about 20,000 artillery and infantry, and about 2,000 cavalry, General Buford, with the cavalry force under his command, not yet having been able to join the main body.

"I had telegraphed General King, at Fredericksburg, to move forward on the 8th, by the lower fords of the Rappahannock and Stevensburg, to join me. A large part of his command had just returned from a very fatiguing expedition against the Central Railroad, but he marched forward promptly and joined the main body late in the evening of the 11th. The whole day was spent by both armies in burying the dead and in bringing off the wounded.

"Although, even after King joined me, my whole effective force was barely equal to that of the enemy, I determined, after giving King's division one night's rest, to fall upon him at daylight on the 12th, on his line of communication, and compel him to fight a battle, which must have been entirely decisive for one army or the other. But during the night of the 11th Jackson evacuated the position in front of us, and retreated rapidly across the Rapidan, in the direction of Gordonsville, leaving many of his dead and wounded on the field and along the road from Cedar Mountain to Orange Court House. No material of war nor baggage trains were lost on either side, but the loss of life on both sides was severe. Brigadier-Generals Geary, Augur, and Carroll were badly wounded, and Brigadier-

General Prince was captured by accident. Very many of our best field and company officers were killed or wounded.

"From the verbal reports and statements of General Banks and others, the Massachusetts regiments behaved with especial gallantry, and sustained the heaviest losses; but the conduct of the whole corps of General Banks was beyond all praise.

"Our killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to about 1,800 men, besides which fully 1,000 men straggled back to Culpepper Court House and beyond, and never entirely returned to their commands.

"A strong cavalry force, under Generals Buford and Bayard, pursued the enemy to the Rapidan, and captured many stragglers.

"The cavalry forces immediately resumed their original positions, and again occupied the Rapidan from Racoon Ford to the base of the Blue Ridge. On the 14th of August General Reno, with 8,000 men of the forces which had arrived at Falmouth, under General Burnside, joined me. I immediately pushed forward my whole force in the direction of the Rapidan, and occupied a strong position with my right, under Major-General Sigel, resting on Robertson's River, where the road from Cedar Mountain to Orange Court House crosses that stream. My centre, under General McDowell, occupied both flanks of Cedar Mountain, and my left, under General Reno, a position near Racoon Ford, and covering the road from that ford to Stevensburg and Culpepper. I began again, immediately, to operate with my cavalry upon the enemy's communications with Richmond. From the 12th to the 18th of August, reports were constantly reaching me of large forces of the enemy reinforcing Jackson from the direction of Richmond, and by the morning of the 18th I became satisfied that nearly the whole force of the enemy from Richmond was assembling in my front, along the south side of the Rapidan, and extending from Racoon Ford to Liberty Mills. The cavalry expedition sent out on the 16th in the direction of Louisa Court House captured the adjutant-general of General Stuart, and was very near capturing that officer himself. Among the papers taken was an autograph letter of General Robert Lee to General Stuart, dated Gordonsville, August 15th, which made manifest to me the position and force of the enemy, and their determination to overwhelm the army under my command before it could be reinforced by any portion of the Army of the Potomac. I held on to my position thus far to the front for the purpose of affording all the time possible for the arrival of the Army of the Potomac at Acquia and Alexandria, and to embarrass and delay the movements of the enemy as far as practicable.

"On the 18th of August it became apparent to me that this advanced position, with the small force under my command, was no longer tenable in the face of the overwhelming force of the enemy. I determined, accordingly, to withdraw behind the Rappahannock

with all speed, and, as I had been instructed, to defend, as far as practicable, the line of that river. I accordingly directed Major-General Reno to send back his trains on the morning of the 18th, by the way of Stevensburg, to Kelly's or Barnett's Ford, and as soon as the trains had gotten several hours in advance, to follow them with his whole corps, and take post behind the Rappahannock, leaving all his cavalry in the neighborhood of Racoon Ford to cover this movement.

"General Banks' corps, which had been ordered on the 12th to take position at Culpepper Court House, I directed, with its trains preceding it, to cross the Rappahannock at the point where the Orange and Alexandria Railroad crosses that river. General McDowell's train was ordered to pursue the same route, while the train of General Sigel was directed through Jefferson to cross the Rappahannock at Warrenton, Sulphur Springs. So soon as these trains had been sufficiently advanced, McDowell's corps was directed to take the route from Culpepper to Rappahannock Ford, while General Sigel, who was on the right and front, was directed to follow the movement of this train to Sulphur Springs.

"These movements were executed during the day and night of the 18th, and the day of the 19th, by which time the whole army, with its trains, had safely recrossed the Rappahannock, and was posted behind that stream, with its left at Kelly's Ford and its right about three miles above Rappahannock Station, General Sigel having been directed immediately upon crossing at Sulphur Springs to march down the left bank of the Rappahannock until he connected closely with General McDowell's right.

"Early on the morning of the 20th, the enemy drove in our pickets in front of Kelly's Ford and at Rappahannock Station; but finding that we had covered these fords, and that it would be impracticable to force the passage of the river without heavy loss, his advance halted, and the main body of his army was brought forward from the Rapidan. By the night of the 20th, the bulk of his forces confronted us from Kelly's Ford to a point above our extreme right.

"During the whole of the days of the 21st and 22d, efforts were made by the enemy, at various points, to cross the river, but they were repulsed in all cases. The artillery fire was rapid and continuous during the whole of those days, and extended along the line of the river for seven or eight miles.

"Finding that it was not practicable to force the passage of the river in my front, the enemy began slowly to move up the river for the purpose of turning our right.

"My orders required me to keep myself closely in communication with Fredericksburg, to which point the Army of the Potomac was being brought from the Peninsula, with the purpose of reinforcing me from that place by the line of the Rappahannock. My force was too small to enable me to extend my right farther, without so weakening my

line as to render it easy for the enemy to break through it at any point. I telegraphed again and again to Washington, representing this movement of the enemy toward my right, and the impossibility of my being able to extend my lines so as to resist it without abandoning my connection with Fredericksburg. I was assured on the 21st that if I would hold the line of the river two days longer, I should be so strongly reinforced as not only to be secure, but to be able to resume offensive operations. But on the 25th of August, the only forces that had joined me, or were in the neighborhood, were 2,500 men of the Pennsylvania Reserves, under Brigadier-General Reynolds, who had arrived at Kelly's Ford, and the division of General Kearney, 4,500 strong, which had reached Warrenton Junction.

"The line of the Rappahannock is very weak, and scarce opposes any considerable obstacle to the advance of an army. It is but a small stream above the forks, and can be crossed by good fords every mile or two of its whole length.

"The movement of the enemy toward my right occasioned me much uneasiness, in consequence of the instructions which bound me to keep in close communication with Fredericksburg; but I instructed General Sigel, who occupied the right of my line, and who expressed great apprehensions that his flank would be turned, and proposed to withdraw from his position toward the railroad, to stand firm and hold his ground, and to allow the enemy to cross at Sulphur Springs and develop himself on the road toward Warrenton—that as soon as any considerable force had crossed at that place, I would rapidly mass my army during the night and throw it upon any force of the enemy which attempted to march in the direction of Warrenton.

"The whole of the cavalry, under Brigadier-Generals Buford and Bayard, was pushed considerably to the right of General Sigel, in the direction of Fayetteville and Sulphur Springs, to watch the movements of the enemy in that direction, and to picket the river as far up as possible. General Sigel was ordered, if any force of the enemy attempted to cross below Sulphur Springs, to march at once against it, and to notify me, as I was determined to resist the passage of the river at any point below the Springs.

"Finding that the continued movement of the enemy to my right, while heavy masses of his force still confronted me at Rappahannock Station, would within a day, if allowed to continue, either render my position on the Rappahannock wholly untenable, or force me to give battle to the enemy in my front and on my right, I determined on the afternoon of the 22d to mass my whole force, to recross the Rappahannock by the bridges and fords near Rappahannock Station, and by Kelly's Ford below, and to fall on the flank and rear of the long column of the enemy which was passing up the river toward our right. I accordingly made the necessary orders on the night of the 22d of

August. The attempt would have been dangerous, but no course was left me except to make this attack, to retire to Warrenton Junction, and to abandon the line of the Rappahannock, or to retire in the direction of Fredericksburg and abandon the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the direct approaches to Washington city. I determined, therefore, to hazard the result, and to fall furiously with my whole army upon the flank and rear of the enemy. During the night of the 22d a heavy rain set in, which before day dawned on the 23d had caused the river to rise six or eight feet, carried away all our bridges, and destroyed all the fords on the river.

"To recross the Rappahannock, and to make the attack as proposed, was no longer practicable; but the rise in the river which had prevented this movement, I believed would also prevent the retreat of that portion of the enemy which had crossed at Sulphur Springs and Waterloo Bridge, according to the reports which had been sent me by General Sigel.

"Early on the morning of the 23d, therefore, I massed my whole force in the neighborhood of Rappahannock Station, with the purpose of falling upon that portion of the enemy which had crossed above me, and was then supposed to be between Sulphur Springs, Waterloo Bridge, and the town of Warrenton. As the river was too high to be crossed, and was likely to remain so for at least thirty-six hours, I had no fear that the enemy would be able to interpose between me and Fredericksburg, or to make any attempt upon the Orange and Alexandria Railroad north of the Rappahannock. I directed General Sigel to march with his whole corps upon Sulphur Springs, supported by Reno's corps and Banks' corps, to fall upon any body of the enemy that he might encounter, and to push forward along the river to Waterloo Bridge. I directed General McDowell to move at the same time directly upon the town of Warrenton, so that from that point he would be able, if necessary, to unite with General Sigel on the road from that place to Sulphur Springs, or to Waterloo Bridge. To the corps of General McDowell I had attached the Pennsylvania Reserves, under Brigadier-General Reynolds, the first of the Army of the Potomac which had joined my command.

"On the night of the 22d of August a small cavalry force of the enemy, crossing at Waterloo Bridge and passing through Warrenton, had made a raid upon our trains at Catlett's Station, and had destroyed four or five wagons in all, belonging to the train of my own headquarters. At the time this cavalry force attacked at Catlett's—and it certainly was not more than 300 strong — our whole army trains were parked at that place, and were guarded by not less than 1,500 infantry and five companies of cavalry. The success of this small cavalry party of the enemy, although very trifling, and attended with but little damage, was most disgraceful to the force which had been left in charge of the trains. General Sigel moved, as or-

dered, slowly up the Rappahannock in the direction of Sulphur Springs on the 23d, and first encountered a force of the enemy near the point where a small creek called "Great Run" puts into the Rappahannock, about two miles below the Sulphur Springs. The enemy was driven across the stream, but destroyed the bridges. The heavy rains had caused this small creek to rise so much that it was not then fordable, so that the night of the 23d and part of the morning of the 24th were spent by General Sigel in rebuilding the bridges. On the night of the 23d also, the advance of McDowell's corps occupied Warrenton, a cavalry force of the enemy having retreated from there a few hours before. On the morning of the 24th General Sigel, supported by Generals Reno and Banks, crossed Great Run and occupied the Sulphur Springs, under a heavy fire of artillery from batteries which the enemy had established all along the south side of the Rappahannock. The bridge which had been built at Sulphur Springs, and upon which the forces of the enemy which had crossed a day or two previous escaped from the advance of General Sigel, was destroyed, and General Sigel pushed forward, with the force supporting him, in the direction of Waterloo Bridge.

"Meantime, I had dispatched Brigadier-General Buford with a heavy cavalry force from Warrenton on the morning of the 24th, to reconnoitre the country in the vicinity of Waterloo Bridge, and to interrupt the passage of the river at that point as far as possible. It was then believed by General Sigel, who so reported to me, that a considerable force of the enemy was on the north side of the Rappahannock, and was retiring from his advance in the direction of Waterloo Bridge. By noon of the 24th General Buford reported to me that he had occupied Waterloo Bridge, without finding any force of the enemy, and he did not believe that there was any force between that place and Sulphur Springs. I directed him to destroy the bridge at Waterloo, and to maintain his position until the arrival of the advance of General Sigel. I at once informed General Sigel of these facts, and directed him to push forward his advance to Waterloo. Milroy's brigade, constituting the advance of his corps, reached Waterloo late in the afternoon of the 24th. On that afternoon the whole force of the enemy was stretched along the line of the river, from the Rappahannock Station to Waterloo Bridge, with his centre, and I think his main body, in the vicinity of Sulphur Springs. During the day of the 24th a large detachment of the enemy, numbering thirty-six regiments of infantry, with the usual number of batteries of artillery and a considerable cavalry force, marched rapidly toward the north, in the direction of Rectortown. They could be plainly seen from our signal stations, established on high points along the Rappahannock; and their movements and force were reported to me from time to time by Colonel J. S. Clark, of General Banks' staff—who, both on that day, and for many preceding and succeeding days,

gave me most valuable and reliable information. I am glad to express here my appreciation of the valuable services of this officer. On the night of the 24th my forces were distributed as follows: Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, on the road from Warrenton to Waterloo Bridge, and about four miles east of Waterloo; King's division, of the same corps, between Warrenton and the Sulphur Springs; Sigel's corps near the Rappahannock, with his advance at Waterloo Bridge and his rear in the direction of the Sulphur Springs. In his rear, and immediately in contact with him, was Banks' corps; while Reno's corps was east, and very near the Sulphur Springs.

"I was satisfied that no force of the enemy was on the north side of the Rappahannock; but I feared that during the next day — by which time the river would have fallen sufficiently to be passed at any of the fords—the enemy would make an attempt to cross at Rappahannock Station, or at the fords between that point and Sulphur Springs. Yet — as we were confronted at Waterloo Bridge and Sulphur Springs by the main body of the enemy, still moving toward our right, and as the heavy column mentioned previously was marching with all speed in the direction of White Plains and Salem, and from those points would be able to turn our right by the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, or even north of that place—it was with the greatest reluctance, and only because I felt bound to do so under my instructions, that I took measures again to assume my communications with Fredericksburg. I append herewith orders and dispatches sent and received during the 23d and 24th of August, which will of themselves furnish a succinct account of the movements here set forth, and all the information and assurances upon which those movements were made. On the 23d I received a dispatch from the General-in-Chief informing me that heavy reinforcements would begin to arrive at Warrenton Junction the succeeding day; and on the 24th I received dispatches from Colonel Haupt, the railroad superintendent at Alexandria, who informed me that 30,000 men, ordered forward to join me, had demanded transportation from him, and that they would all be shipped that afternoon or early the next morning. The force which I thus expected was, as reported to me, to consist of the division of General Sturgis, 10,000 strong; the division of General Cox, 7,000 strong; the corps of General Heintzelman, 10,000 strong; and the corps of General Franklin, 10,000 strong.

"By the night of the 25th it became apparent to me that I could no longer keep open my communications with Fredericksburg and oppose the crossing of the Rappahannock, at Rappahannock Station, without abandoning the road from Warrenton to Washington, and leaving open to the enemy the route through Thoroughfare Gap, and all other roads north of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. As the main body of his force was constantly tending in that direction, I determined no longer

to attempt to mask the lower fords of the Rappahannock, but to assemble such forces as I had along the Warrenton turnpike, between Warrenton and Gainesville, and give battle to the enemy on my right or left, as he might choose. I therefore directed General McDowell to occupy Warrenton with his own and Sigel's corps, supporting him by Banks' corps from the direction of Fayetteville.

"I pushed Reno forward to occupy a point near the Warrenton turnpike, and about three miles to the east of that town. I sent orders to General Porter, who had reported to me by note from the neighborhood of Bealeton Station, to push forward and join Reno.

"Heintzelman's corps, which had reached Warrenton Junction, was ordered to remain for the present at that point, it being my purpose to push forward that corps, as soon as practicable, to Greenwich, about half-way between Warrenton and Gainesville. I sent orders to Colonel Haupt to direct one of the strongest divisions being sent forward to take post in the works at Manassas Junction, and requested General Halleck to push Franklin, with all speed, to Gainesville—that he could march quite as rapidly as he could be transported by rail, with the limited means of railroad transportation in our possession, and that his baggage and supplies could be sent forward to Gainesville by rail.

"I also sent orders to the colonel commanding at Manassas Junction for the first division that reached there from Alexandria to halt and take post in the works at that place, and directed him to push forward all his cavalry in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, to watch any movements the enemy might make from that direction.

"I had instructed General Sturgis, commanding at Alexandria, on the 22d of August, to post strong guards along the railroad from Manassas Junction to Catlett's Station, and requested him to superintend this in person. I also directed General Kearney, who reached Warrenton Junction on the 23d, to see that sufficient guards were placed all along the railroad in his rear. After these precautions and assurances, I had thought, and confidently expected, that by the afternoon of the 26th, Franklin would have been at or near Gainesville. One division would have been occupying the works at Manassas Junction, and that the forces under Sturgis and Cox would have been at Warrenton Junction, whence they could have been at once pushed north in the direction of Warrenton turnpike.

"The orders for the disposition of the forces then under my command were sent, and the movements made, so far as practicable, during the day of the 26th. About eight o'clock at night, on the 26th, the advance of Jackson's force, having passed through Thoroughfare Gap, cut the railroad in the neighborhood of Kettle Run, about six miles east of Warrenton Junction.

"The cavalry force which I had sent forward toward Thoroughfare Gap on the morning of the 26th, made no report to me. The moment our communica-

tions were interrupted at Kettle Run, I was satisfied that the troops which had been promised me from the direction of Washington had made no considerable progress. Had Franklin been even at Centreville on the 26th, or had Cox and Sturgis been as far west as Bull Run on that day, the movement of Jackson through Thoroughfare Gap upon the railroad at Manassas would have been utterly impracticable. So confidently did I expect, from the assurance which I had time and again received, that these troops would be in position, or, at all events, far advanced toward me, that Jackson's movement toward White Plains, and in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, had caused but little uneasiness; but on the night of the 26th it was very apparent to me that all these expected reinforcements had utterly failed me, and that upon the small force under my own immediate command I must depend alone for any present operations against the enemy. It was easy for me to retire in the direction of the lower fords of the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, so as to bring me in immediate contact with the forces there or arriving there; but by so doing I should have left open the whole front of Washington, and after my own disappointment of the reinforcements which I had expected, I was not sure that there was any sufficient force, in the absence of the army under my command, to cover the capital. I determined, therefore, at once to abandon the line of the Rappahannock, and throw my whole force in the direction of Gainesville and Manassas Junction, to crush the enemy who had passed through Thoroughfare Gap, and to interpose between the army of General Lee and Bull Run.

"During the night of the 26th the main body of the enemy still occupied their positions from Sulphur Springs to Waterloo Bridge and above; but toward morning on the 27th, I think their advance moved off in the direction of White Plains, pursuing the route previously taken by Jackson, and, no doubt, with a view of uniting with him eastward of the Bull Run range.

"From the 18th of August to the morning of the 27th, the troops under my command had been continuously marching and fighting, night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had had little sleep, were greatly worn down with fatigue, had had little time to get proper food or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed services laborious, dangerous, and excessive, beyond any previous experience in this country. As was to be expected under such circumstances, the numbers of the army under my command had been greatly reduced by death, by wounds, by sickness, and by fatigue, so that on the morning of the 27th of August I estimated my whole force (and I think the estimation was large) as follows: Sigel's corps, 9,000 men; Banks' corps, 5,000 men; McDowell's corps, including Reynolds' division, 15,500 men; Reno's corps, 7,000; the corps of Heint-

zelman and Porter (the freshest by far in that army), about 18,000 men, making in all 54,500 men. Our cavalry numbered, on paper, about 4,000 men; but their horses were completely broken down, and there were not 500 men, all told, capable of doing such service as should be expected from cavalry.

"The corps of Heintzelman had reached Warrenton Junction, but was without wagons, without artillery, with only forty rounds of ammunition to the man, and without even horses for the general and field officers. The corps of Porter had also reached Warrenton Junction, with a very small supply of provisions, and but forty rounds of ammunition for each man.

"On the morning of the 27th, in accordance with the purpose previously set forth, I directed McDowell to move forward rapidly on Gainesville, by the Warrenton turnpike, with his own corps and Sigel's, and the division of Reynolds, so as to reach that point during the night. I directed General Reno, with his corps, followed by Kearney's division, of Heintzelman's corps, to move rapidly on Greenwich, so as to reach there that night—to communicate at once with General McDowell, and to support him in any operations against the enemy in the vicinity of Gainesville.

"I moved forward along the railroad toward Manassas Junction, with Hooker's division, of Heintzelman's corps, leaving orders for General Porter to remain with his corps at Warrenton Junction until relieved by General Banks, who was marching to that place from Fayetteville; and as soon as he was relieved, to push forward also in the direction of Gainesville, where at that time I expected that the main collision with the enemy would occur.

"The army trains of all the corps I instructed to take the road to Warrenton Junction, and follow in the rear of Hooker's division toward Manassas Junction, so that the road pursued by the train was entirely covered from any possible interruption by the enemy.

"On the afternoon of the 27th a severe engagement occurred between Hooker's division and Ewell's division of Jackson's forces. The action commenced about four miles west of Bristow Station. Ewell was driven back along the railroad, but still confronted Hooker at dark along the bank of Broad Run, immediately in front of Bristow Station, at which point I arrived at sunset. The loss in this engagement was about 300 killed and wounded on each side, the enemy leaving his dead, many of his wounded, and much of his baggage on the field of battle.

"The railroad had been torn up, and the bridges burned in several places between Bristow Station and Warrenton Junction. I accordingly directed Major-General Banks to cover the railroad trains at Warrenton Junction until General Porter's corps had marched from that place, and then to run back the trains as far as practicable, and covering them with his troops, to repair the bridges as fast as possible.

"I also directed Captain Merrill, of the Engineers, with a considerable force,

to repair the railroad track and bridges as far as possible in the direction of Bristow Station. The road was accordingly put in order from Warrenton Junction to Kettle Run during the 27th, and the trains ran back to that point early the next day. At dark on the 27th General Hooker reported to me that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that he had but five rounds to a man left.

"I had by that time become convinced that the whole force under Jackson, consisting of his own, A. P. Hill's, and Ewell's divisions, was south of the turnpike, and in the immediate neighborhood of Manassas Junction. McDowell reached his position during the night of the 27th, as did also Kearney and Reno, and it was clear on that night that he had interposed completely between Jackson and the main body of the enemy, which was still west of the Bull Run range, and in the neighborhood of White Plains.

"Thinking it altogether likely that Jackson would mass his whole force and attempt to turn our right at Bristow Station, and knowing that Hooker, for want of ammunition, was in little condition to make long resistance, I sent back orders to General Porter, about dark of the 27th, to move forward at one o'clock in the night, and report to me at Bristow by daylight in the morning, leaving instructions in some detail for Banks, who was expected at Warrenton Junction during that night or early in the morning.

"The orders for all these movements are herewith appended. General Porter failed utterly to obey the orders that were sent to him, giving as an excuse that his men were tired, that they would straggle in the night, and that a wagon train proceeding eastward in the rear of Hooker's division would offer obstructions to his march. He, however, made no attempt whatever to comply with this order, although it was stated to him in the order itself that his presence was necessary, on all accounts, at daylight, and that the officer delivering the dispatch was instructed to conduct him to the field.

"There were but two courses left open to Jackson in consequence of this sudden and unexpected movement of the army. He could not retrace his steps through Gainesville, as it was occupied by McDowell, having in command a force equal, if not superior, to his own. He was either obliged, therefore, to retreat through Centreville, which would carry him still farther from the main body of Lee's army, or to mass his force, assault us at Bristow Station, and turn our right. He pursued the former course and retired through Centreville. This mistake of Jackson's alone saved us from the serious consequences which would have followed this disobedience of orders on the part of General Porter.

"At nine o'clock on the night of the 27th, satisfied of Jackson's position, I sent orders to General McDowell to push forward, at the very earliest dawn of day, toward Manassas Junction from Gainesville, resting his right on the Manassas Gap Railroad, and throwing his left well to the east. I directed Gen-

eral Reno to march at the same hour from Greenwich, direct upon Manassas Junction, and Kearney to march at the same hour upon Bristow. This latter order was sent to Kearney, to render my right at Bristow perfectly secure against the probable movement of Jackson in that direction. Kearney arrived at Bristow about eight o'clock in the morning, Reno being on his left, and marching direct upon Manassas Junction. I immediately pushed Kearney forward in pursuit of Ewell, toward Manassas, followed by Hooker.

"General Porter's corps did not arrive at Bristow until half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and the moment he found that Jackson had evacuated Manassas Junction, he requested permission to halt at Bristow, and rest his men. Sykes' division, of Porter's corps, had spent the whole day of the 27th, from ten o'clock in the morning until daylight of the 28th, in camp at Warrenton Junction.

"Morrell's division, of the same corps, had arrived at Warrenton Junction during the day of the 27th, and also remained there during the whole of that night. Porter's corps was by far the freshest in the whole army, and should have been, and I believe was, in better condition for service than any troops we had. General McDowell reported to me afterward that he had given orders for the movement of his command upon Manassas Junction at two o'clock at night, in accordance with the directions I had sent him, but that General Sigel, who commanded his advance, and was at Gainesville, instead of moving forward from Gainesville at daylight, as he was ordered, was absolutely, with his advance, in that town as late as half-past seven o'clock in the morning. Meantime, beginning about three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, Jackson commenced evacuating Manassas Junction, and his troops were marching from that point in the direction of Centreville until ten or eleven o'clock in the day.

"If the whole force under McDowell had moved forward as directed, and at the time specified, they would have intercepted Jackson's retreat toward Centreville by eight o'clock in the morning, and I do not believe it would have been possible for Jackson to have crossed Bull Run, so closely engaged with our forces, without heavy loss. * * * *

"I reached Manassas Junction, with Kearney's division and Reno's corps, about twelve o'clock in the day of the 28th, less than an hour after Jackson in person had retired. I immediately pushed forward Hooker, Kearney, and Reno upon Centreville, and sent orders to Fitz-John Porter to come forward to Manassas Junction. I also wrote to McDowell, and stated the facts so far as we were then able to ascertain them, and directed him to call back the whole of his force that had come in the direction of Manassas Junction, and to move forward upon Centreville. He had, however, without my knowledge, detached Ricketts' division in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, and that division was no longer available in his movement toward Centreville.

"Late in the afternoon of the 28th, Kearney drove the enemy's rear-guard out of Centreville, and occupied that town, with his advance beyond it, about dark. The enemy retreated through Centreville, one portion of his force taking the road by Sudley Springs, and the other pursuing the Warrenton turnpike toward Gainesville, destroying the bridges on that road over Bull Run and Cub Run—McDowell, with his whole force, consisting of his own corps (except Ricketts' division), Sigel's corps, and the division of Reynolds, marching in the direction of Centreville, encountered the advance of Jackson's force retreating toward Thoroughfare Gap, about six o'clock on the evening of the 28th. A severe action took place between King's division, of McDowell's corps, and the advance of Jackson, which was terminated by darkness. Each party maintained its ground.

"Gibbons' brigade, of King's division, which was in the advance of that division, sustained the brunt of the action, but was supported handsomely by Doubleday's brigade, which came into action shortly after. This engagement and its result were reported to me near Centreville, about ten o'clock that night.

"I felt sure then, and so stated, that there was no escape for Jackson. I accordingly sent orders to General McDowell, as also to General King, several times during the night of the 28th, and once by his own staff officer, to hold his ground at all hazards, and prevent the retreat of Jackson to the west, and that at daylight in the morning our whole force from Centreville and Manassas Junction would be up with the enemy, who must be crushed between us. I also sent orders to General Kearney to push forward at one o'clock that night, cautiously from Centreville, along the Warrenton turnpike, to drive in the pickets of the enemy, and to keep closely in contact with him during the night; to rest his left on the Warrenton turnpike, and throw his right well to the north, if possible across Little River turnpike; at daylight in the morning to assault vigorously with his right advance, and that Hooker and Reno would be up with him very shortly after daydawn.

"I sent orders to General Porter, whom I supposed to be at Manassas Junction, where he should have been in compliance with my orders of the day previous, to move upon Centreville at the earliest dawn, and stated to him the position of the forces, and that a severe battle would undoubtedly be fought during the morning of the 29th.

"The only apprehension I had at that time was that Jackson might attempt to retreat to the north, in the direction of Leesburg, and for the purpose of preventing this, I directed Kearney to keep closely in contact with him during the whole of the night of the 28th. My forces were so disposed that McDowell, Sigel, and Reynolds, whose joint forces amounted to about 25,000 men, were immediately west of Jackson, and between him and Thoroughfare Gap, while Kearney, Hooker, Reno, and Porter, about 25,000 strong, were to fall on the

enemy from the east, at daylight in the morning, or very shortly after.

"With this disposition of troops we were so far in advance of Longstreet, that by using our whole force vigorously we should be able to crush Jackson before Longstreet could by any possibility reach the scene of action.

"To my great disappointment, however, I learned toward daylight, on the morning of the 29th, that King's division had fallen back in the direction of Manassas Junction, thus leaving open the road to Thoroughfare Gap, and making new movements and dispositions of troops immediately necessary.

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"The disposition of the troops on the west of Jackson having failed, through Ricketts' movement toward Thoroughfare Gap, and the consequent withdrawal of King, an imminent change in the disposition and proposed movements of the troops for the succeeding day became necessary, and about daylight on the morning of the 29th, shortly after I received information of the withdrawal of King's division, I sent orders to General Sigel, who was in the neighborhood of Groveton, supported by Reynolds' division, to attack the enemy vigorously as soon as it was light enough to see, and bring him to a stand, if it were possible to do so.

"I instructed General Heintzelman to push forward from Centreville toward Gainesville at the earliest dawn, with the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, and directed General Reno to follow closely in his rear, to use all speed, and as soon as they came up with the enemy to establish communication with Sigel, and attack with the utmost promptness and vigor.

"I also sent orders to Major-General Fitz-John Porter, at Manassas Junction, to move forward with the utmost rapidity, with his own corps, and King's division, of McDowell's corps, which was supposed to be at that point, upon Gainesville, by the direct road from Manassas Junction to that place. I urged him to make all speed, that he might come up with the enemy and be able to turn his flank near where the Warrenton turnpike is intersected by the wood from Manassas Junction to Gainesville. Shortly after sending this order I received a note from General McDowell, whom I had not been able to find during the night of the 28th, dated at Manassas Junction, requesting that King's division might not be taken from his command. I immediately sent a joint order to Generals McDowell and Porter, directing them, with their two corps, to march with all speed toward Gainesville, on the direct road from Manassas Junction. This order, which is appended, sets forth in detail the movements they were directed to make.

"Sigel attacked the enemy about daylight on the morning of the 29th, a mile or two east of Groveton, where he was soon joined by the divisions of Hooker and Kearney. Jackson fell back several miles, but was so closely pressed by these forces that he was compelled to make a stand, and to make the best defence possible. He accord-

ingly took up a position with his left in the neighborhood of Sudley Springs, his right a little to the south of Warrenton turnpike, and his line covered by an old railroad grade which leads from Gainesville in the direction of Leesburg. His batteries, which were numerous, and some of them of heavy calibre, were posted behind the ridges in the open ground on both sides of Warrenton turnpike, while the mass of his troops was sheltered in dense woods behind the railroad embankments.

"I arrived on the field from Centreville about noon, and found the two armies confronting each other, both considerably cut up by the sharp action in which they had been engaged since daylight in the morning. Heintzelman's corps occupied the right of our line, in front or west of the Sudley Springs road. General Sigel was on his left, with his line extended a short distance south of the Warrenton turnpike, the division of General Schenck occupying the high ground to the left of that road. The extreme left was occupied by General Reynolds.

"General Reno's corps had reached the field, and the most of it had been pushed forward into action, leaving four regiments in reserve, and in rear of the centre of our line.

"Immediately after I reached the ground, General Sigel reported to me that his line was weak; that the divisions of Schurz and Steinwehr were much cut up, and ought to be drawn back from the front. I informed General Sigel that this was utterly impossible, as there were no troops to replace them, and that he must hold his ground; that I would not again push his troops into action, as the corps of Porter and McDowell were moving forward from Manassas Junction, on the road to Gainesville, and must very soon be in position to fall upon the enemy's right flank, and probably upon his rear. I rode to the front of our line, and inspected it from right to left, giving the same information to Generals Heintzelman and Reno. The troops were accordingly suffered to rest in their positions, and to re-supply themselves with ammunition.

"From twelve until four o'clock very severe skirmishes occurred constantly at various points on our line, and were brought on at every indication the enemy made of a disposition to retreat.

"About two o'clock in the afternoon several pieces of artillery were discharged on the extreme right of the enemy's line, and I fully believed that Generals Porter and McDowell had reached their positions, and had become engaged with the enemy. I did not hear more than three shots fired, and was at a loss to know what had become of those two corps, or what was delaying them; but I received information shortly afterward that General McDowell was advancing to join the main body by the Sudley Springs road, and would probably be up with us in two hours.

"At half-past four o'clock I sent a peremptory order to General Porter to push forward at once into action on the enemy's right, and, if possible, to turn his rear, stating to him generally the

condition of things on the field in front of me. About half-past five o'clock, when General Porter should have been coming into action in compliance with this order, I directed General Heintzelman and Reno to attack the enemy. The attack was made with great gallantry, and the whole of the left of the enemy was doubled back toward his centre, and our own forces, after a sharp conflict of an hour and a half, occupied the field of battle, with the dead and wounded of the eneny in our hands. In this attack, Grover's brigade, of Hooker's division, was particularly distinguished by a determined bayonet charge, breaking two of the enemy's lines, and penetrating to the third before it could be checked. By this time General McDowell had arrived on the field, and I pushed his corps immediately to the front, along the Warrenton turnpike, with orders to fall upon the enemy, who was retreating toward the pike from the direction of Sudley Springs. The attack along the turnpike was made by King's division, at about sunset in the evening; but by that time the advance of the main body of the enemy, under Longstreet, had begun to reach the field, and King's division encountered a stubborn and determined resistance at a point about three-fourths of a mile in front of our line of battle.

"While this attack was going on, the forces under Heintzelman and Reno continued to push back the left of the enemy in the direction of the Warrenton turnpike, so that about eight o'clock in the evening the greater portion of the field of battle was occupied by our army. Nothing was heard of General Porter up to that time, and his forces took no part whatever in the action, but were suffered by him to lie idle on their arms within sight and sound of the battle during the whole day. So far as I know, he made no effort whatever to comply with my orders, nor to take any part in the action. I do not hesitate to say that if he had discharged his duty as became a soldier under the circumstances, and had made a vigorous attack on the enemy, as he was expected and directed to do, at any time up to eight o'clock that night, we should have utterly crushed or captured the larger portion of Jackson's force before he could have been, by any possibility, sufficiently reinforced to have made an effective resistance. I did not, myself, feel for a moment that it was necessary for me, having given General Porter an order to move toward the enemy in a particular direction, to send him, in addition, specific orders to attack; it being his clear duty, and in accordance with every military precept, to have brought his forces into action wherever he encountered the enemy, when a furious battle with that enemy was raging during the whole day in his immediate presence. I believe, in fact I am positive, that at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th General Porter had in his front no considerable body of the enemy. I believed then, as I am very sure now, that it was easily practicable for him to have turned the right flank of Jackson, and to have fallen upon his rear; that if he had done so, we

should have gained a decisive victory over the army under Jackson before he could have been joined by any of the forces of Longstreet, and that the army of General Lee would have been so crippled and checked by the destruction of this large force as to have been no longer in condition to prosecute further operations of an aggressive character.

"Our losses during the 29th were very heavy, but no separate returns of killed and wounded for that day have been made to me. I believed, from all I could learn from corps commanders, and so reported, that our loss during that day was not less than 6,000 or 8,000 killed and wounded, and I think this estimate will be confirmed by the general reports, which cover the losses during the battles of the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th of August, and the 1st of September. My estimate of the loss of the enemy, reported to the Department on the morning of the 30th, was based upon the statements made to me by Generals Hooker and Kearney, who had been over the whole field on the left. General Hooker estimated the loss of the enemy as at least two to one, and General Kearney as at least three to one of our own.

"Every indication, during the night of the 29th and up to ten o'clock on the morning of the 30th, pointed to the retreat of the enemy from our front. Paroled prisoners of our own, taken on the evening of the 29th, and who came into our lines on the morning of the 30th, reported the enemy retreating during the whole night in the direction of and along the Warrenton turnpike. Generals McDowell and Heintzelman, who reconnoitred the positions held by the enemy's left on the evening of the 29th, confirmed this statement. They reported to me that the positions occupied by the enemy's left had been evacuated, and that there was every indication that he was retreating in the direction of Gainesville.

"On the morning of the 30th, as may be supposed, our troops—who had been so continually marching and fighting for so many days—were in a state of great exhaustion. They had had little to eat for two days previous, and artillery and cavalry horses had been in harness and saddled continuously for ten days, and had had no forage for two days previous. It may easily be imagined how little these troops, after such severe labors, and after undergoing such hardship and privation, were in condition for active and efficient service. I had telegraphed to the General-in-chief on the 28th our condition, and had begged of him to have rations and forage sent forward to us from Alexandria with all dispatch. I informed him of the imminent need of cavalry horses to enable the cavalry belonging to the army to perform any service whatever.

"About daylight of the 30th, I received a note from General Franklin—herewith appended—written by direction of General McClellan, and dated at eight o'clock P.M. on the 29th, informing me that rations and forage would be loaded into the available wagons and cars at Alexandria as soon as I would

send back a cavalry escort to bring out the trains. Such a letter, when we were fighting the enemy, and Alexandria was swarming with troops, needs no comment. Bad as was the condition of our cavalry, I was in no situation to spare troops from the front; nor could they have gone to Alexandria and returned within the time by which we must have had provisions or have fallen back in the direction of Washington; nor do I see what service cavalry could have rendered in guarding railroad trains. It was not until I received this letter that I began to feel discouraged and nearly hopeless of any successful issue to the operations with which I was charged; but I felt it to be my duty, notwithstanding the desperate condition of my command — from great fatigue, from want of provisions and forage, and from the small hope that I had of any effective assistance from Alexandria — to hold my position at all hazards and under all privations, unless overwhelmed by the superior forces of the enemy. I had received no sort of information of any troops coming forward to my assistance since the 24th, and did not expect, on the morning of the 30th, that any assistance would reach me from the direction of Washington; but I determined again to give battle to the enemy on the 30th, and at least to lay on such blows as would cripple him as much as possible, and delay as long as practicable any further advance toward the capital. I accordingly prepared to renew the engagement.

"At that time my effective forces, much reduced by losses in killed, wounded, missing, and broken-down men — during the severe operations of two or three days and nights previous, the sharp actions of Hooker, King, and Ricketts on the 27th and 28th, and the furious battle on the 29th—were estimated by me and others as follows: McDowell's corps, including Reynolds' division, 12,000 men; Sigel's corps, 7,000; Reno's corps, 7,000; Heintzelman's corps, 7,000; Porter's corps, which had been in no engagement, and was, or ought to have been, perfectly fresh, I estimated at about 12,000 men, including the brigade of Piatt, which formed a part of Sturgis' division, and the only portion that ever joined me. But of this force, the brigades of Piatt and of Griffin, numbering, as I understood, about 5,000 men, had been suffered to march off at daylight on the 30th to Centreville, and were not available for operations on that day. This reduced Porter's effective force in the field to about 7,000 men, which gave me a total force of 40,000 men. Banks' corps, about 5,000 strong, was at Bristow Station, in charge of the railroad trains, and of a portion of the wagon trains of the army, still at that place. Between twelve and two o'clock in the day, I advanced the corps of Porter, supported by King's division, of McDowell's corps, to attack the enemy along the Warrenton turnpike; at the same time I directed Heintzelman and Reno, on our right, to push forward to the left and front toward Warrenton turnpike, and attack the enemy's left in flank if possible. For a

short time Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, was placed in support of this movement on our right.

"It was necessary for me to act thus promptly, and make an attack, as I had not the time, for want of provisions and forage, to wait an attack from the enemy, nor did I think it good policy to do so under the circumstances. During the whole night of the 29th and the morning of the 30th, the advance of the main army under Lee was arriving on the field to reinforce Jackson, so that by twelve or one o'clock in the day we were confronted by forces greatly superior to our own; and these forces were being every moment largely increased by fresh arrivals of the enemy from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap. Every moment of delay increased the odds against us, and I therefore advanced to the attack as rapidly as I was able to bring my forces into action. Shortly after, General Porter moved forward to the attack by the Warrenton turnpike, and the assault on the enemy was begun by Heintzelman and Reno on the right. It became apparent that the enemy was massing his troops, as fast as they arrived on the field, on his right, and was moving forward from that direction to turn our left, at which point it was plain he intended to make his main attack. I accordingly directed General McDowell to recall Ricketts' division immediately from our right, and post it on the left of our line. The attack of Porter was neither vigorous nor persistent, and his troops soon retired in considerable confusion. As soon as they commenced to fall back, the enemy advanced to the assault, and our whole line, from right to left, was soon furiously engaged. The main attack of the enemy was made upon our left, but was met with stubborn resistance by the divisions of General Schenck, General Milroy, and General Reynolds, who, shortly after the action begun, were reinforced on their left and rear by the whole of Ricketts' division. The action raged furiously for several hours, the enemy bringing up his heavy reserves and pouring mass after mass of his troops upon our left. So greatly superior in number were his forces that, while overpowering us on our left, he was able to assault us also with superior forces on our right. Porter's forces were rallied and brought to a halt as they were retiring to the rear. As soon as they could be used, I pushed them forward to support our left, and they there rendered distinguished service, especially the brigade of regulars under Colonel Buchanan.

"Tower's brigade, of Ricketts' division, was pushed forward into action in support of Reynolds' division, and was led forward in person by General Tower with conspicuous skill and gallantry. The conduct of that brigade, in plain view of all the forces on our left, was especially distinguished, and drew forth hearty and enthusiastic cheers. The example of this brigade was of great service, and infused new spirit into all troops who witnessed their intrepid conduct.

"Reno's corps was also withdrawn

from its position on our right centre late in the afternoon, and thrown into the action on our left, where it behaved with conspicuous gallantry.

"Notwithstanding these great disadvantages, our troops held their ground with the utmost firmness and obstinacy. The losses on both sides were very heavy. By dark our left had been forced back about one-half or three-fourths of a mile, but still remained firm and unbroken, and still covered the turnpike in our rear.

"About six o'clock in the evening I heard accidentally that Franklin's corps had arrived at a point about four miles east of Centreville, and twelve miles in our rear, and that it was only about 8,000 strong. The result of the battle of the 30th, the very heavy losses we had suffered, and the complete prostration of our troops from hunger and fatigue, made it plain to me that we were no longer able, in the face of such overwhelming odds, to maintain our position so far to the front, nor would we have been able to do so under any circumstances, suffering, as were the men and horses, from fatigue and hunger, and weakened by the heavy losses incident to the uncommon hardships which they had suffered.

"About eight o'clock at night, therefore, I sent written instructions to the commanders of corps to withdraw leisurely toward Centreville, and stated to them what route each should pursue, and where they should take post. General Reno was instructed, with his whole corps, to cover the movements of the army toward Centreville. The withdrawal was made slowly, quietly, and in good order, no pursuit whatever having been attempted by the enemy. A division of infantry, with its batteries, was posted to cover the crossing at Cub Run.

"The exact forces in this battle I am unable to give, as the reports received from the corps commanders only exhibit the aggregate losses during the whole of the operations from August 22d to September 2d. Before leaving the field that night, I sent orders to General Banks at Bristow Station to destroy the railroad trains and such of the stores in them as he was unable to carry off, and rejoin me at Centreville. I had previously sent him orders to throw into each wagon of the army trains as much as possible of the stores from the railroad cars, and to be sure and bring off with him, from Warrenton Junction and Bristow, all the ammunition, and all the sick and wounded that could be transported, and for this purpose, if it were necessary, to throw out the personal baggage, tents, etc., from the regimental trains. * * * At no time during August 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st was the road between Bristow Station and Centreville interrupted by the enemy. The whole of the trains of the army were on that road, in charge of General Banks, and covered and protected by his whole corps. If any of these wagons were lost, as I believe none were, it was wholly without necessity. * * * * * *

"The orders submitted will show conclusively that every arrangement was

made in the utmost detail, for the security of our trains and supplies, and I am quite convinced that General Banks is not the man to neglect the duty with which he was charged.

"I arrived at Centreville between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the 30th. On the same night I sent orders to the corps commanders to report to me in person as early after daylight as possible on the morning of the 31st, and on that morning the troops were directed to be posted as follows: Porter was to occupy the intrenchments on the north or right of Centreville; Franklin on his left in the intrenchments; in rear of Centreville, between Franklin and Porter, as a support, was posted the corps of Heintzelman; Sigel occupied the intrenchments on the left and south side of the town, with Reno on his left and rear. Banks was ordered to take post, as soon as he arrived, on the north side of Bull Run, and to cover the bridge on the road from Centreville to Manassas Junction. Sumner, as soon as he arrived, was ordered to take post between Centreville and Chantilly, and to occupy Chantilly in force. McDowell was posted about two miles in the rear of Centreville, on the road to Fairfax Court House. Ammunition trains and some provisions were gotten up on the 31st, and all corps commanders were notified, by special order to each, that the ammunition trains were parked immediately in rear of Centreville, and were directed to send officers to procure such ammunition as was needed in their respective corps. I directed the whole of the trains of the army to be unloaded at Centreville, and sent to Fairfax Station to bring up forage and rations.

"We remained during the whole day of the 31st, resting the men, getting up supplies of provisions, and re-supplying the commands with ammunition.

"The enemy's cavalry appeared in force in front of our advance at Cub Run, during the morning of the 31st, but made no attempt to cross, and no attack on our troops posted there. A few pieces of artillery were fired, but with no result on either side.

"The whole force that I had at Centreville, as reported to me by the corps commanders, on the morning of the 1st of September, after receiving the corps of Sumner and Franklin, was as follows: McDowell's corps, 10,000 men; Sigel's corps, about 7,000; Heintzelman's corps, about 6,000; Reno's, 6,000; Banks', 5,000; Sumner's, 11,000; Franklin's 8,000—in all, 63,000 men. From these forces two brigades, as I before stated, had been sent to Fairfax Station to guard the trains and the dépôt at that place, which makes it necessary to deduct 4,000 men. It is proper for me to state here, and I do it with regret and reluctance, that at least one half of this great diminution of our forces was occasioned by skulking and straggling from the army. The troops which were brought into action fought with all gallantry and determination; but thouands of men straggled away from their commands, and were not in any action. I had posted several regiments in rear

of the field of battle, on the 29th of August, and although many thousand stragglers and skulkers were arrested by them, many others passed round through the woods, and did not rejoin their commands during the remainder of the campaign. I had telegraphed to the General-in-chief, from Rappahannock Station, on the 22d, that this practice of straggling was very common, and was reducing our force considerably, even at that time. I also sent orders on the same day to General Sturgis to arrest all stragglers arriving at Alexandria; to confine them in military prisons, and to bring them to speedy trial.

"The active and incessant movements of the army prevented me, during the whole of this campaign, from giving that attention to the subject, except in orders, which ought to be, and must be, given to it, to preserve efficiency and discipline among any troops.

"Our cavalry at Centreville was completely broken down, no horses whatever having reached us to remount it. Generals Buford and Bayard, commanding the whole of the cavalry force of the army, reported to me that there were not five horses to the company that could be forced into a trot. It was impossible, therefore, to cover our front with cavalry, or to make cavalry reconnoissances, as is usual and necessary in front of an army.

"I directed General Sumner, on the morning of the 1st of September, to push forward a reconnoissance of two brigades toward the Little River turnpike, to ascertain if the enemy were making any movements in the direction of Germantown or Fairfax Court House. The enemy was found moving again slowly toward our right, heavy columns of his force being in march toward Fairfax along the Little River pike. The main body of our forces was so much broken down, and so completely exhausted, that they were in no condition, even on the 1st of September, for any active operations against the enemy; but I determined to attack at daylight on the 2d of September, in front of Chantilly.

"The movement of the enemy had become so developed by the afternoon of the 1st, and was so evidently directed to Fairfax Court House, with a view of turning my right, that I made the necessary disposition of troops to fight a battle between the Little River pike and the road from Centreville to Fairfax Court House.

"I sent General Hooker, early in the afternoon, to Fairfax Court House, and directed him to assemble all the troops that were in the vicinity, and to push forward to Germantown with his advance. I directed McDowell to move back along the road to Fairfax Court House as far as Difficult Creek, and to connect by his right with Hooker. Reno was to push forward to the north of the road from Centreville to Fairfax, in the direction of Chantilly. Heintzelman's corps was directed to take post on the road between Centreville and Fairfax, immediately in the rear of Reno. Franklin took post on McDowell's left and rear. Sumner was posted on the left of

John R. Chapin. Del.

GEN. KEARNEY'S CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF CHANTILLY, VA.

Heintzelman, while the corps of Sigel and Porter were directed to unite with the right of Sumner. Banks was instructed, with the wagon-trains of the army, to pursue the old Braddock road, and come into the Alexandria turnpike in rear of Fairfax Court House.

"Just before sunset on the 1st, the enemy attacked us on our right, but were met by Hooker, McDowell, Reno, and Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps. A very severe action occurred, in the midst of a terrific thunder-storm, and was terminated shortly after dark. The enemy was driven back entirely from our front, but during that engagement we lost two of the best, and one of our most distinguished officers—Major-General Kearney and Brigadier-General Stevens, who were both killed while gallantly leading their commands, and in front of their line of battle.

"It is unnecessary for me to say one word of commendation of two officers who were so well and widely known to the country. Words cannot express my sense of the zeal, the gallantry, and the sympathy of that most earnest and accomplished soldier, Major-General Kearney. In him the country has suffered a loss which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to repair. He died as he would have wished to die, and as became his heroic character.

"On the morning of the 2d of September the enemy still continuing his movements toward our right, my whole force was posted behind Difficult Creek, from Flint Hill to the Alexandria turnpike. Although we were quite able to maintain our position at that place until the stragglers could be collected, and the army after its labors and perils put into condition for effective service, I considered it advisable, for reasons which developed themselves at Centreville, and were apparent to the General-in-chief, and are set forth herewith, in the appendix, that the troops should be drawn back to the intrenchments in front of Washington, and that some reorganization should be made of them, in order that earlier effective service should be secured than was possible in their condition at that time. I received orders, about twelve o'clock on the 2d of September, to draw back the forces within the intrenchments, which was done in good order, and without any interruptions by the enemy.

"The reasons which induced me, before I took the field in Virginia, to express to the Government my desire to be relieved from the command of the Army of Virginia, and to return to the West, existed in equal if not in greater force at this time than when I first stated them. I accordingly renewed urgently my application to be relieved. The Government assented to it with some reluctance, and I was transferred to the Department of the North-west, for which department I left Washington on the 7th of September.

"It seems proper for me, since so much misrepresentation has been put into circulation as to the support I received from the Army of the Potomac, to state here precisely what forces of that army came under my command,

and were at any time engaged in the active operations of the campaign. Reynolds' division of Pennsylvania Reserves, about 2,500 strong, joined me on the 23d of August at Rappahannock Station. The corps of Heintzelman and Porter, about 18,000 strong, joined me on the 26th and 27th of August at Warrenton Junction. The Pennsylvania Reserves, under Reynolds, and Heintzelman's corps, consisting of the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, rendered most gallant and efficient service in all the operations which occurred after they had reported to me.* Porter's corps, from unnecessary and unusual delays, and frequent and flagrant disregard of my orders, took no part whatever, except in the action of the 30th of August. This small fraction of 20,500 men was all of the 91,000 veteran troops from Harrison's Landing which ever drew trigger under my command, or in any way took part in that campaign.

"By the time that the corps of Franklin and Sumner, 19,000 strong, joined me at Centreville, the original Army of Virginia, as well as the corps of Heintzelman and the division of Reynolds, had been so cut up in the severe actions in which they had been engaged, and were so much broken down and diminished in numbers by the constant and excessive duties which they had performed, that they were in little condition for any effective service whatever, and required, and should have had, some days of rest to put them in anything like condition to perform their duties in the field.

"Such is the history of the campaign, substantiated by documents written during the operations and hereto appended, which has been misunderstood to an extent perhaps unparalleled in the history of warfare. I submit it here to the public judgment, with all confidence that it will be fairly and deliberately considered, and a just verdict pronounced upon it and upon the army engaged in it. Upon such unbiased judgment I am very willing (setting aside any previous record I have made during the war) to rest my reputation as a soldier. I shall submit cheerfully to the verdict of my countrymen; but I desire that that verdict shall be rendered upon a full knowledge of the facts.

"I well understood, as does every military man, how difficult and how thankless was the duty devolved upon me, and I am not ashamed to say that I would gladly have avoided it, if I could have done so consistently with my sense of duty to the Government.

"To confront with a small army vastly superior forces; to fight battles without hope of victory, but only to gain time and to embarrass and delay the forward movement of the enemy, is of all duties the most hazardous and the most difficult which can be imposed upon any general or any army. While such operations required the highest courage and endurance on the part of the troops, they are perhaps unlikely to

* General Fitz-John Porter was subsequently tried on charges of disobedience of orders, etc., presented by General Pope, and being found guilty was dismissed from the service.

be understood or appreciated ; and the results, however successful, have little in them to attract popular attention and applause.

" At no time could I have hoped to fight a successful battle with the immensely superior force of the enemy which confronted me, and which was able at any time to outflank me and bear my small army to the dust.

" It was only by constant movement, by incessant watchfulness, and hazardous skirmishes and battles, that the forces under my command were not overwhelmed, while at the same time the enemy was embarrassed and delayed in his advance upon Washington until the forces from the Peninsula were *at length* assembled for the defence of the city. I did hope that, in the course of these operations, the enemy might commit some imprudence, or leave some opening, of which I could take such advantage as to gain at least a partial victory over his forces. This opportunity was presented by the advance of Jackson upon Manassas Junction ; but although the best dispositions possible under the circumstances were ordered, the object was frustrated in a manner and by causes which are now well understood.

" I am gratified to know that the conduct of that campaign, every detail of which was communicated day by day to the General-in-chief, was fully approved by him and by the Government, and I now gladly submit the subject to the judgment of the country.

" General Banks rendered most efficient and faithful service throughout the campaign, and his conduct at the battle of Cedar Mountain, and the operations on the Upper Rappahannock, was marked by great coolness, intrepidity, and zeal. General McDowell led his corps during the whole of the campaign with ability and vigor, and I am greatly indebted to him for zealous and distinguished service, both in the battles of the 29th and 30th of August, and in the operations which preceded and succeeded those battles.

" General Sigel rendered useful service in re-organizing and putting in condition the First Army Corps of the Army of Virginia, and made many valuable and highly important reconnoissances during the operations of the campaign. I cannot express myself too highly of the zealous, gallant, and cheerful manner in which General Reno deported himself, from the beginning to the end of the operations. Ever prompt, earnest, and soldierly, he was the model of an accomplished soldier and a gallant gentleman, and his loss has been a heavy blow to the army and to the country.

" General Heintzelman performed his duty faithfully and honestly, while the commanders of the divisions of his corps (Generals Kearney and Hooker) have that place in the public estimation which they have earned by many gallant and heroic actions, and which renders it unnecessary for me to do aught except pay this tribute to the memory of one and to the rising fame of the other.

" Generals Williams, Augur, Crawford, Green, Geary, Carroll, and Prince, of Banks' corps, have been already no-

ticed for their gallant and distinguished conduct at Cedar Mountain. Generals King and Ricketts, of McDowell's corps, led their divisions throughout the operations with skill and efficiency, and General King, before he marched from Fredericksburg, rendered important service in organizing and dispatching the expeditions which on several occasions broke up the line of the Virginia Central Railroad.

"Generals Patrick, Doubleday, Gibbon, Hartsuff, Duryea, and Tower commanded their brigades in the various operations of this campaign with ability and zeal. The last-named officer, especially, was particularly distinguished by the long marches which he made, by his untiring activity, and by the distinguished gallantry he displayed in the action of the 30th of August, in which action he was severely wounded at the head of his brigade.

"General Hatch, after being relieved from the command of the cavalry of Banks' corps, was assigned to the command of an infantry brigade in King's division of McDowell's corps, and during part of the operations was in command of that division, and rendered good service. Generals Schenck and Milroy, of Sigel's corps, exhibited great gallantry and zeal throughout the operations. They were engaged actively in the battles of the 29th and 30th of August, and their commands were among the last to leave the field of battle on the night of the 30th, General Schenck being severely wounded on that day.

"I must also mention in high terms the conduct of Generals Shurz, Stahel, and Steinwehr, during the actions of the 29th and 30th. Generals Birney, Robinson, and Grover, of Heintzelman's corps, commanded their brigades during the actions of the 29th and 30th, and Birney during the action of the 1st of September, with zeal and gallantry, and Generals Birley and Grover were especially distinguished in the actions of the 29th and 30th of August, and Birney also in the engagement of the 1st of September.

"General Stevens, of Reno's corps, was zealous and active throughout the operations, and distinguished himself in the most conspicuous manner during the battles of the 29th and 30th of August. He was killed at the head of his command in the battle near Chantilly, on the 1st of September, and his death will be deeply felt by the army and the country.

"Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Buchanan, commanding a brigade of regulars, of Porter's corps, was noticeable for distinguished service in the afternoon of the 30th of August.

"Of the conduct of the other officers commanding divisions or brigades of Porter's corps, I know nothing, having received no report from that officer of the operations of his corps. Brigadier General John F. Reynolds, commanding the Pennsylvania Reserves, merits the highest commendation at my hands. Prompt, active, and energetic, he commanded his division with distinguished ability throughout the operations, and

performed his duties in all situations with zeal and fidelity. Generals Seymour and Meade, of that division, in like manner performed their duties with ability and gallantry, and in all fidelity to the Government and to the army.

"General Sturgis arrived at Warrenton Junction on the 26th of August with Piatt's brigade of his division, the only portion of that division which ever joined me. This brigade was temporarily attached to the army corps of Fitz-John Porter, and, although misled in consequence of orders to follow Griffin's brigade of that corps, which for some unexplained reason strayed from its corps to Centreville on the 30th of August, was led forward from that place by Generals Sturgis and Piatt, as soon as it was discovered that Griffin did not intend to go forward to the field of battle, and reported to me late in the afternoon of that day.

"Shortly afterward the brigade was thrown forward into action on our left, where they acquitted themselves with great courage. Brigadier-General Sturgis, as well as General Piatt, deserve especial mention for the soldierly feeling which induced them, after being thus misled, and with the bad example of Griffin before their eyes, to push forward with such zeal and alacrity to the field of battle, and for the valuable services which they rendered in the action of the 30th of August.

"Generals Bayard and Buford commanded all of the cavalry belonging to the Army of Virginia. Their duties were peculiarly arduous and hazardous, and it is not too much to say, that throughout the operations, from the first to the last day of the campaign, scarce a day passed that these officers did not render service which entitles them to the gratitude of the Government.

"The detachment of the signal corps with the various army corps rendered most important service, and I cannot speak too highly of the value of that corps, and of the important information which from time to time they communicated to me. They were many times in positions of extreme peril, but were always prompt and ready to encounter any danger in the discharge of their duties.

"Brigadier-General White, with one brigade, was in the beginning of the campaign placed in command at Winchester. He was selected for that position because I felt entire confidence in his courage and ability, and during the whole of his service there, he performed his duty with the utmost efficiency, and relieved me entirely from any apprehension concerning that region of country.

"He was withdrawn from his position by orders direct from Washington, and passed from under my command. * * * * To my personal staff I owe much gratitude and many thanks. Their duties were particularly arduous, and at times led them into the midst of the various actions in which we were engaged. It is saying little when I state that they were zealous, untiring, and efficient throughout the campaign.

"To Brigadier-General Roberts, in

particular, I am indebted for services marked throughout by skill, courage, and unerring judgment, and worthy of the solid reputation as a soldier he has acquired by many previous years of faithful and distinguished military service. I desire also especially to mention Brigadier-General Elliott, Surgeon McParlin, Colonel Beckwith, Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. H. Smith, Captain Piper, chief of artillery, Captain Merriett, of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Shunk, chief of ordnance.

"I must also honorably mention the following members of my staff, the conduct of all of whom met my hearty approval, and merits high commendation: Colonels McComb, Clary, Marshall, Butler, Morgan, and Welch; Majors Selfridge and Meline; Captains Archer, Douglas, Pope, Haight, Atcheson, De Kay, Piatt, Paine, and Strother. Mr. McCain, confidential telegraph operator at my headquarters, accompanied me throughout the campaign, and was at all times eminently useful and efficient. My personal escort, consisting of two small companies of the First Ohio Cavalry, numbering about 100 men, performed more arduous service, probably, than any other troops in the campaign. As orderlies, messengers, and guards, they passed many sleepless nights and weary days. Their conduct in all the operations, as in every battle, was marked by uncommon activity and gallantry."

If the object of General Pope was to advance upon Richmond, he had signally failed; if, however, his purpose was only to make a diversion by which McClellan might be enabled to withdraw his army from the Peninsula in safety, and join his forces to those on the Potomac, he may, as this was accomplished, be credited with a success. This success, however, was acquired at a fearful sacrifice.

The enemy, when they were satisfied that it was the design of McClellan to withdraw his army from the Peninsula, gave no further heed to his movements, but directed all their efforts toward Pope, whom they hoped to flank and overwhelm before he could form a junction with the troops concentrating on the Potomac. They had so far succeeded as to get into the rear of Pope, and temporarily cut off his communications with Washington. Their full purpose, however, was foiled by the resolute courage of the Union troops, who fought their way back to the intrenchments which surround the capital. The army of Pope thus found a refuge, but not until it had suffered much in material and prestige.

The people, greatly chagrined by the results of a campaign which had brought an enemy close to the gates of the capital, vented their dissatisfaction in angry complaints against the leaders. Generals Pope and McDowell became the chief objects of popular censure, and both were compelled to pay the penalty of military failure. The former Sep. 7. was, "at his own request," relieved from the command of the Army of Virginia, and assigned to the command of the Department of the North-west, where the Indians had arisen in in-

surrection. The latter, who had been singularly unfortunate in command, was granted a leave of absence.

The future can alone reveal how far the want of success of these generals may be attributed to misfortune or ill conduct. McDowell, in a manly letter to President Lincoln, demanded a court-martial, to investigate the charges against his loyalty, made by a colonel of cavalry who, mortally wounded, had stated that "he was dying a victim to McDowell's treachery."*

"I have to ask," wrote the General, "that the inquiry be without limitation, and be upon any point and every subject which may in any way be supposed to have led to this belief; that it may be directed to my whole conduct as a general officer, either under another, or while in a separate command, whether on matters of administration or command; to my correspondence with any of the enemy's commanders, or with any one within the enemy's lines; to my conduct and the policy pursued by me toward the inhabitants of the country occupied by our troops, with reference to themselves or their property; and further, to any imputations of indirect treachery or disloyalty toward the nation or any individual having, like myself, an important trust—whether I have or have not been faithful as a subordinate to those placed over me, giving them heartily, and to the best of my capacity, all the support in my power; and whether I have or have not failed, through unworthy, personal motives, to go to the aid of or send reinforcements to my brother commanders.

"That this subject of my alleged treachery or disloyalty may be fully inquired into, I beg that all officers, soldiers, or civilians who know, or think they know, of any act of mine liable to the charge in question, be allowed and invited to make it known to the court."

The Government, prostrated for a moment by the defeat of its plans and the presence of an army disordered by retreat and dejected by failure, was soon aroused to action by the approach of a victorious enemy. The various forces within call were immediately ordered to concentrate at or about Washington.

Fredericksburg was evacuated by General Burnside and his troops were moved to strengthen the army of the capital. Two days subsequently General White abandoned Winchester, and after resting awhile at Martinsburg, finally joined his force to that of Colonel Miles in occupation of Harper's Ferry. Subsequently Acquia Creek was also evacuated. Aug. 31.

The new recruits were hurried from the North to Annapolis, Baltimore, and Washington, while fleets of gun-boats were gathered from various stations and posted in the Chesapeake and Potomac, to aid in the defence of those cities.

The President seemed for awhile perplexed in the choice of a military leader. While, however, doubting and irresolute, there was, both among officers and soldiers, such a loudly expressed desire to

* The request of McDowell was finally complied with, and a court of inquiry having been established, he was, after a long investigation, relieved of all censure.

be led by their favorite commander, that Mr. Lincoln, who had temporarily withdrawn McClellan from active command in the field, no longer hesitated to place him at the head of the Army of the Potomac.

The enemy, in the mean time, encouraged by the success of their campaign in Eastern Virginia, which had relieved their anxieties for the safety of Richmond and opened the way, as they fondly hoped, to Washington, Baltimore, and perhaps to Philadelphia, ventured upon a scheme of invasion which they had long contemplated, and now believed could be accomplished.

The enemy's forces, which had been concentrated under General Lee, the commander-in-chief, in the course of the campaign against Pope, moved, after his retreat within the intrenchments of
Sep. 5. Washington, to Leesburg, whence they crossed the Potomac into Maryland* by the various fords in that neighborhood, of which they had easy command from the position of their army. Having thus thrown a large force across the river, without serious opposition, they moved into the interior of
Sep. 6. Maryland and occupied the city of Frederick, the capital of that State. General Lee soon after issued the following proclamation:

"LEE'S HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, NEAR FREDERICKTOWN, *September* 8, 1862.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND:

"It is right that you should know the purpose that has brought the army under my command within the limits of your State, so far as that purpose concerns yourselves.

"The people of the Confederate States have long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth allied to the States of the South by the strongest so-

* That this invasion of Maryland by the army of the enemy was in accordance with the popular wish of the Southern Confederacy is manifest from the following resolutions, which were passed on the 12th of Sept. in the House of Representatives, by the large majority of 56 to 13:

"*Resolved*—That the thanks of Congress and the country are eminently due and are hereby tendered to General Robert E. Lee, and the officers and men under his command, for their late brilliant victory, culminating in the signal defeat of the combined forces of the enemy in the two great battles of Manassas.

"2. *Resolved*—That Congress has heard with profound satisfaction of the triumphant crossing of the Potomac by our victorious army, and, assured of the wisdom of that masterly movement, could repose with entire confidence on the distinguished skill of the commanding general and the valor of his troops, under favor of the Great Ruler of nations, to achieve new triumphs, to relieve oppressed Maryland, and advance our standard into the territory of the enemy.

"3. *Resolved*—That the President be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to General Lee and the officers and men under his command."

The desire of the majority found its expression in those passionate words of Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, in answer to a discreet protest of Mr. Lyons in behalf of the minority:

Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, said "that the whole country had literally rung with the cry for the onward movement; the press had been loud in, he might almost say, denunciations of our officers, for not pursuing an aggressive policy. And now that it was commenced, there ought to be some general expression of opinion, with the greatest warmth of which we are capable, of our co-operation in pursuing the enemy to his own confines, and with strong arms pluck fortune from the enemy's soil.

"This is but approving of a plan which it will be an honor to carry out, and what he believed was the wish of the people of the country. Let Congress, if need be, pander to public opinion, if they will so term it, but carry the war into the enemy's country, let them bleed, and let them feel the horrors of war. Why then oppose this resolution? Is this just? is this generous to the brave soldiers who are fighting our battles?"

VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, DELAWARE, AND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA

CONSTRUCTED AND ENGRAVED TO ILLUSTRATE "THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH"

cial, political, and commercial ties, and reduced to the condition of a conquered province.

"Under the pretence of supporting the Constitution, but in violation of its most valuable provisions, your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned upon no charge, and contrary to all the forms of law. A faithful and manly protest against this outrage, made by a venerable and illustrious Marylander, to whom in better days no citizen appealed for right in vain, was treated with scorn and contempt.

"The government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers; your Legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of the press and of speech has been suppressed; words have been declared offences by an arbitrary decree of the Federal Executive, and citizens ordered to be tried by military commissions for what they may dare to speak.

"Believing that the people of Maryland possess a spirit too lofty to submit to such a government, the people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen, and restore the independence and sovereignty of your State.

"In obedience to this wish, our army has come among you, and is prepared to assist you with the power of its arms in regaining the rights of which you have been so unjustly despoiled.

"This, citizens of Maryland, is our mission so far as you are concerned. No restraint upon your free-will is intended—no intimidation will be allowed within the limits of the army at least. Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech. We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion.

"It is for you to decide your destiny, freely and without constraint. This army will respect your choice, whatever it may be, and while the Southern people would rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free-will. R. E. Lee,

"General Commanding."

If General Lee intended by this artful appeal to arouse an active sympathy with his cause among the people of Maryland, he signally failed in his purpose. While the inhabitants of Frederick and other places occupied by the enemy were quietly submissive to the military authority which, though exercised with politic tenderness, was none the less irresistible, there was but little manifestation of a desire to exchange the allegiance of the Federal Government for the hazardous protection of the invaders. Some few hundred recruits to his army outnumbered it is believed by the deserters from it, a not unnatural readiness on the part of some eager tradesmen to exchange their wares for United States money, a reluctant consent on the part of others to yield up their goods for Confederate notes, and perhaps the scanty free-will offerings of a few ardent partisans of the Southern cause, were all that General Lee could obtain from impassive Maryland.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Pennsylvania threatened by the Enemy.—Alarm.—Preparations for Defence.—Unusual Promptitude of the Government at Washington.—McClellan in command.—A large Army.—The March.—Pursuing the Enemy.—Battle of South Mountain.—Battle of Antietam.—A graphic Narrative.—Report of McClellan.—Enemy's Account.—A successful Enterprise of the Enemy.—Capture of Harper's Ferry.—Narrative by an Eye-witness.—Effect of the Capture of Harper's Ferry.—McClellan exonerated from blame.—Colonel Miles arraigned.—Investigation by a Committee of Congress.—Report.

As the enemy in their progress through Maryland extended their march to Hagerstown near the borders of Pennsylvania, this State seemed to be in danger of invasion. Great alarm prevailed in consequence.

1862. Sep. 8.

The inhabitants of the border fled into the interior, and the State and municipal authorities throughout Pennsylvania hastened to provide against the threatened attack of their cities and territory. General Curtis called "50,000 of the freemen of Pennsylvania for immediate service to repel the now imminent danger from invasion by the enemies of the country." The common council of Philadelphia appropriated $500,000 for the defence of the city, and empowered the mayor to act as he might see fit in the emergency. The mayor, accordingly, after declaring that "the rebel generals have moved their entire army from Frederick to Cumberland, and their destination is now Harrisburg and Philadelphia," called upon the latter city for 20,000 men.

Sep. 11.

Throughout the State proportionate efforts were made to meet the supposed danger, and so promptly did the citizens respond to the call to arms, that in a few days nearly 100,000 militia were enrolled and ready to march against the invaders.

The alarm in Pennsylvania may be inferred from this proclamation of its Governor:

"COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, ss.:

"In the name and by authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of the said Commonwealth.

"PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, in the present position of affairs, it is expedient that measures should be taken to arm and prepare our people for defence, now, therefore, I do earnestly recommend the immediate formation, throughout the Commonwealth, of volunteer companies and regiments, in conformity with the militia act of 1858. Arms will be distributed to the organizations so to be formed agreeably to the provisions of that act.

"It is further recommended that in order to give due opportunities for drill and instruction, all places of business be closed daily at three o'clock in the

afternoon, so that all persons employed therein may, after that hour, be at liberty to attend their military duties.

"The cheerful alacrity with which the men of Pennsylvania have hitherto given themselves to the service of the country has pressed heavily on her military resources.

"I am reluctant to ask her people to assume further burdens, but as their safety requires that they should do so, it is in their behalf that I put forth the recommendations herein contained, and urge a prompt compliance with them.

"Given under my hand and the great seal of the State, at Harrisburg, this 4th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Commonwealth the eighty-seventh.

"By the GOVERNOR.

"ELI SLIFER, Secretary of State."

The Government at Washington acted with unusual promptitude. General McClellan having assumed command of the Army of Virginia, rapidly organized a large force, and as soon as it was discovered that the enemy had crossed the Potomac, marched out from Washington, with the determination to drive them out of Maryland. General Sumner led the advance with his corps, and was followed on the next day by General Burnside and his troops, and soon after by McClellan himself.

Sep. 6.

The enemy retired as the Union army advanced, the former abandoning the various places they had occupied in Maryland, and the latter taking possession of them as they followed closely in pursuit. Thus McClellan entered Frederick City just as the enemy's rear-guard were leaving, and pushing on immediately, overtook them as they were hastening toward the fords of the Upper Potomac. The enemy, thus hard pressed, turned, and their rear-guard made a stand in a strong position on South Mountain, of the Catoctin range, between Boonesboro and Middletown. The advance of the Union army at once strove to dislodge them, and a conflict ensued, which is thus graphically related by an eye-witness* in his diary, dated Middletown, Sunday, September 14th :†

"General Cox still has the front on the old national road leading to Wheeling. Two batteries, Muller's and Simmons', are now engaging the enemy at a point about half-way between Middletown and Boonesboro. Every shot fired on both sides can be distinctly seen from the position I am now occupying—the top of a hill commanding a view of the notch in the mountains where the enemy's batteries are stationed, and the hill upon which our own are placed. The rebels reply at intervals of fifteen or twenty minutes, with four or five rounds from four pieces.

"We have kept up an incessant fire for ten hours, but have not yet been

* Correspondent of N. Y. *Tribune.*

† General Cox, who had been so long operating in the valley of the Kanawha, had abandoned Western Virginia, and formed a junction with the Army of the Potomac. Colonel Lightburn, who was left as the chief in command of that department, was soon after forced to retire with his inferior force to the Ohio River before the enemy under General Long, who thus gained the control of the whole valley of the Kanawha.

able to dislodge them. Not a man, thus far, has been killed or wounded on our side, in the engagement to-day. All of their shell are falling short. More than one-half of ours fall directly in the notch, and must have disabled the enemy severely. The position of the rebel batteries is a very strong one, and it may take most of the day to dislodge them. A brigade from General Rodman's division has gone round to the left, in the direction of Harper's Ferry road, to flank them.

"Three regiments of cavalry, the Eighth Illinois, the Third Indiana, and the First Massachusetts, are behind the hill near our guns, awaiting the order to charge the gap.

"Brisk firing has been heard for an hour or two in the direction of Harper's Ferry. It is said the enemy is still trying to pass into Virginia by that route.

"Stuart's cavalry were driven through Middletown yesterday afternoon, at about three o'clock, skirmishing with Muller's battery all the way. Detachments from the regiment of cavalry just named by me engaged the enemy a short distance to the left of Middletown on the Harper's Ferry road, and drove them in every instance. Our loss will not exceed twenty in wounded—none killed. 20,000 men, under command of General Reno are encamped about this village, waiting to advance the moment the notch is clear of the enemy's guns.

"*Twelve o'clock* M.—Benjamin's and Gibson's batteries have just gone into action. Gibson is on the right of the turnpike, and Benjamin on the left. Both batteries are well sheltered by hills, and the enemy will find it difficult to get their range. Colonel Scammon has brought his brigade of infantry to the left of the rebel batteries, with the intention of flanking them. Colonel Welch's brigade, of General Wilcox's division, is passing, with the intention of supporting the cavalry when they are ordered to charge.

"The fighting is growing warmer and more interesting.

"Shells from the rebel batteries are bursting every moment, but none of them reach us.

"It is difficult to know which to admire most, the beauty of the landscape spread out before me, or the roar of the artillery, the floating rings of smoke, and the scream of the shells as they wing their way over the valley. The sublime and the beautiful are strangely intermixed.

"*One o'clock* P.M.—Generals McClellan and Burnside have just arrived upon the ground.

"We have made no progress yet. Musketry firing is occasionally heard upon the right and left, but no results of their success or failure have reached headquarters.

"*Four o'clock* P.M.—Victory seems to be perched upon our banner. General Cox is doing well on our left. Colonel Scammon, with his brigade of Ohio boys, has charged two North Carolina brigades, under the command of General Garland, and driven them a mile. General Garland has been killed by a shell, and his body is in our possession.

We have also taken an entire company of the Twelfth North Carolina Regiment, together with all the officers. Our loss has been quite severe. About 100 killed and wounded have been brought from the battle-field. Dr. Holmes, medical director of Cox's division, estimates our loss in killed and wounded thus far, at 400. * * * *

"General Wilcox has been ordered to the left, to support General Cox, and it is thought, together, they will be able to gain the crest of the mountain and flank the rebel batteries. General Hooker has been ordered to the right, with his whole corps, and everything now looks as if we should be entirely successful before night.

"Colonel Cook's battery, which was ordered into action two hours ago, was taken by the rebels and has just been retaken by us.

"*Six o'clock* P.M.—The rebels are falling back, both infantry and artillery. General Hooker is pressing them close on the right, and Generals Cox and Wilcox on the left. We shall not be able to drive them from the notch to-day, but to-morrow will finish the matter.

"Steady firing has been heard in the direction of Harper's Ferry all day.

"The rebels are reported to have gained Maryland Heights. The general commanding at Bolivar Heights says he can hold that position two days.

"The rebel General Hill's division has been able to-day to hold in check some 30,000 or 40,000 of our forces.

"A stronger position than that chosen by the enemy could hardly have been found. But we have pushed them from it, and to-morrow General Burnside, without doubt, will enter Boonesboro valley.

"*Nine o'clock* P.M.—A courier to General Burnside, from Hagerstown, has just arrived. He says Longstreet and nearly all of Jackson's forces passed through Hagerstown to-day. They have countermarched, abandoned their line of retreat *via* Williamsport, and will give Burnside battle with their entire force to-morrow. A great battle, therefore, can hardly be avoided. To-morrow will probably settle the question whether Jackson escapes to Virginia or not.

"All the churches and many private dwellings have been taken for the wounded in Middletown. In the different engagements of both wings to-day we have lost about 500 in killed and wounded. We have, however, taken about 1,200 rebel prisoners since Saturday morning, and have killed and wounded about as many more. Stuart's cavalry has suffered severely according to the statements of those we have taken prisoners."

It would appear from this account of the battle of South Mountain that the enemy, as they themselves declared, had at first but one corps engaged—that of General Hill, who, however, on the next day, was reinforced by Longstreet, with his troops, when a second and more successful stand was made. General Lee now coming up, removed the two corps of Hill and Longstreet to a position in the rear of Sharpsburg, where

he rapidly concentrated all his army, and prepared to confront that of McClellan. Here occurred the great battle of Antietam. The following narrative, by a correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune*, has been greatly admired, and is here given as the best account published of the battle :

"A fierce and desperate battle," he wrote from the battle-field on the 7th September, "between 200,000 men, has raged since daylight, yet night closes on an uncertain field. It is the greatest fight since Waterloo—all over the field contested with an obstinacy equal even to Waterloo. If not wholly a victory to-night, I believe it is the prelude to a victory to-morrow. But what can be foretold of the future of a fight in which, from five in the morning till seven at night, the best troops of the continent have fought without decisive result?

Sep. 17.

"I have no time for speculation—no time even to gather details of the battle —only time to state its broadest features —then mount and spur for New York.

"After the brilliant victory near Middletown, General McClellan pushed forward his army rapidly, and reached Keedysville with three corps on Monday night. * * * On the day following the two armies faced each other idly, until night. Artillery was busy at intervals, once in the morning opening with spirit, and continuing for half an hour with vigor, till the rebel battery, as usual, was silenced.

"McClellan was on the hill where Benjamin's battery was stationed, and found himself suddenly under a rather heavy fire.

"It was still uncertain whether the rebels were retreating or reinforcing—their batteries would remain in position in either case, and as they had withdrawn nearly all their troops from view, there was only the doubtful indication of columns of dust to the rear.

"On the evening of Tuesday, Hooker was ordered to cross the Antietam Creek with his corps, and feeling the left of the enemy, to be ready to attack next morning. During the day of apparent inactivity, McClellan had been maturing his plans of battle, of which Hooker's movement was one development.

"Next morning the lines and columns which had darkened cornfields and hill-crests had been withdrawn. Broken and wooded ground behind the sheltering hills concealed the rebel masses. What from our front looked like only a narrow summit fringed with woods, was a broad table-land of forest and ravine ; cover for troops everywhere, nowhere easy access for an enemy. The smoothly sloping surface in front, and the sweeping crescent of slowly mingling lines, was all a delusion. It was all a rebel stronghold beyond.

"Under the base of these hills runs the deep stream called Antietam Creek, fordable only at distant points. Three bridges cross it, one on the Hagerstown road, one on the Sharpsburg pike, one to the left, in a deep recess of sleepy falling hills.

"Hooker passed the first to reach

ANTIETAM SHARPSBURG AND VICINITY.

CONSTRUCTED AND ENGRAVED TO ILLUSTRATE "THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH".

Entered acc[illegible] by Virtue [illegible] Co in the [illegible] office of the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York.

Lith by Rule Smith

A Topographical Map of t[illegible] Antiet[illegible] from [illegible] actual survey by an Engineer Officer on General Doubledays Staff.

Charles S. Sholl
Topl Engineer

the ford by which he crossed, and it was held by Pleasanton, with a reserve of cavalry, during the battle. The second was close under the rebel centre, and no way important to yesterday's fight. At the third Burnside attacked, and finally crossed. Between the first and third lay most of the battle-lines. They stretched four miles from right to left.

"The enemy had the Shepherdstown road and the Hagerstown and Williamsport road both open to him in rear for retreat. Along one or the other, if beaten, he must fly. This, among other reasons, determined, perhaps, the plan of battle which McClellan finally resolved on.

"The plan was generally as follows: Hooker was to cross to the right, establish himself on the enemy's left if possible, flanking his position, and to open the fight; Sumner, Franklin, and Mansfield were to send their forces also to the right, co-operating with and sustaining Hooker's attack, while advancing also nearer the centre. The heavy work in the centre was left mostly to the batteries.

"Porter massed his infantry support in the hollows. On the left, Burnside was to carry the bridge already referred to, advancing then by a road which enters the pike at Sharpsburg, turning at once the rebel flank and destroying his line of retreat. Porter and Sykes were held in reserve.

"It is obvious that the complete success of a plan contemplating widely divergent movements of separate corps must largely depend on accurate timing, that the attack should be simultaneous and not successive.

"About four in the afternoon of Tuesday, Hooker was ordered to cross Antietam Creek, at the upper ford on the right, with his whole corps, attack the enemy's left, and occupy a position on their flank. He crossed without opposition, sent forward cavalry skirmishers who were speedily driven back, and then, advancing with his whole force about six, took possession of strong ground, close to the rebels' left, and immediately became engaged with artillery and infantry. Darkness ended the fight, with slight loss on either side, Hooker carrying and holding the wood from which the enemy's fire first came.

"Hooker had found out what he wanted to know. When the firing ceased, the hostile lines lay close to each other—their pickets so near that six rebels were captured during the night. It was inevitable that the fight should recommence at daylight.

"Neither side had suffered considerable loss; it was a skirmish, not a battle. 'We are through for to-night,' remarked the General, "but to-morrow we fight the battle that will decide the fate of the Republic."

"Not long after the firing ceased, it sprang up again on the left. General Hooker, who had taken up his headquarters in a barn which had been nearly the focus of the rebel artillery, was out at once. First came rapid and unusually frequent picket shots, then several heavy volleys. The General listened a moment and smiled grimly.

"'We have no troops there. The troops are shooting each other. It is Fair Oaks over again.'

"So everybody lay down again, but all the night through there were frequent alarms.

"McClellan had been informed of the night's work, and of the certainties awaiting the dawn. Sumner was ordered to move his corps at once, and was expected to be on the ground at daylight.

"From the extent of the rebel lines developed in the evening, it was plain that they had gathered their whole army behind the heights and were waiting for the shock.

"The battle began with the dawn. Morning found both armies just as they had slept, almost close enough to look into each other's eyes. The left of Meade's reserves and the right of Ricketts' line became engaged at nearly the same moment, one with artillery, the other with infantry. A battery was almost immediately pushed forward beyond the central woods, over a ploughed field near the top of the slope, where the cornfield begun. On the open field, in the corn beyond, and in the woods which stepped forward into the broad fields, like a promontory into the ocean, was the hardest and deadliest struggle of the day.

"For half an hour after the battle had grown to its full strength, the line of fire swayed neither way. Hooker's men were fully up to their work. They saw their general everywhere in front, never away from the fire, and all the troops believed in their commander, and fought with a will. Two-thirds of them were the same men who, under McDowell, had broken at Manassas.

"The half hour passed, the rebels began to give way a little, only a little, but at the first indication of a receding fire, Forward! was the word, and on went the line with a cheer and a rush. Back across the cornfield, leaving dead and wounded behind them, over the fence, and across the road, and then back again into the dark woods which closed around them, went the retreating rebels.

"Meade and his Pennsylvanians followed hard and fast—followed till they came within easy range of the woods among which they saw their beaten enemy disappearing—followed still, with another cheer, and flung themselves against the cover.

"But out of those gloomy woods came, suddenly and heavily, terrible volleys—volleys which smote, and bent, and broke in a moment that eager front, and hurled them swiftly back for half the distance they had won. Not swiftly nor in panic any farther. Closing up their shattered lines they came slowly away—a regiment where a brigade had been—hardly a brigade where a whole division had been victorious. They had met from the woods the first volleys of musketry from fresh troops, had met them, and returned them till their line had yielded and gone down before the weight of fire, and till their ammunition was exhausted.

"In ten minutes the fortunes of the

day seemed to have changed; it was the rebels who were now advancing, pouring out of the woods in endless lines, sweeping through the cornfield from which their comrades had just fled. Hooker sent in his nearest brigade to meet them, but it could not do the work. He called for another. There was nothing close enough unless he took it from his right. His right might be in danger if it was weakened, but his centre was already threatened with annihilation.

"Not hesitating one moment, he said to Doubleday, 'Give me your best brigade instantly.'

"The best brigade came down the hill to the right on the run, went through the timber in front through a storm of shot and bursting shell and crashing limbs, over the open field beyond, and straight into the cornfield, passing as they went the fragments of three brigades shattered by the rebel fire and streaming to the rear. They passed by Hooker, whose eyes lighted as he saw these veteran troops, led by a soldier whom he could trust. 'I think they will hold it,' he said.

"General Hartsuff took his troops very steadily, but now that they were under fire, not hurriedly, up the hill from which the cornfield begins to descend, and formed them on the crest. Not a man who was not in full view, not one who bent before the storm. Firing at first in volleys, they fired at them at will with wonderful rapidity and effect. The whole line crowned the hill and stood out darkly against the sky, but lighted and shrouded ever in flame and smoke. These were the Twelfth and Thirteenth Massachusetts and another regiment which I cannot remember, old troops all of them.

"There, for an hour and a half, they held the ridge, unyielding in purpose, exhaustless in courage. There were gaps in the line, but it nowhere faltered. Their general was wounded badly early in the fight, but they fought on. Their supports did not come; they determined to win without them. They began to go down the hill and into the corn; they did not stop to think that their ammunition was nearly gone; they were there to win that field, and they won it. The rebel line for the second time fled through the corn and into the woods. I cannot tell how few of Hartsuff's brigade were left when the work was done, but it was done. There was no more gallant, determined, heroic fighting in all this desperate day. General Hartsuff is very severely wounded, but I do not believe he counts his success too dearly purchased.

"The crisis of the fight at this point had arrived; Ricketts' division vainly endeavoring to advance, and exhausted by the effort, had fallen back. Part of Mansfield's corps was ordered in to their relief, but Mansfield's troops came back again, and their general was mortally wounded. The left, nevertheless, was too extended to be turned, and too strong to be broken. Ricketts sent word he could not advance, but could hold his ground. Doubleday had kept his guns at work on the right, and had finally silenced a rebel battery that for half an

hour had poured in a galling enfilading fire along Hooker's central line.

"There were woods in front of Doubleday's hill, which the rebels held; but so long as those guns pointed that way, they did not care to attack. With his left, then, able to take care of itself, with his right impregnable, with two brigades of Mansfield still fresh and coming rapidly up, and with his centre a second time victorious, General Hooker determined to advance.

"Orders were sent to Crawford and Gordon —the two Mansfield brigades— to move directly forward at once; the batteries in the centre were ordered on, the whole line was called on, and the General himself went forward.

"To the right of the cornfield and beyond it was a point of woods. Once carried and firmly held, it was the key of the position. Hooker determined to take it. He rode out in front of his farthest troops on a hill, to examine the ground for a battery. At the top he dismounted and went forward on foot, completed his reconnoissance, returned, and remounted. The musketry fire from the point of woods was all the while extremely hot. As he put his foot in the stirrup, a fresh volley of rifle bullets came whizzing by. The tall soldierly figure of the General, the white horse which he rode, the elevated place where he was—all made him a most dangerously conspicuous mark. So he had been all day, riding often without a staff-officer nor an orderly near him—all sent off on urgent duty —visible everywhere upon the field. The rebel bullets had followed him all day, but they had not hit him, and he would not regard them. Remounting on this hill, he had not ridden five steps when he was struck in the foot by a ball.

"Three men were shot down at the same moment by his side. The air was alive with bullets. He kept on his horse for a few moments, though the wound was severe and excessively painful, and would not dismount till he had given his last order to advance. He was himself in the very front. Swaying unsteadily on his horse, he turned in his seat to look about him. 'There is a regiment to the right; order it forward! Crawford and Gordon are coming up; tell them to carry these works and hold them, and it is our fight!'

"It was found that the bullet had passed completely through his foot. The surgeon who examined it on the spot could give no opinion whether bones were broken, but it was afterward ascertained that, though grazed, they were not fractured.

"Of course the severity of the wound made it impossible for him to keep the field, which he believed already ours, so far as it belonged to him to win it. It was nine o'clock. The fight had been furious since five. A large part of his command was broken, but his right was still untouched, and with Crawford's and Gordon's brigades just up, above all, with the advance of the whole central line, which the men had heard ordered with cheers.

"Sumner arrived just as Hooker was

leaving, and assumed command. Crawford and Gordon had gone into the woods, and were holding them stoutly, against heavy odds.

"As I rode over toward the left I met Sumner at the head of his column, advancing rapidly through the timber, opposite where Crawford was fighting. The veteran General was riding alone in the forest, far ahead of his leading brigade, his hat off, his gray hair, and beard, and moustache strangely contrasting with the fire in his eyes and his martial air, as he hurried on to where the bullets were thickest.

"Sedgwick's division was in advance, moving forward to support Crawford and Gordon. Rebel reinforcements were approaching also, and the struggle for the roads was again to be renewed. Sumner sent forward two divisions—Richardson and French on the left; Sedgwick moving in column of division through the roads in rear, deployed, and advanced in line over the cornfield.

"There was a broad interval between him and the nearest division, and he saw that if the rebel line were complete, his own division was in immediate danger of being flanked. But his orders were to advance, and those are the orders which a soldier—and Sedgwick is every inch a soldier—loves best to hear.

"To extend his own front as far as possible, he ordered the Thirty-fourth New York to move by the left flank. The manœuvre was attempted under a fire of the greatest intensity, and the regiment broke. The enemy advanced, their fire increasing.

"General Sedgwick was three times wounded, in the shoulder, leg, and wrist, but he persisted in remaining on the field so long as there was a chance of saving it.

"General Dana was wounded. General Howard, who took command of the division after General Sedgwick was disabled, exerted himself to restore order, but it could not be done there. General Sumner ordered the line to be re-formed under fire. It was impossible to hold the position. General Sumner withdrew the division to the rear, and once more the cornfield was abandoned to the enemy.

"French sent word he could hold his ground. Richardson, while gallantly leading a regiment under a heavy fire, was severely wounded in the shoulder. General Meagher was wounded at the head of his brigade. The loss in general officers was becoming frightful.

"At one o'clock affairs on the right had a gloomy look. Hooker's troops were greatly exhausted, and their General away from the field. Mansfield's were no better. Sumner's command had lost heavily, but two of his divisions were still comparatively fresh.

"Artillery was yet playing vigorously in front, though the ammunition of many of the batteries was entirely exhausted, and they had been compelled to retire.

"Doubleday held the right inflexibly. Sumner's headquarters were now in the narrow field where the right, before Hooker, had begun the fight. All that had been gained in front had been lost. The enemy's batteries, which, if ad-

vanced and served vigorously, might have made sad work with the closely massed troops, were, fortunately, either partially disabled or short of ammunition.

"Sumner was confident that he could hold his own; but another advance was out of the question. The enemy, on the other hand, seemed to be too much exhausted to attack.

"At this crisis Franklin came up with fresh troops, and commanding one division of the corps, formed on the left. Slocum was sent forward along the slopes lying under the first ranges of the division of rebel hills, while Smith was ordered to retake the cornfields and woods which all day had been so hotly contested. It was done in the handsomest style. His Maine and Vermont regiments and the rest went forward on the run, and, cheering as they went, swept like an avalanche through the cornfields, fell upon the woods, cleared them in ten minutes, and held them. They were not again retaken.

"The field and its ghastly harvest which the reaper had gathered in those fatal hours remained finally with us.

"Four times it had been lost and won. The dead are strewn so thickly, that as you ride over it you cannot guide your horse's steps too carefully. Pale and bloody faces are everywhere upturned. They are sad and terrible, but there is nothing which makes one's heart beat so quickly as the imploring look of sorely wounded men, who beckon wearily for help which you cannot stay to give.

"Meantime, where was Burnside, and what was he doing?

"On the right, where I had spent the day until two o'clock, little was known of the general fortunes of the field. We had heard Porter's guns in the centre, but nothing from Burnside on the left. The distance was too great to distinguish the sound of his artillery from Porter's left.

"There was no immediate prospect of more fighting on the right, and I left the field which all day long had seen the most obstinate contest of the war, and rode over to McClellan's headquarters.

"Up to three o'clock Burnside had made little progress. His attack on the bridge had been successful, but the delay had been so great, that to the observer it appeared as if McClellan's plans must have been seriously disarranged.

"It is impossible not to suppose that the attacks on the right and left were meant in a measure to correspond, for otherwise the enemy had only to repel Hooker on the one hand, then transfer his troops, and push them against Burnside.

"Finally, at four o'clock, McClellan sent simultaneous orders to Burnside and Franklin; to the former, to advance and carry the batteries in his front at all hazards and any cost; to the latter, to carry the woods next in front of him, to the left, which the rebels still held. The order to Franklin, however, was practically countermanded, in consequence of a message from General Sumner; that of Franklin went on and was repulsed; his own corps was not yet sufficiently reorganized to be depended on as a reserve.

"Attacking first with one regiment, then with two, and delaying both for artillery, Burnside was not over the bridge before two o'clock—perhaps not till three. He advanced slowly up the slopes in his front, his batteries in the rear covering, to some extent, the movements of the infantry.

"A desperate fight was going on in a deep ravine on his right, the rebel batteries were in full play, and, apparently, very annoying and destructive, while heavy columns of rebel troops were plainly visible, advancing as if careless of concealment, along the road and over the hills in the direction of Burnside's forces. It was at this point of time McClellan sent him the order above given.

"Burnside obeyed it most gallantly. Getting his troops well in hand, and sending a portion of his artillery to the front, he advanced them with rapidity and the most determined vigor straight up the hill in front, on the top of which the rebels maintained the most dangerous battery.

"The movement was in plain view of McClellan's position; and as Franklin on the other side sent his batteries into the field about the same time, the battle seemed open in all directions, with greater activity than ever.

"The fight in the ravine was in full progress; the batteries which Porter supported were firing with new vigor; Franklin was blazing away on the right; and hill-top, ridge, and woods along the whole line were crested and veiled with white clouds of smoke. All day had been clear and bright since the early clouded morning, and now this whole magnificent, unequalled scene shone with the splendor of an afternoon September sun. Four miles of battle, its glory all visible, its horrors all hidden, the fate of the Republic hanging on the hour—could any one be insensible of its grandeur?

"There are two hills on the left of the road, the farthest and lowest. The rebels have batteries on both. Burnside is ordered to carry the nearest to him, which is the farthest from the road. His guns opening first from this new position in front, more entirely controlled and silenced the enemy's artillery. The infantry came on at once, moving rapidly and steadily up long, dark lanes and broad, dark recesses, being plainly visible without a glass as they moved over the green hillside.

"The next moment, the road in which the rebel battery was planted was canopied with clouds of dust swiftly descending into the valley. Underneath was a tumult of wagons, guns, horses, and men, flying at speed down the road. Blue flashes of smoke burst now and then among them, a horse, or a man, or half a dozen went down, and then the whirlwind swept on.

"The hill was carried, but could it be held? The rebel columns before seen moving to the left increased their pace. The guns on the hill above send an angry tempest of shell down among Burnside's guns and men. He had formed his columns apparently in the near angles of two fields bordering the road—

high ground about them everywhere except in the rear.

"In another moment a rebel battle-line appears on the brow of the ridge above them, moves swiftly down in the most perfect order, and though met by incessant discharges of musketry, of which we plainly see the flashes, does not fire a gun. White spaces show where men are falling, but they close up instantly, and still the line advances. The brigades of Burnside are in heavy column; they will not give way before a bayonet charge in line. The rebels think twice before they dash into these hostile masses.

"There is a halt, the rebel left gives way and scatters over the field, the rest stand fast and fire. More infantry comes up, Burnside is outnumbered, flanked, compelled to yield the hill he took so bravely. His position is no longer one of attack; he defends himself with unfaltering firmness, but he sends to McClellan for help. McClellan's glass for the last half hour has seldom been turned away from the left.

"He sees clearly enough that Burnside is pressed, needs no messenger to tell him that. His face grows darker with anxious thought. Looking down into the valley where 15,000 troops are lying, he turns a half-questioning look on Fitz-John Porter, who stands by his side, gravely scanning the field. They are Porter's troops below, are fresh and only impatient to share in this fight. But Porter slowly shakes his head, and one may believe that the same thought is passing through the minds of both generals: 'They are the only hopes of the army; they cannot be spared.'

"McClellan remounts his horse, and with Porter and a dozen officers of his staff rides away to the left, in Burnside's direction. Sykes meets them on the road—a good soldier, whose opinion is worth taking. The three generals talk briefly together. It is easy to see that the moment has come when everything may turn on one order, given or withheld, when the history of the battle is only to be written in thoughts and purposes and words of the General.

"Burnside's messenger rode up. His message is, 'I want troops and guns. If you do not send them, I cannot hold my position for half an hour.'

"McClellan's only answer for the moment is a glance at the western sky. Then he turns and speaks very slowly: 'Tell General Burnside that this is the battle of the war. He must hold his ground till dark at any cost. I will send him Miller's battery. I can do nothing more. I have no infantry.' Then, as the messenger was riding away, he called him back. 'Tell him if he *cannot* hold his ground, then the bridge, to the last man!—always the bridge!—if the bridge is lost, all is lost.'

"The sun is already down; not half an hour of daylight is left. Till Burnside's message came, it had seemed plain to every one that the battle could not be finished to-day. None suspected how near was the peril of defeat, of sudden attack on exhausted forces—how vital to the safety of the army and the nation were

those 15,000 waiting troops of Fitz-John Porter in the hollow. But the rebels halted instead of pushing on, their vindictive cannonade died away as the light faded. Before it was quite dark the battle was over. Only a solitary gun of Burnside's thundered against the enemy, and presently this also ceased, and the field was still.

"The peril came very near, but it has passed, and in spite of the peril, at the close of the day was partly a success—not a victory, but an advantage had been gained. Hooker, Sumner, and Franklin held all the ground they had gained, and Burnside still held the bridge and his position beyond. Everything was favorable for a renewal of the fight in the morning. If the plan of the battle is sound, there is every reason why McClellan should win it. He may choose to postpone the battle to await his reinforcements.

"The rebels may choose to retire while it is possible. Fatigue on both sides might delay the deciding battle, yet if the enemy means to fight at all, he cannot afford to delay. His reinforcements may be coming, but where are his supplies? His losses are enormous. His troops have been massed in woods and hollows, where artillery has had its most terrific effect. Ours have been deployed and scattered."

The following, from the Richmond *Enquirer* (Sept. 23d) is the enemy's account of the battle of Antietam.

"We have succeeded in obtaining from the most reliable sources the following details of the great battle of Wednesday:

"On the afternoon of Tuesday, the 16th, the enemy opened a light artillery fire on our line. Early the next morning it was renewed more vigorously, and large masses of the Federals, who had crossed the Antietam above our position, assembled on our left. They advanced in three compact lines. The divisions of Generals McLaws, R. H. Anderson, A. P. Hill, and Walker, who were expected to have joined General Lee on the previous night, had not come up. Generals Jackson and Ewell's divisions were thrown to the left of Generals Hill and Longstreet. The enemy advanced between the Antietam and the Sharpsburg and Hagerstown turnpike, and were met by General D. H. Hill's and the left of General Longstreet's divisions, where the conflict raged, extending to our entire left. The enemy were repulsed and held in check; but prior to the arrival of the divisions of McLaws, Anderson, and Walker, who had been advanced to support the left wing and centre, as soon as they had crossed the Potomac on the morning of the 17th, that portion of our line was forced back by superior numbers. As soon, however, as these forces could be brought into action, a severe conflict ensued. The enemy were driven back, our line was restored, and our position maintained during the rest of the day.

"In the afternoon the enemy advanced on our right, where General Jones' division was posted, and he handsomely maintained his position. The bridge over the Antietam Creek was guarded by General Toombs' brigade, which gal-

lantly resisted the approach of the enemy; but their superior numbers enabling them to extend their left, they crossed below the bridge and forced our line back in some confusion. Just at this time—between three and four P.M.—General A. P. Hill, with five of his brigades, having reached the scene of action, drove the enemy immediately back from the position they had taken, and continued the contest till dark, restoring our right and maintaining our ground.

"When the battle closed, after having raged furiously during the entire day, we retained possession of the field, and the enemy retired to their former position. The conduct of many of our officers is reported by General Lee to have exhibited the most conspicuous and brilliant courage. Our loss was considerable, and we have to deplore the fall of Branch and Stark, who died as soldiers love to die, in defence of their country.

"Generals R. H. Anderson, Lawton, Ripley, Armistead, Gregg, and Wright are reported to have been wounded—none of them, however, dangerously. In addition to the above, we learn from persons who have arrived from the field, that on the following day General Lee, who remained in possession of the field, took measures to renew the engagement, but the enemy had disappeared from his front; and it is further reported, that after the removal of his wounded and the burial of the dead, General Lee determined to cross the Potomac, and had established his headquarters at or near Shepherdstown."

The following is McClellan's report:

"On the night of the battle of South Mountain, orders were given to the corps commanders to press forward the pickets at early dawn. This advance revealed the fact that the enemy had left his positions, and an immediate pursuit was ordered: the cavalry under General Pleasanton, and the three corps under Generals Sumner, Hooker, and Mansfield (the latter of whom had arrived that morning and assumed command of the twelfth (Williams' corps), by the National turnpike and Boonsboro; the corps of Generals Burnside and Porter (the latter commanding at that time, consisting of one weak division—Sykes') by the old Sharpsburg road, and General Franklin to move into Pleasant Valley, occupy Rohrersville by a detachment, and endeavor to relieve Harper's Ferry.

"Generals Burnside and Porter, upon reaching the road from Boonsboro to Rohrersville to reinforce Franklin, or to move on Sharpsburg, according to circumstances.

"Franklin moved toward Brownsville, and found there a force of the enemy, much superior in numbers to his own, drawn up in a strong position to receive him. At this time the cessation of the firing at Harper's Ferry indicated the surrender of that place.

"The cavalry overtook the enemy's cavalry in Boonsboro, made a daring charge, killing and wounding a number, and capturing 250 prisoners and two guns.

"General Richardson's division of the

second corps pressing the rear-guard of the enemy with vigor, passed Boonsboro and Keedysville, and came upon the main body of the enemy, occupying in large force a strong position a few miles beyond the latter place.

"It had been hoped to engage the enemy during the 15th. Accordingly, instructions were given that if the enemy were overtaken on the march they should be attacked at once; if found in heavy force and in position, the corps in advance should be placed in position for attack, and await my arrival. On reaching the advanced position of our troops, I found but two divisions, Richardson's and Sykes', in position; the other troops were halted in the road; the head of the column some distance in rear of Richardson.

"The enemy occupied a strong position on the heights, on the west side of Antietam Creek, displaying a large force of infantry and cavalry, with numerous batteries of artillery, which opened on our columns as they appeared in sight on the Keedysville road and Sharpsburg turnpike, which fire was returned by Captain Tidball's light battery, Second United States Artillery, and Pettit's battery, First New York Artillery.

"The division of General Richardson, following close on the heels of the retreating foe, halted and deployed near Antietam River, on the right of the Sharpsburg road. General Sykes, leading on the division of regulars on the old Sharpsburg road, came up and deployed to the left of General Richardson, on the left of the road.

"Antietam Creek, in this vicinity, is crossed by four stone bridges—the upper one on the Keedysville and Williamsport road; the second on the Keedysville and Sharpsburg turnpike, some two and a half miles below; the third about a mile below the second, on the Rohrersville and Sharpsburg road; and the fourth near the mouth of Antietam Creek, on the road leading from Harper's Ferry to Sharpsburg, some three miles below the third. The stream is sluggish, with few and difficult fords.

"After a rapid examination of the position, I found that it was too late to attack that day, and at once directed the placing of the batteries in position in the centre, and indicated the bivouacs for the different corps, massing them near and on both sides of the Sharpsburg turnpike. The corps were not all in their positions until the next morning after sunrise.

"On the morning of the 16th it was discovered that the enemy had changed the position of his batteries. The masses of his troops, however, were still concealed behind the opposite heights. Their left and centre were upon and in front of the Sharpsburg and Hagerstown turnpike, hidden by woods and irregularities of the ground; their extreme left resting upon a wooded eminence near the cross-roads to the north of J. Miller's farm; their left resting upon the Potomac. Their line extended south, the right resting upon the hills to the south of Sharpsburg, near Shaveley's farm.

"The bridge over the Antietam de-

scribed as No. 3, near this point, was strongly covered by riflemen protected by rifle-pits, stone fences, etc., and enfiladed by artillery. The ground in front of this line consisted of undulating hills, their crests in turn commanded by others in their rear.

"On all favorable points the enemy's artillery was posted, and their reserves, hidden from view by the hills on which their line of battle was formed, could manœuvre unobserved by our army, and from the shortness of their line could rapidly reinforce any point threatened by our attack. Their position, stretching across the angle formed by the Potomac and Antietam, their flanks and rear protected by these streams, was one of the strongest to be found in this region of country, which is well adapted to defensive warfare.

"On the right, near Keedysville, on both sides of the Sharpsburg turnpike, were Sumner's and Hooker's corps. In advance, on the right of the turnpike, and Antietam River, General Richardson's division of General Sumner's corps was posted. General Sykes' division of General Porter's corps was on the left of the turnpike and in line with General Richardson, protecting the bridge No. 2, over the Antietam. The left of the line, opposite to and some distance from bridge No. 3, was occupied by General Burnside's corps.

"Before giving General Hooker his orders to make the movement which will presently be described, I rode to the left of the line to satisfy myself that the troops were properly posted there to secure our left flank from any attack made along the left bank of the Antietam, as well as to enable us to carry bridge No. 3.

"I found it necessary to make considerable changes in the position of General Burnside's corps, and directed him to advance to a strong position in the immediate vicinity of the bridge, and to reconnoitre the approaches to the bridge carefully.

"In front of General Sumner's and Hooker's corps, near Keedysville, and on the ridge of the first line of hills overlooking the Antietam, and between the turnpike and Fry's house on the right of the road, were placed Captain Taft's, Langner's, Von Kleizer's, and Lieutenant Weaver's batteries of twenty-four pounder Parrott guns. On the crest of the hill, in the rear and right of bridge No. 3, Captain Weed's three-inch and Lieutenant Benjamin's twenty-pounder batteries.

"General Franklin's corps and General Couch's division held a position in Pleasant Valley, in front of Brownsville, with a strong force of the enemy in their front. General Morell's division of Porter's corps was *en route* from Boonsboro, and General Humphrey's division of new troops *en route* from Frederick, Maryland.

"About daylight on the 16th the enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery on our guns in position, which was promptly returned; their fire was silenced for the time, but was frequently renewed during the day. In the heavy fire of the morning Major Arndt, commanding

the first battalion First New York Artillery, was mortally wounded while directing the operations of his batteries.

"It was afternoon before I could move the troops to their positions for attack, being compelled to spend the morning in reconnoitring the new positions taken up by the enemy, examining the ground, finding fords, clearing the approaches, and hurrying up the ammunition and supply trains, which had been delayed by the rapid march of the troops over the few practicable approaches from Frederick. These had been crowded by the masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery pressing on with the hope of overtaking the enemy before he could form to resist an attack. Many of the troops were out of rations on the previous day, and a good deal of their ammunition had been expended in the severe action of the 14th.

"My plan for the impending general engagement was to attack the enemy's left with the corps of Hooker and Mansfield, supported by Sumner's, and, if necessary, by Franklin's; and, as soon as matters looked favorably there, to move the corps of Burnside against the enemy's extreme right, upon the ridge running to the south and rear of Sharpsburg, and having carried their position, to press along the crest toward our right; and whenever either of these flank movements should be successful, to advance our centre with all the forces then disposable.

"About two P.M. General Hooker, with his corps, consisting of Generals Ricketts', Meade's, and Doubleday's divisions, was ordered to cross the Antietam at the ford, and at bridge No. 1, a short distance above, to attack and, if possible, turn the enemy's left.

"General Sumner was ordered to cross the corps of General Mansfield (the twelfth) during the night, and hold his own (the second) corps ready to cross early the next morning. On reaching the vicinity of the enemy's left, a sharp contest commenced with the Pennsylvania Reserves, the advance of General Hooker's corps, near the house of D. Miller. The enemy were driven from the strip of woods where they were first met. The firing lasted until after dark, when General Hooker's corps rested on their arms on ground won from the enemy.

"During the night General Mansfield's corps, consisting of Generals Williams' and Green's divisions, crossed the Antietam at the same ford and bridge that General Hooker's troops had passed, and bivouacked on the farm of J. Poffenberger, about a mile in rear of General Hooker's position.

"At daylight on the 17th the action was commenced by the skirmishers of the Pennsylvania Reserves. The whole of General Hooker's corps was soon engaged, and drove the enemy from the open field in front of the first line of woods into a second line of woods beyond, which runs to the eastward of and nearly parallel to the Sharpsburg and Hagerstown turnpike.

"The contest was obstinate, and as the troops advanced, the opposition became more determined, and the number

of the enemy greater. General Hooker then ordered up the corps of General Mansfield, which moved promptly toward the scene of action.

"The first division, General Williamson's, was deployed to the right on approaching the enemy; General Crawford's brigade on the right, its right resting on the Hagerstown turnpike; on his left General Gordon's brigade.

"The second division, General Green's, joining the left of Gordon's, extended as far as the burnt buildings to the north and east of the white church on the turnpike.

"During the deployment that gallant veteran General Mansfield fell, mortally wounded, while examining the ground in front of his troops. General Hartsuff, of Hooker's corps, was severely wounded, while bravely pressing forward his troops, and was taken from the field.

"The command of the twelfth corps fell upon General Williams. Five regiments of the first division of this corps were new troops. One brigade of the second division was sent to support General Doubleday.

"The One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers were pushed across the turnpike into the woods beyond J. Miller's house, with orders to hold the position as long as possible.

"The line of battle of this corps was formed, and it became engaged about seven A.M., the attack being commenced by Knapp's (Pennsylvania), Cothran's (New York), and Hampton's (Pittsburg) batteries. To meet this attack, the enemy had pushed a strong column of troops into the open fields in front of the turnpike, while he occupied the woods on the west of the turnpike in strong force.

"The woods (as was found by subsequent observations) were traversed by outcropping ledges of rock. Several hundred yards to the right and rear was a hill which commanded the debouche of the woods, and in the fields between was a long line of stone fences, continued by breast-works of rails, which covered the enemy's infantry from our musketry. The same woods formed a screen behind which his movements were concealed, and his batteries on the hill and the rifle-works covered from the fire of our artillery in front.

"For about two hours the battle raged with varied success, the enemy endeavoring to drive our troops into the second line of woods, and ours in turn to get possession of the line in front.

"Our troops ultimately succeeded in forcing the enemy back into the woods near the turnpike, General Green, with his two brigades, crossing into the woods to the left of the Dunbar church. During this conflict General Crawford, commanding the first division after General Williams took command of the corps, was wounded and left the field.

"General Green being much exposed and applying for reinforcements, the Thirteenth New Jersey, Twenty-seventh Indiana, and the Third Maryland were sent to his support, with a section of Knapp's battery.

"At about nine o'clock A.M., General Sedgwick's division of General Sumner's

corps arrived. Crossing the ford previously mentioned, this division marched in three columns to the support of the attack on the enemy's left.

"On nearing the scene of action the columns were halted, faced to the front, and established by General Sumner in three parallel lines by brigade, facing toward the south and west; General Gorman's brigade in front, General Dana's second, and General Howard's third, with a distance between the lines of some seventy paces. The division was then put in motion and moved upon the field of battle, under fire from the enemy's concealed batteries on the hill beyond the roads. Passing diagonally to the front, across the open space, and to the front of the first division of General Williams' corps, this latter division withdrew.

"Entering the woods on the west of the turnpike, and driving the enemy before them, the first line was met by a heavy fire of musketry and shell from the enemy's breast-works and the batteries on the hill commanding the exit from the woods.

"Meantime a heavy column of the enemy had succeeded in crowding back the troops of General Green's division, and appeared in rear of the left of Sedgwick's division. By command of General Sumner, General Howard faced the third line to the rear, preparatory to a change of front to meet the column advancing on the left; but this line, now suffering from a destructive fire both in front and on its left, which it was unable to return, gave way toward the right and rear in considerable confusion, and was soon followed by the first and second lines.

"General Gorman's brigade, and one regiment of General Dana's, soon rallied and checked the advance of the enemy on the right. The second and third lines now formed on the left of General Gorman's brigade, and poured a destructive fire upon the enemy.

"During General Sumner's attack, he ordered General Williams to support him. Brigadier-General Gordon, with a portion of his brigade, moved forward, but when he reached the woods, the left, General Sedgwick's division, had given way; and finding himself, as the smoke cleared up, opposed to the enemy in force, with his small command, he withdrew to the rear of the batteries at the second line of woods. As General Gordon's troops unmasked our batteries on the left, they opened with canister; the batteries of Captain Cothran, First New York, and I, First Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Woodruff, doing good service.

"Unable to withstand this deadly fire in front, and the musketry fire from the right, the enemy again sought shelter in the woods and rocks beyond the turnpike.

"During this assault Generals Sedgwick and Dana were seriously wounded and taken from the field. General Sedgwick, though twice wounded, and faint from the loss of blood, retained command of his division for more than an hour after his first wound, animating his command by his presence.

"About the time of General Sedgwick's advance, General Hooker, while urging on his command, was severely wounded in the foot and taken from the field, and General Meade was placed in command of his corps. General Howard assumed command after General Sedgwick retired.

"The repulse of the enemy offered opportunity to rearrange the lines and reorganize the commands on the right, now more or less in confusion. The batteries of the Pennsylvania Reserves, on high ground near I. Poffenberger's house, opened fire, and checked several attempts of the enemy to establish batteries in front of our right, to turn that flank and enfilade the lines.

"While the conflict was so obstinately raging on the right, General French was pushing his division against the enemy still farther to the left. This division crossed the Antietam at the same ford as General Sedgwick, and immediately in his rear. Passing over the stream in three columns, the division marched about a mile from the ford, then facing to the left, moved in three lines toward the enemy: General Max Weber's brigade in front; Colonel Dwight Morris' brigade of raw troops, undrilled, and moving for the first time under fire, in the second, and General Kimball's brigade in the third.

"The division was first assailed by a fire of artillery, but steadily advanced, driving in the enemy's skirmishers, and encountering the infantry in some force at the group of houses on Roulette's farm. General Weber's brigade gallantly advanced with an unwavering front and drove the enemy from their position about the houses.

"While General Weber was hotly engaged with the first line of the enemy, General French received orders from General Sumner, his corps commander, to push on with renewed vigor to make a diversion in favor of the attack on the right. Leaving the new troops, who had been thrown into some confusion from their march through cornfields, over fences, etc., to form as a reserve, he ordered the brigade of General Kimball to the front, passing to the left of General Weber.

"The enemy were pressed back to near the crest of the hill, where he was encountered in greater strength, posted in a sunken road forming a natural rifle-pit, running in a north-westerly direction. In a cornfield in rear of this road were also strong bodies of the enemy. As the line reached the crest of the hill, a galling fire was opened on it from the sunken road and cornfield. Here a terrific fire of musketry burst from both lines, and the battle raged along the whole line with great slaughter.

"The enemy attempted to turn the left of the line, but were met by the Seventh Virginia and One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, and repulsed. Foiled in this the enemy made a determined assault on the front, but were met by a charge from our lines which drove them back with severe loss, leaving in our hands some 300 prisoners and several stands of colors. The enemy having been repulsed by the terri-

ble execution of the batteries and the musketry fire on the extreme right, now attempted to assist the attack on General French's division, by assailing him on his right and endeavoring to turn this flank; but this attack was met and checked by the Fourteenth Indiana and Eighth Ohio Volunteers, and by canister from Captain Tompkins' battery, First Rhode Island Artillery.

"Having been under an almost continuous fire for nearly four hours, and the ammunition nearly expended, this division now took position immediately below the crest of the heights on which they had so gallantly fought, the enemy making no attempt to regain their lost ground.

"On the left of General French, General Richardson's division was hotly engaged. Having crossed the Antietam about half-past nine A.M., at the ford crossed by the other divisions of Sumner's corps, it moved on a line nearly parallel to the Antietam, and formed in a ravine behind the high ground overlooking Roulette's house; the second (Irish) brigade, commanded by General Meagher, on the right; the third brigade, commanded by General Caldwell, on his left, and the brigade commanded by Colonel Brooks, Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, in support.

"As the division moved forward to take its position on the field, the enemy directed a fire of artillery against it, but owing to the irregularities of the ground, did but little damage.

"Meagher's brigade advancing steadily, soon became engaged with the enemy posted to the left and in front of Roulette's house. It continued to advance under a heavy fire nearly to the crest of the hill overlooking Piper's house, the enemy being posted in a continuation of the sunken road and cornfield before referred to. Here the brave Irish brigade opened upon the enemy a terrific musketry fire.

"All of General Sumner's corps were now engaged: General Sedgwick on the right, General French in the centre, and General Richardson on the left. The Irish brigade sustained its well-earned reputation. After suffering terribly in officers and men, and strewing the ground with their enemies as they drove them back, their ammunition nearly expended, and their commander, General Meagher, disabled by the fall of his horse, shot under him, this brigade was ordered to give place to General Caldwell's brigade, which advanced to a short distance in its rear.

"The lines were passed by the Irish brigade breaking by company to the rear, and General Caldwell's by company to the front, as steadily as on drill. Colonel Brooks' brigade now became the second line.

"The ground over which Generals Richardson and French's divisions were fighting was very irregular, intersected by numerous ravines, hills covered with growing corn, inclosed by stone walls, behind which the enemy could advance unobserved upon any exposed point of our lines.

"Taking advantage of this, the enemy attempted to gain the right of

Richardson's position in a cornfield near Roulette's house, where the division had become separated from that of General French.

"A change of front by the Fifty-second New York and Second Delaware Volunteers, of Colonel Brooks' brigade, under Colonel Frank, and the attack made by the Fifty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, sent farther to the right by Colonel Brooks to close this gap in the line, and the movement of the One Hundred and Thirty-second Pennsylvania and Seventh Virginia Volunteers of General French's division, before referred to, drove them from the cornfield and restored the line.

"The brigade of General Caldwell, with determined gallantry, pushed the enemy back opposite the left and centre of this division, but sheltered in the sunken road, they still held our forces on the right of Caldwell in check. Colonel Barlow, commanding the Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York regiments of Caldwell's brigade, seeing a favorable opportunity, advanced the regiments on the left, taking the line in the sunken road in flank, and compelled them to surrender, capturing over 300 prisoners and three stands of colors.

"The whole of the brigade, with the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-sixth New York regiments of Colonel Brooks' brigade, who had moved these regiments into the first line, now advanced with gallantry, driving the enemy before them in confusion into the cornfield beyond the sunken road. The left of the division was now well advanced, when the enemy, concealed by the intervening ridge, endeavored to turn its left and rear. Colonel Cross, Fifth New Hampshire, by a change in front to the left and rear, brought his regiment facing the advancing line.

"Here a spirited contest arose to gain a commanding height, the two opposing forces moving parallel to each other, giving and receiving fire. The Fifth gaining the advantage, faced to the right and delivered its volley. Being reinforced by the Eighty-first Pennsylvania, these regiments met the advance by a countercharge. The enemy fled, leaving many killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the colors of the Fourth North Carolina, in our hands.

"Another column of the enemy, advancing under shelter of a stone wall and cornfield, pressed down on the right of the division; but Colonel Barlow again advanced the Sixty-first and Sixty-fourth New York against these troops, and with the attack of Kimball's brigade on the right, drove them from this position.

"Our troops on the left of this part of the line having driven the enemy far back, they, with reinforced numbers, made a determined attack directly in front. To meet this, Colonel Barlow brought his two regiments to their position in line, and drove the enemy through the cornfield into the orchard beyond, under a heavy fire of musketry, and a fire of canister from pieces of artillery in the orchard, and a battery farther to the right, throwing shell and case-shot.

"This advance gave us possession of Piper's house, the strong point contended for by the enemy at this part of the line, it being a defencible building several hundred yards in advance of the sunken road. The musketry fire at this point of the line now ceased.

"Holding Piper's house, General Richardson withdrew the line a little way to the crest of the hill, a more advantageous position. Up to this time the division was without artillery, and in the new position suffered severely from artillery fire which could not be replied to.

"A section of Robertson's horse battery, commanded by Lieutenant Vincent, Second Artillery, now arrived on the ground, and did excellent service. Subsequently a battery of brass guns, commanded by Captain Graham, First Artillery, arrived, and was posted on the crest of the hill, and soon silenced the two guns in the orchard. A heavy fire soon ensued between the battery farther to the right and our own.

"Captain Graham's battery was bravely and skilfully served, but unable to reach the enemy, who had rifled guns of greater range than our smooth-bores, retired by order of General Richardson, to save it from useless sacrifice of men and horses. The brave General was himself mortally wounded, while personally directing its fire.

"General Hancock was placed in command of the division after the fall of General Richardson. General Meagher's brigade, now commanded by Colonel Burke, of the Sixty-third New York, having refilled their cartridge boxes, were again ordered forward, and took position in the centre of the line.

"The division now occupied one line in close proximity to the enemy, who had taken up a position in the rear of Piper's house. Colonel Dwight Morris, with the Tenth Connecticut and a detachment of the One Hundred and Eighth New York, of General French's division, was sent by General French to the support of General Richardson's division. This command was now placed in an interval in the line between General Caldwell's and the Irish brigades.

"The requirement of the extended line of battle had so engaged the artillery, that the application of General Hancock for artillery for the division could not be complied with immediately by the chief of artillery or the corps commanders in his vicinity. Knowing the tried courage of the troops, General Hancock felt confident that he could hold his position, although suffering from the enemy's artillery, but was too weak to attack, as the great length of the line he was obliged to hold prevented him from forming more than one line of battle, and from his advanced position, the line was already partly enfiladed by the batteries of the enemy on the right, which were protected from our batteries opposite to them by the woods at the Dunker church.

"Seeing a body of the enemy advancing on some of our troops to the left of his position, General Hancock obtained Hexamer's battery from General Franklin's corps, which assisted materially in frustrating this attack. It also assisted

the attack of the Seventh Maine, of Franklin's corps, which, without other aid, made an attack against the enemy's line, and drove in skirmishers who were annoying our artillery and troops on the right.

"Lieutenant Woodruff, with battery I, Second Artillery, relieved Captain Hexamer, whose ammunition was expended. The enemy at one time seemed to be about making an attack in force upon this part of the line, and advanced a long column of infantry toward this division; but on nearing the position, General Pleasanton opened on them with sixteen guns, they halted, gave a desultory fire, and retreated, closing the operations on this portion of the field. I return to the incidents occurring still farther to the right.

"Between twelve and one P.M. General Franklin's corps arrived on the field of battle, having left their camp near Crampton's pass at six P.M., leaving General Couch with orders to move with his division to occupy Maryland Heights. General Smith's division led the column, followed by General Slocum's.

"It was first intended to keep this corps in reserve on the east side of the Antietam, to operate on either flank or on the centre, as circumstances might require; but on nearing Keedysville, the strong opposition on the right, developed by the attacks of Hooker and Sumner, rendered it necessary at once to send this corps to the assistance of the right wing.

"On nearing the field, hearing that one of our batteries, (A) Fourth United States Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Thomas, who occupied the same position as Lieutenant Woodruff's battery, in the morning, was hotly engaged without supports, General Smith sent two regiments to its relief, from General Hancock's brigade.

"On inspecting the ground, General Smith ordered the other regiments of Hancock's brigade, with Frank's and Cowen's batteries, First New York Artillery, to the threatened position. Lieutenant Thomas and Captain Cothran, commanding batteries, bravely held their positions against the advancing enemy, handling their batteries with skill.

"Finding the enemy still advancing, the third brigade of Smith's division, commanded by Colonel Irwin, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, was ordered up, and passed through Lieutenant Thomas' battery, charged upon the enemy, and drove back the advance until abreast of the Dunker church.

"As the right of the brigade came opposite the woods, it received a destructive fire, which checked the advance and threw the brigade somewhat into confusion. It formed again behind a rise of ground in the open space in advance of the batteries.

"General French having reported to General Franklin that his ammunition was nearly expended, that officer ordered General Brooks, with his brigade, to reinforce him. General Brooks formed his brigade on the right of General French, where they remained during the remainder of the day and night, frequently under the fire of the enemy's artillery.

"It was soon after the brigade of Colonel Irwin had fallen back behind the rise of ground that the Seventh Maine, by order of Colonel Irwin, made the gallant attack already referred to.

"The advance of General Franklin's corps was opportune. The attack of the enemy on this position, but for the timely arrival of his corps, must have been disastrous, had it succeeded in piercing the line between Generals Sedgwick and French's divisions.

"General Franklin ordered two brigades of General Slocum's division, General Newton's and Colonel Torbert's, to form in column to assault the woods that had been so hotly contested before by Generals Sumner and Hooker. General Bartlett's brigade was ordered to form as a reserve. At this time General Sumner, having command on the right, directed further offensive operations to be postponed, as the repulse of this, the only remaining corps available for attack, would peril the safety of the whole army.

"General Porter's corps, consisting of General Sykes' division of regulars and volunteers and General Morell's division of volunteers, occupied a position on the east side of Antietam Creek, upon the main turnpike leading to Sharpsburg, and directly opposite the centre of the enemy's line. This corps filled the interval between the right wing and General Burnside's command, and guarded the main approach from the enemy's position to our trains of supply.

"It was necessary to watch this part of our line with the utmost vigilance, lest the enemy should take advantage of the first exhibition of weakness, here to push upon us a vigorous assault, for the purpose of piercing our centre and turning our rear, as well as to capture or destroy our supply trains. Once having penetrated this line, the enemy's passage to our rear could have met with but feeble resistance, as there were no reserves to reinforce or close up the gap.

"Toward the middle of the afternoon, proceeding to the right, I found that Sumner's, Hooker's, and Mansfield's corps had met with serious losses. Several general officers had been carried from the field severely wounded, and the aspect of affairs was anything but promising.

"At the risk of greatly exposing our centre, I ordered two brigades from Porter's corps, the only available troops, to reinforce the right. Six battalions of Sykes' regulars had been thrown forward across the Antietam bridge on the main road, to attack and drive back the enemy's sharpshooters, who were annoying Pleasanton's horse batteries in advance of the bridge; Warren's brigade, of Porter's corps, was detached to hold a position on Burnside's right and rear, so that Porter was left at one time with only a portion of Sykes' division and one small brigade of Morell's division (but little over 3,000 men) to hold his important position.

"General Sumner expressed the most decided opinion against another attempt during that day to assault the enemy's

position in front, as portions of our troops were so much scattered and demoralized.

"In view of these circumstances, after making changes in the position of some of the troops, I directed the different commanders to hold their positions, and being satisfied that this could be done without the assistance of the two brigades from the centre, I countermanded the order which was in course of execution.

"General Slocum's division replaced a portion of General Sumner's troops, and positions were selected for batteries in front of the woods. The enemy opened several heavy fires of artillery on the position of our troops after this, but our batteries soon silenced them.

"On the morning of the 17th General Pleasanton, with his cavalry division and the horse batteries, under Captains Robertson, Tidball, and Lieutenant Haines, of the Second Artillery, and Captain Gibson, Third Artillery, was ordered to advance on the turnpike toward Sharpsburg, across bridge No. 2, and support the left of General Sumner's line.

"The bridge being covered by a fire of artillery and sharpshooters, cavalry skirmishers were thrown out, and Captain Tidball's battery advanced by piece and drove off the sharpshooters with canister sufficiently to establish the batteries above mentioned, which opened on the enemy with effect. The firing was kept up for about two hours, when the enemy's fire slackened; the batteries were relieved by Randall's and Van Reed's batteries, United States Artillery. About three o'clock, Tidball, Robertson, and Haines returned to their positions on the west of the Antietam, Captain Gibson having been placed in position on the east side to guard the approaches to the bridge. These batteries did good service, concentrating their fire on the column of the enemy about to attack General Hancock's position, and compelling it to find shelter behind the hills in rear.

"General Sykes' division had been in position since the 15th, exposed to the enemy's artillery and sharpshooters. General Morell had come up on the 16th, and relieved General Richardson on the left of General Sykes. Continually, under the vigilant watch of the enemy, this corps guarded a vital point.

"The position of the batteries under General Pleasanton being one of great exposure, the battalion of the Second and Tenth United States Infantry, under Captain Pollard, Second Infantry, was sent to his support. Subsequently four battalions of regular infantry, under Captain Dryer, Fourth Infantry, were sent across to assist in driving off the sharpshooters of the enemy.

"The battalion of the Second and Tenth Infantry advancing far beyond the batteries, compelled the cannoneers of a battery of the enemy to abandon their guns. Few in number, and unsupported, they were unable to bring them off. The heavy loss of this small body of men attests their gallantry.

"The troops of General Burnside held the left of the line opposite bridge

No. 3. The attack on the right was to have been supported by an attack on the left. Preparatory to this attack on the evening of the 16th, General Burnside's corps was moved forward and to the left, and took up a position nearer the bridge.

"I visited General Burnside's position on the 16th, and after pointing out the proper dispositions to be made of his troops during the day and night, informed him that he would probably be required to attack the enemy's right on the following morning, and directed him to make careful reconnoissances.

"General Burnside's corps, consisting of the divisions of Generals Cox, Wilcox, Rodman, and Sturgis, was posted as follows: Colonel Brooks' brigade, Cox's division, on the right; General Sturgis' division immediately in rear. On the left was General Rodman's division, with General Scammon's brigade, Cox's division, in support.

"General Wilcox's division was held in reserve.

"The corps bivouacked in position on the night of the 16th.

"Early on the morning of the 17th I ordered General Burnside to form his troops and hold them in readiness to assault the bridge in his front, and to await further orders.

"At eight o'clock an order was sent to him by Lieutenant Wilson, Topographical Engineers, to carry the bridge, then to gain possession of the heights beyond, and to advance along their crest upon Sharpsburg and its rear.

"After some time had elapsed, not hearing from him, I dispatched an aid to ascertain what had been done. The aid returned with the information that but little progress had been made. I then sent him back with an order to General Burnside to assault the bridge at once, and carry it at all hazards.

"The aid returned to me a second time with the report that the bridge was still in the possession of the enemy. Whereupon I directed Colonel Sackett, inspector general, to deliver to General Burnside my positive order to push forward his troops without a moment's delay, and, if necessary, to carry the bridge at the point of the bayonet; and I ordered Colonel Sackett to remain with General Burnside and see that the order was executed promptly.

"After these three hours' delay, the bridge was carried at one o'clock by a brilliant charge of the Fifty-first New York and Fifty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers. Other troops were then thrown over, and the opposite bank occupied, the enemy retreating to the heights beyond.

"A halt was then made by General Burnside's advance until three P.M., upon hearing which I directed one of my aids, Colonel Key, to inform General Burnside that I desired him to push forward his troops with the utmost vigor, and carry the enemy's position on the heights; that the movement was vital to our success; that this was a time when he must not stop for loss of life, if a great object could thereby be accomplished. That if, in his judgment, his attack would fail, to inform me so at

once, that his troops might be withdrawn and used elsewhere on the field.

"He replied that he would soon advance, and would go up the hill as far as a battery of the enemy on the left would permit. Upon this report, I again immediately sent Colonel Key to General Burnside with orders to advance at once, if possible to flank the battery, or storm it, and carry the heights; repeating that if he considered the movement impracticable, to inform me so, that his troops might be recalled. The advance was then gallantly resumed, the enemy driven from the guns, the heights handsomely carried, and a portion of the troops even reached the outskirts of Sharpsburg.

"By this time it was nearly dark, and strong reinforcements just then reaching the enemy from Harper's Ferry, attacked General Burnside's troops on the left flank, and forced them to retire to a lower line of hills nearer the bridge.

"If this important movement had been consummated two hours earlier, a position would have been secured on the heights from which our batteries might have enfiladed the greater part of the enemy's line, and turned their right and rear, our victory might thus have been much more decisive.

"The following is the substance of General Burnside's operations, as given in his report:

"Colonel Brooks' brigade was ordered to storm the bridge. This bridge, No. 3, is a stone structure of three arches with stone parapets. The banks of the stream on the other side are precipitous, and command the eastern approaches to the bridge. On the hillside, immediately by the bridge, was a stone fence, running parallel to the stream; the turns of the road-way, as it wound up the hill, were covered by rifle-pits, and breast-works of rails, etc.

"These works, and the woods that covered the slopes, were filled with the enemy's riflemen, and batteries were in position to enfilade the bridge and its approaches.

"General Rodman was ordered to cross the ford below the bridge. From Colonel Crook's position it was found impossible to carry the bridge.

"General Sturgis was ordered to make a detail from his division for that purpose. He sent forward the Second Maryland and the Sixth New Hampshire. These regiments made several successive attacks in the most gallant style, but were driven back.

"The artillery on the left were ordered to concentrate their fire on the woods above the bridge. Colonel Crook brought a section of Captain Simmons' battery to a position to command the bridge.

"The Fifty-first New York and Fifty-first Pennsylvania were then ordered to assault the bridge. Taking advantage of a small spur of the hills which ran parallel to the river, they moved toward the bridge. From the crest of this spur they rushed with bayonets fixed and cleared the bridge.

"The division followed the storming party, also the brigade of Colonel Crook

as a support. The enemy withdrew to still higher ground, some five or six hundred yards beyond, and opened a fire of artillery on the troops in the new position on the crest of the hill above the bridge.

"General Rodman's division succeeded in crossing the ford after a sharp fire of musketry and artillery, and joined on the left of Sturgis, Scammon's brigade crossing as a support. General Wilcox's division was ordered across to take position on General Sturgis' right.

"These dispositions being completed about three o'clock, the command moved forward, except Sturgis' division, left in reserve. Clark's and Durell's batteries, accompanied Rodman's division; Cook's battery with Wilcox's division, and a section of Simmons' battery with Colonel Crook's brigade. A section of Simmons' battery and Mullenburgh and McMullen's batteries were in position.

"The order for the advance was obeyed by the troops with alacrity. General Wilcox's division, with Crook in support, moved up on both sides of the turnpike leading from the bridge to Sharpsburg, General Rodman's division, supported by Scammon's brigade, on the left of General Wilcox. The enemy retreated before the advance of the troops.

"The Ninth New York, of General Rodman's division, captured one of the enemy's batteries and held it for some time. As the command was driving the enemy to the main heights on the left of the town, the light division of General A. P. Hill arrived upon the field of battle from Harper's Ferry, and with a heavy artillery fire made a strong attack on the extreme left. To meet this attack the left division diverged from the line of march intended, and opened a gap between it and the right. To fill up this it was necessary to order the troops from the second line. During these movements General Rodman was mortally wounded.

"Colonel Harland's brigade, of General Rodman's division, was driven back. Colonel Scammon's brigade, by a change of front to rear on his right flank, saved the left from being driven completely in. The fresh troops of the enemy pouring in, and the accumulation of artillery against this command, destroyed all hope of being able to accomplish anything more.

"It was now nearly dark. General Sturgis was ordered forward to support the left. Notwithstanding the hard work in the early part of the day, his division moved forward with spirit. With its assistance the enemy were checked and held at bay.

"The command was ordered to fall back by General Cox, who commanded on the field the troops engaged in this affair beyond the Antietam. The artillery had been well served during the day.

"Night closed the long and desperately contested battle of the 17th. Nearly 200,000 men and 500 pieces of artillery were for fourteen hours engaged in this memorable battle. We had attacked the enemy in a position selected by the experienced engineer then in

person directing their operations. We had driven them from their line on one flank, and secured a footing within it on the other.

"The Army of the Potomac, notwithstanding the moral effect incident to previous reverses, had achieved a victory over an adversary invested with the prestige of recent success. Our soldiers slept that night conquerors on a field won by their valor and covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy.

"The night, however, brought with it grave responsibilities. Whether to renew the attack on the 18th, or to defer it, even with the risk of the enemy's retirement, was the question before me.

"After a night of anxious deliberation, and a full and careful survey of the situation and condition of our army, the strength and position of the enemy, I concluded that the success of an attack on the 18th was not certain. I am aware of the fact that, under ordinary circumstances, a general is expected to risk a battle if he has a reasonable prospect of success; but at this critical juncture, I should have had a narrow view of the condition of the country had I been willing to hazard another battle with less than an absolute assurance of success.

"At that moment — Virginia lost, Washington menaced, Maryland invaded—the national cause could afford no risks of defeat. One battle lost, and almost all would have been lost. Lee's army might then have marched as it pleased on Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York. It could have levied its supplies from a fertile and undevastated country; extorted tribute from wealthy and populous cities; and nowhere east of the Alleghanies was there another organized force able to arrest its march.

"The following are among the considerations which led me to doubt the certainty of success in attacking before the 19th:

"The troops were greatly overcome by the fatigue and exhaustion attendant upon the long continued and severely contested battle of the 17th, together with the long day and night marches to which they had been subjected during the previous three days.

"The supply-trains were in the rear, and many of the troops had suffered from hunger. They required rest and refreshment.

"One division of Sumner's and all of Hooker's corps, on the right, had, after fighting most valiantly for several hours, been overpowered by numbers, driven back in great disorder, and much scattered, so that they were for the time somewhat demoralized.

"In Hooker's corps, according to the return made by General Meade, commanding, there were but 6,720 men present on the 18th; whereas on the morning of the 22d there were 13,003 men present for duty in the same corps, showing that previous to and during the battle 6,364 men were separated from their command.

"General Meade, in an official communication upon this subject, dated September 18, 1862, says:

"'I inclose a field return of the corps made this afternoon, which I desire you will lay before the commanding general. I am satisfied the great reduction in the corps since the recent engagement is not due solely to the casualties of battle, and that a considerable number of men are still in the rear, some having dropped out on the march, and many dispersing and leaving yesterday during the fight. I think the efficiency of the corps, so far as it goes, good. To resist an attack in our present strong position I think they may be depended on, and I hope they will perform duty in case we make an attack, though I do not think their morale is as good for an offensive as a defensive movement.'

"One division of Sumner's corps had also been overpowered, and was a good deal scattered and demoralized. It was not deemed by its corps commander in proper condition to attack the enemy vigorously the next day.

"Some of the new troops on the left, although many of them fought well during the battle, and are entitled to great credit, were, at the close of the action, driven back, and their morale impaired.

"On the morning of the 18th, General Burnside requested me to send him another division to assist in holding his position on the other side of the Antietam, and to enable him to withdraw his corps, if he should be attacked by a superior force.

"He gave me the impression that if he were attacked again that morning he would not be able to make a very vigorous resistance. I visited his position early, determined to send General Morell's division to his aid, and directed that it should be placed on this side of the Antietam, in order that it might cover the retreat of his own corps from the other side of the Antietam, should that become necessary, at the same time it was in position to reinforce our centre or right, if that were needed.

"Late in the afternoon I found that, although he had not been attacked, General Burnside had withdrawn his own corps to this side of the Antietam, and sent over Morell's division alone to hold the opposite side.

"A large number of our heaviest and most efficient batteries had consumed all their ammunition on the 16th and 17th, and it was impossible to supply them until late on the following day.

"Supplies of provisions and forage had to be brought up and issued, and infantry ammunition distributed.

"Finally, reinforcements to the number of 14,000 men—to say nothing of troops expected from Pennsylvania—had not arrived, but were expected during the day.

"The 18th was, therefore, spent in collecting the dispersed, giving rest to the fatigued, removing the wounded, burying the dead, and the necessary preparations for a renewal of the battle.

"Of the reinforcements, Couch's division, marching with commendable rapidity, came up into position at a late hour in the morning. Humphrey's division of new troops, in their anxiety to participate in the battle which was raging,

when they received the order to march from Frederick at about half-past three P.M. on the 17th, pressed forward during the entire night, and the mass of the division reached the army during the following morning.

"Having marched more than twenty-three miles after half-past four o'clock on the preceding afternoon, they were, of course, greatly exhausted, and needed rest and refreshment. Large reinforcements expected from Pennsylvania never arrived. During the 18th, orders were given for a renewal of the attack at daylight on the 19th.

"On the night of the 18th the enemy, after passing troops in the latter part of the day from the Virginia shore to their position behind Sharpsburg, as seen by our officers, suddenly formed the design of abandoning their position, and retreating across the river. As their line was but a short distance from the river, the evacuation presented but little difficulty, and was effected before daylight.

"About 2,700 of the enemy's dead were, under the direction of Major Davis, assistant inspector-general, counted and buried upon the battle-field of Antietam. A portion of their dead had been previously buried by the enemy. This is conclusive evidence that the enemy sustained much greater loss than we.

"Thirteen guns, thirty-nine colors, upward of 15,000 stand of small-arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, were the trophies which attest the success of our army in the battles of South Mountain, Crampton's Gap, and Antietam.

"Not a single gun or color was lost by our army during these battles.

TABULAR REPORT OF CASUALTIES IN THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, IN THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, ON THE 16TH AND 17TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1862.

Corps and divisions.	General officers. Killed.	General officers. Wounded.	Other officers. Killed.	Other officers. Wounded.	Enlisted men. Killed.	Enlisted men. Wounded.	Enlisted men. Missing.	Grand aggregate.
1st corps, Maj.-Gen. Hooker:								
1st division	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	862
2d division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,188
3d division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	569
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,619
2d corps, Maj.-Gen. Sumner:								
1st division	..	1	20	39	192	860	24	1,136
2d division	..	2	..	..	355	1,577	321	2,255
3d division	..	1	21	50	272	1,271	203	1,818
Total	..	4	41	89	819	3,708	548	5,209
5th corps, Ma.-G'l F.-J. Porter:								
1st division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2d division	..	..	..	2	13	92	1	108
Artillery reserve	..	..	1	..	7	13	1	22
Total	..	..	1	2	20	105	2	130
6th corps, Maj.-Gen. Franklin:								
1st division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65
2d division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	373
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	438
9th corps, Maj.-Gen. Burnside:								
1st division	..	..	2	20	44	264	7	337
2d division	..	..	7	29	121	493	20	670
3d division	..	..	8	40	212	743	70	1,073
4th division	..	..	5	7	33	145	23	213
Total	..	..	22	96	410	1,645	120	2,293
12th corps (Gen. Banks) Brig.-Gen. Williams commanding:								
1st division	..	..	9	35	151	827	54	1,076
2d division	..	..	6	26	107	481	30	650
Artillery.	..	..	..	..	1	15	1	17
Total	..	..	15	61	259	1,323	85	1,743
Maj.-Gen. Couch's division	..	..	..	1	..	8	..	9
Brig.-Gen. Pleasanton, cavalry division	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Grand total	..	4	79	249	1,508	6,789	755	12,469

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, *Sept.* 29, 1862.
Official. S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

"An estimate of the forces under the Confederate General Lee, made up by

direction of General Banks, from information obtained by the examination of prisoners, deserters, spies, etc., previous to the battle of Antietam, is as follows:

General J. J. Jackson's corps	24,778	men.
General James Longstreet's corps	23,343	"
General D. H. Hill's 2d division	15,525	"
General J. E. B. Stuart, cavalry	6,400	"
General Ransom and Jenkins' brigade	3,000	"
Forty-six regiments not included in above	18,400	"
Artillery, estimated at 400 guns	6,000	"
Total	97,445	"

"These estimates give the actual number of men present and fit for duty.

"Our own forces at the battle of Antietam were as follows:

1st corps	14,856	men.
2d corps	18,813	"
5th corps (one division not arrived)	12,930	"
6th corps	12,300	"
9th corps	13,819	"
12th corps	10,126	"
Cavalry division	4,320	"
Total in action	87,164	"

"When our cavalry advance reached the river on the morning of the 19th, it was discovered that nearly all of the enemy's forces had crossed into Virginia during the night, their rear escaping under cover of eight batteries, placed in strong positions upon the elevated bluffs on the opposite bank.

"General Porter, commanding the fifth corps, ordered a detachment from Griffin's and Barnes' brigades, under General Griffin, to cross the river at dark, and carry the enemy's batteries. This was gallantly done under the fire of the enemy; several guns, caissons, etc., were taken, and their supports driven back half a mile.

"The information obtained during the progress of this affair indicated that the mass of the enemy had retreated on the Charlestown and Martinsburg roads, toward Winchester. To verify this, and to ascertain how far the enemy had retired, General Porter was authorized to detach from his corps, on the morning of the 20th, a reconnoitring party in greater force. This detachment crossed the river, and advanced about a mile, when it was attacked by a large body of the enemy lying in ambush in the woods, and driven back across the river with considerable loss. This reconnoissance showed that the enemy were still in force on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, prepared to resist our farther advance."

The enemy had, two days previously to the battle of Antietam, executed an enterprise the success of which can not be doubted. This was an attack on Harper's Ferry by a large force under General Jackson, who, after capturing the place, was enabled to withdraw the greater portion of his troops and form a junction with General Lee's army, in time to bear an important part in the great battle of Antietam, in which he commanded the enemy's left.

According to the enemy's accounts, the movement on Harper's Ferry was thus executed. General Jackson left Frederick on Thursday (Sept. 11), taking the Hagerstown road, and at the same time the divisions of Generals McLaws and R. H. Anderson moved from the neighborhood of the same place to Maryland Heights, which commanded the town of Harper's Ferry on the Maryland side. On the same day, also, a force

under General Walker, which had been sent to destroy the canal aqueduct at the mouth of the Monocacy, was ordered, before it could accomplish this purpose, to cross the Potomac by the ford at the Point of Rocks and proceed by forced marches to the Loudon Heights, which overlook Harper's Ferry on the Virginia side. General Walker reached this position on Friday evening (Sept. 12). Meanwhile, Jackson had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport on Friday morning, and immediately moved on Martinsburg, twenty miles above Harper's Ferry. He had hoped to have here intercepted General White, who it will be recollected had retired to Martinsburg from Winchester; but this officer succeeded in making his escape with all his troops to Harper's Ferry. Jackson followed in pursuit, and on Saturday morning (Sept. 18) reached Halltown. General Walker had already succeeded in gaining possession of the heights on the Virginia side, and Generals McLaws and Anderson of those in Maryland.

"On Saturday night" (Sept. 13), wrote a chronicler,* "General Walker received orders from General Jackson to open fire on the enemy at daylight on Sunday morning. In obedience to this order, at daydawn the stillness of the Sabbath was broken by the opening of Walker's guns upon the fortifications of the enemy on Bolivar Heights, two miles above the railroad bridge at Harper's Ferry. At the same time the attack was made by the forces under General Jackson, and the fight, which was desperate and determined, continued throughout the day—McLaws and Anderson shelling from the Maryland side. The enemy resisted with great spirit, and their guns, of which they had a large number in position, were handled with great effect upon the column of General Jackson, which had to approach them through an open space, where their guns had an unobstructed play.

"The shells from Walker's batteries and the impetuous attacks of Jackson's men rendered their intrenchments on Bolivar Heights too warm for the enemy, and late in the evening they fell back to Camp Hill, one mile in rear of the Bolivar fortifications. Here they had heavy guns planted and strong intrenchments thrown up, but within easy range of the batteries of McLaws and Anderson, on the opposite heights.

"Night coming on, the struggle ceased, Jackson's forces occupying the deserted intrenchments on the hills of Bolivar. That night old 'Stonewall' sent a message to General Walker that his forces were in possession of the enemy's first line of intrenchments, and that, with God's blessing, he would have Harper's Ferry and the Federal forces early next morning.

"At daylight the next morning (Monday) the fight was renewed, the enemy still offering an obstinate resistance, until about seven o'clock A.M., when their colors were struck, and a capitulation proposed." **Sep. 14.**

By the capitulation of Harper's Ferry, the enemy obtained 12,000 prisoners, 1,500 negroes, 10,000 stand of arms,

* Richmond *Dispatch*.

47 cannon, and a large quantity of straw and ammunition.

The following is an account of the siege and surrender, by a correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* who was in Harper's Ferry at the time:

"Harper's Ferry is situated in the angle formed by the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers. The town itself is literally buried in the surrounding hills. Stretching across the angle, and forming the base of a triangle, is the ridge known as Bolivar Heights, which, rising quite abruptly from the town, spreads out into a plain, and then rising again, forms a sort of parapet, sloping down to the surrounding country, the level of which is of lower grade than the plain.

"This formed the front of the position, and was occupied by the first brigade, Colonel F. G. D'Utassy (Thirty-ninth New York) commanding, composed of the One Hundred and Fifteenth New York, Colonel Scammon, Thirty-ninth New York (Garibaldi Guards), Major Hildebrandt, One Hundred and Eleventh New York, Colonel Segoin, and Captain Von Scheleim's Fifteenth Indiana battery, and by the second brigade, Colonel Trimble (Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers) commanding, and composed of the Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers, Ninth Vermont, One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York, Colonel Sherrill, and the Potts battery.

"The hill rising immediately from the town is designated as Camp Hill, and surrounded by an inner line of intrenchments to fall back upon in the event of being driven from the more advanced position of Bolivar Heights. Here was posted the reserve known as the fourth brigade, Colonel W. G. Ward, of the New York Twelfth, commanding, composed of the Twelfth New York, Eighty-seventh Ohio, Captain Rigby's Company Artillerists, and Company A, New York Heavy Artillery, Captain Graham.

"There were mounted along the intrenchments some dozen howitzers, under charge of Captain Rigby's company, and to the left, upon the precipice overhanging the Shenandoah, and commanding the approaches by the Shenandoah road, and also up the Potomac from Sandy Hook, were placed two twelve and two twenty-four pound Parrott guns and howitzers, under charge of Captain Graham.

"This battery commanded the position on Bolivar Heights, and raked the whole plain across which troops must approach to the inner intrenchments. It also had range of Maryland Heights and Loudon Heights, and was emphatically a strong position.

"On the Maryland side of the Potomac, in the angle formed by the bend of the river, tower Maryland. Heights, over 1,500 feet elevation. A little more than half the distance up the mountain was placed the battery which commanded all the other batteries and the surrounding country for miles around, and was the key to Harper's Ferry.

"This battery consisted of two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns, one fifty-pound rifled gun, and two light howitzers, un-

der command of Captain McGrath. A shot from one of the eleven-inch Dahlgrens has been thrown into Halltown, between four and five miles distant, and through a house there located. To support this battery, the third brigade, Colonel Ford (Thirty-second Ohio), was posted on a plateau to the right of the battery, and low enough to be out of range of the guns.

"The brigade comprised the Thirty-second Ohio; battalion of First Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Major Steiner; squadron Rhode Island Cavalry, Major Corliss; two companies First Maryland Cavalry, Captain Russell, and the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery, Captain McGrath.

"To prevent surprise or to repel attack up the back side of Maryland Heights, and also to guard the approach to the ferry around the bend of the Potomac, a force was stationed at and about Sandy Hook, under command of Colonel Maulsby, of the First Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade, consisting of the regiment just named, Captain Cole's Maryland Cavalry, and part of the Eighty-seventh Ohio Volunteers. Two cannon were also with the command, served by Captain Graham's men.

"Up the Potomac, at Shepardstown, Colonel Downey was stationed with the Third Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade. Colonel Davis, with the Eighth New York Cavalry, was encamped in town at the old rifle factory.

"The positions given above are those occupied by the troops prior to and at the commencement of the siege. The changes of position are noted in the detailed account of the incidents. General Julius White brought with him from Martinsburg the brigade composed of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York, Colonel Willard, Sixty-fifth Illinois, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, Twelfth Illinois Cavalry, Colonel Voss, and Captain Phillips' Illinois battery.

"On Friday morning the actual conflict began by an attack upon Maryland Heights at Solomon's Gap, and in the rear from Pleasant Valley. Captain Cole, who was thought to have been captured, came in from near Frederick.

"He reported but few of the enemy near that place, but had ascertained that a force of 40,000 had been left in Pleasant Valley; this force was to be divided into two columns: one of 20,000 was to attack Maryland Heights, the other of like number was to cross the Potomac, occupy Loudon Heights, and pass around to our left.

"This story, which at first was set down as one of the magnified rumors, soon found confirmation in the report received from Maryland Heights that the woods were swarming with rebels, and from our left that our pickets along from the Shenandoah to the Halltown road had been compelled to retire from an advance movement of the enemy.

"The sharp crack of rifles, at first heard from the other side of Maryland Heights, grew nearer and nearer, as though the enemy were pressing our troops back. A detachment of the Thirty-ninth New York, under Major Hildebrandt, had already been sent over

to reinforce Colonel Ford, and some light mountain howitzers were also taken over.

"The rebels continuing to push our troops with vigor, the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York were ordered over to their assistance.

"The Maryland boys, while on picket duty, had succeeded in making quite a strong breast-work of logs, and this proved the salvation of the men and of the battery below; for, forced to retire before superior numbers, our troops fell back behind this barrier, and poured volley after volley upon the advancing rebels, compelling them to pause in their rapid advance, and effectually checking their progress.

"The companies at Solomon's Gap were also pressed closely and retired, under orders to concentrate above and around the battery. The rebels followed them up rapidly, and pressed into the woods in their rear, around the angle of the mountain. Captain McGrath, at the battery, had been waiting expectantly, watching the first appearance of secesh within his circle, and a flash from one of his Napoleons, followed by two reports and a puff of white smoke from the woods which they had dared to invade, told the story for them. Another and another report followed in rapid succession, and *that* flank movement proved a failure.

"Quite a skirmish occurred on the top of the hill, at the observatory, where our boys repulsed the rebels handsomely, although they were afterward forced to abandon the position. The rebels, finding all the old roads and paths effectually blockaded, had begun cutting a new road through the woods, and were plainly seen dragging cannon up the rough way. Night put an end to the conflict in the woods.

"In the direction of Sandy Hook and Petersville the rebels also showed in force, increasing as night approached, and fearful that the small body of our troops there might be run over by the masses of rebels, preparations were made to withdraw.

"Captain Potts placed two of his guns in position under the hill, to cover the retreat, and Captain Graham, on Camp Hill, also brought one of his Parrott guns to bear in the same direction. Our troops fell back in good order, and immediately after the enemy's cavalry appeared on the crest of a hill some two miles down the road. Captain Potts complimented them with a salute of two shells, and they quickly disappeared.

"Meanwhile, some anxiety was felt as to General White and his brigade. The cars sent up the night previous to Martinsburg, to bring down his tents, baggage, etc., had returned, and ambulances had been arriving with the sick and wounded.

"Colonel Davis, with the Eighth New York Cavalry, had been sent out early in the morning to cover the retreat, but no advices were received from him. It was known that the enemy's advance was within six miles of his position at daylight, and his march was to have commenced at three o'clock A.M.

"About noon stragglers came in and

reported his forces at Kearneysville at nine o'clock. In the afternoon came rumors that he had been attacked, and was still fighting. These rumors were dispelled by the appearance of the General and staff, and shortly after his troops marched in and camped on Bolivar Plain, at our left. Colonel Downey, with his regiment, had joined him at Shepardstown.

"All our forces were now concentrated at the ferry. General White, who by rank became commander of the forces, waived his right, and tendered his services and those of his troops to Colonel Miles. As complaints have since been made that no order was issued stating who was to be commandant, it is proper to state that an order was prepared by Colonel Miles, and a copy sent to General White, at whose request the order was withheld from promulgation to brigade commanders.

"On Saturday Colonel Downey, with the Third Maryland Regiment, was ordered to Maryland Heights, and subsequently the One Hundred and Fifteenth New York was sent over. There was some brisk fighting during the morning, the rebels slowly working their way over the crest of the hill, and our boys disputing their way courageously.

"Here the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth behaved very badly, and the fault lies with some of the officers as well as the men. They broke ranks and ran, some even throwing their guns away, and two companies never stopped till they reached the pontoon bridge. There Lieutenant Binney, aid-de-camp to Colonel Miles, succeeded in stopping the rout with drawn sabre, and sent the fellows back to the hill.

"Colonel Sherrill urged his men not to disgrace themselves by running, and did all in his power to rally them, while doing which he received a ball in his jaw, inflicting a severe wound. Adjutant Barras also distinguished himself by his gallantry and exertion to stop the panic, and received the thanks of Colonel Miles for his conduct.

"In their haste to flee from the mountain, the men ran over the Thirty-ninth New York, and also the Third Maryland. The officers of both these regiments ordered their men to stop such proceedings at the point of the bayonet.

"The other New York regiments are ashamed of the conduct of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth. The excuse that they were green troops will not suffice, as the One Hundred and Fifteenth is also a new corps, and stood their ground, fighting manfully.

"As the fight progressed, our troops concentrated nearer the battery, when Captain McGrath and Captain Graham both opened upon the woods with shells, and succeeded in effectually shelling the rebels back again. The positions of Captain McGrath's and Captain Graham's batteries were such that they could prevent any large force from advancing in a body upon the guns.

"The firing of musketry had now ceased, but the batteries continued shelling the woods, making them very uncomfortable for any human being.

Judge with what surprise, then, the occupants of Bolivar Heights saw a long column of infantry marching from Maryland Heights to the ferry. Can it be that they are evacuating? was the query on every one's lips.

"Looking over to the camps, the artillerists were observed at their posts, and each tried to persuade the other that it was some *ruse*. But, alas! it was too true.

"Colonel Ford had ordered the evacuation, for what reason the men could not learn. Captain McGrath, as true and brave a soldier as ever walked, upon receiving the order to spike his guns, was so astounded that he refused to obey it, and not until he saw infantry deserting him, could he be induced to perform the disgraceful task. He sat upon his guns—his baby-wakers, as he called the Dahlgrens—and wept like a child, telling Colonel Ford that 'no matter by whose order it was done, it was a piece of treachery.'

"This abandonment of the key to the position certainly requires the most careful investigation at the hands of the proper authorities. Colonel Ford had positive and written orders to hold the place to the last extremity; 5,000 troops and all our batteries were to aid him.

"Colonel Ford had remarked that 'he had looked the hill all over, and had made up his mind to stay there;' that 'not a man should come down until they had been whipped from it.' Subsequent action certainly gave the lie to his words.

"Colonel Miles, who was at the extreme left, upon learning that the troops were leaving, rode hastily toward the spot, but met the men on their way up the hill, and, learning that the guns were spiked, did not order them back, as he intended doing.

"As there was much talk as to whom belonged the responsibility of the evacuation of this battery and position, your correspondent asked Colonel Miles if it was done by his orders. 'No, sir, but in direct opposition to them,' was the unequivocal reply.

"The Dahlgren guns were thoroughly spiked, and tipped off the platform into the dirt. Had the infantry remained to assist, they would have been precipitated into the canal. The rifled guns and the Napoleon howitzers were also rendered useless. Officers and men were thunderstruck at the performance, and Colonel D'Utassy, commanding the first brigade, offered to retake and hold the position, but Colonel Miles refused.

"The evacuation received the merited condemnation of officers and men. Every one saw that the way for the rebels was now open; the door locked, it is true, but the key hung outside. Hardly had the hill been deserted ere the rebels appeared on Loudon Heights in considerable force, and commenced signalling.

"Captain Graham opened his batteries upon them, and made three excellent line shots, the third scattering the party, and driving the signal flag into the woods. Captain Von Scheleim's battery also commenced firing upon them and

did execution. No notice was taken by the rebels of our firing; that they were busily at work getting a battery into position was apparent. To whom they were signalling could not be seen. Our batteries fired upon them occasionally during the afternoon, and must have done some serious damage, as the shells fell right in their midst.

"During the day General White's troops were assigned positions. Captain Phillips' battery was ordered to the extreme right, the Sixty-fifth Illinois supporting it. These joined the first brigade, D'Utassy's.

"The One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York was assigned to Colonel Trimble, commanding the second brigade. The battery of Captain Von Scheleim occupied the centre, and that of Captain Rigby the left. The left was clearly our weakest point, and a breastwork was thrown up to protect the guns and men under the direction of Captain Powell, of the Engineer Corps.

"Captain Powell, with his 'brigade of contrabands,' did excellent service in making other earth-works and digging rifle-pits. The fortification of the left was good as far as it went, but did not extend far enough toward the Shenandoah, as the sequel will prove.

"The rebels could be seen examining localities upon Loudon Heights, commanding the left flank, evidently with the intention of planting batteries, but they suddenly departed, and nothing further was seen of any operations in that direction.

"While officers and men continued in good spirits and anxious for the fight, it was apparent that the evacuation of the position across the Potomac had made an impression upon them, and Saturday night closed upon them, each full of speculation as to what the morrow might bring forth.

"The quiet of as beautiful and bright a Sabbath as ever shone was broken by the guns of Captain Graham's battery, as they opened fire upon the rebels on Loudon Heights. The other batteries, not wishing to be behind their fellow, chimed in, and for a time made lively music.

"No attention was paid to the interruption, and it was whispered that the rebels had abandoned their position. This rumor quickly spread over the camp, and scores of faces brightened at the thought. Others, who had seen service, knew too well what the ominous silence forebode, and told the green ones that 'they would get it *good* after dinner.'

"During the morning Captain Graham had brought up two of his Parrott guns, placing one at the battery on each flank. From the right he amused himself by shelling any show rebels within his range. Colonel D'Utassy, not relishing the idea of leaving the rebels all our ammunition on Maryland Heights, and to prove that the offer he made on Saturday could have been executed, took the responsibility of sending a detachment composed of two companies of the Thirty-ninth New York, under Adjutant Bacon, and two companies of the Sixty-fifth Illinois, under Major

Woods, the whole under command of the latter officer, with orders to bring down the Napoleon guns and such ammunition as they could.

"The expedition departed on its mission quietly, and ascended the heights cautiously under cover of Captain McGrath's and Captain Phillips' guns. Throwing out pickets they proceeded to the discharge of their duty. Not a rebel was to be seen, but no one knew how soon they might make their appearance. They brought down the four cannon, and quite a store of ammunition, which was made useful on the day following, through the foresight of Colonel F. G. D'Utassy.

"About half-past two o'clock the rebels opened fire from a battery near the point from which they had been signalling, and their shells fell upon the plain with sufficient rapidity to cause a stampede of soldiers and townspeople, who were enjoying a stroll. The boys laughed as the shells fell far short of the heights, but laughed no more as shell after shell came nearer and nearer, and, finally, went clear over the works and down the slope. Then came the report of a gun from Maryland Heights, not our old position, but from the very top, and a shell burst without even crossing the Potomac.

"The boys laughed again at the 'pop-gun battery,' as they termed the new one, but soon the pop-guns proved to be real ones, and shot came whizzing past those on the parapet and down the farther side of the hill. This was not pleasant.

"A cloud of dust at the left betokened the approach of the rebels, and the troops were called into position. Nothing but the dust away beyond the woods could be seen. Presently a movement was discovered at the edge of the woods, and soon a battery commenced on the left, shelling the woods between. Our batteries were now fully engaged, and all attention was turned to watch the approach of infantry.

"Skirmishers, the New York Thirty-ninth, were thrown out, and other troops advanced down the hill, under cover of the brush, to meet them. A dark mass, almost shielded from view by the woods, seemed moving toward our right, and soon appeared in full view, as they crossed a distant field and took position in the woods. A battery now opened in front of us, and shot and shell came over the ridge inside of our works. It was quite evident that they were only trying their range, and it was also apparent that they were quite satisfied with it.

"Our batteries now turned their attention to the new batteries of the rebels, and Captain Von Scheleim succeeded in placing a few shells in the right spot. A shot from the rebels exploded one of Captain Von Scheleim's caissons, wounding four men. A new battery had opened from Loudon Heights, making four guns in all in that position. Captain McGrath had silenced the first for a while, but it resumed operations after a change of position.

"As day closed, the looked-for attack was anxiously awaited; but it was

not the rebel policy to hurry matters. They made one or two feints on the right to feel our position, and some skirmishing took place with the Thirty-ninth New York.

"After dark, and as matters seemed to be settling down, a smart attack was made upon our left flank by troops who had almost gotten in our rear, but who were repulsed by the Thirty-second Ohio, with serious loss both to themselves and the rebels. This was the most serious encounter of the day.

"The Third Maryland, the Eighty-seventh Ohio, and the Twelfth New York were ordered up to the support of the left, but no further fighting took place. Our men slept upon their arms in the trenches.

"Early on Monday morning the skill of the rebel generals was displayed. During the night they had posted two batteries upon the lower plateaus of Loudon Heights, in the positions previously examined, another battery in front, and still another to our right upon a knoll on the opposite side of the Potomac, thus enfilading the whole of our intrenchments.

"Commencing fire, they rained shot and shell along the whole line, and it was evident our batteries could not drive them away nor silence them. Still our guns responded vigorously until all the long range ammunition gave out. Then Colonel D'Utassy's force from Maryland Heights came into service, and with that the fight was prolonged.

"The matter which at first seemed a question of time now appeared more like a question of eternity with all, for the rebels had complete range of our whole position, and were evidently playing with us. Indeed, General Hill said as much after the capture. A council of war was held, and in order to prevent useless sacrifice of life, the officers reluctantly consented to display the white flag.

"This was about eight o'clock. Owing to the fog and smoke, the signal was not seen at first, and the firing continued, during which a shell struck Colonel Miles, who was on foot, on the left, inflicting a mortal wound. Lieutenant Binney, who was standing by, escaped unhurt. He immediately procured a blanket, and succeeded in forcing some of the frightened men to assist in removing Colonel Miles to an ambulance. While so engaged, a shell passed over the Colonel and cut the officer who had hold of the opposite side of the blanket almost in two.

"Discovering the signals, at last firing ceased, and General White went out with a flag of truce and surrendered to Generals Jackson and Hill.

"It was a sad blow to our troops, who had looked forward to a desperate fight, in which they did not intend to come off second best.

"The terms of capitulation were: Officers and men to have ready parole. Officers to retain side-arms and private property; all United States property to be turned over to the rebels.

"When the army took possession of the place, they were followed into town by neighboring farmers hunting up

their slaves and many fugitives were thus caught. The method of proceedure, without being brutal, was characterized by the peculiarities of the peculiar institution. The rebels behaved civilly as a general thing, and no insults were offered our soldiers.

"After a delay over Monday night, on account of a difference of opinion as to the terms of capitulation, the rebels insisted that our troops were *not* to go into camps of instruction, and upon which Colonel D'Utassy expressed the views of a soldier very frankly, that the parole to them did not absolve our troops from military duty to Government, only so far as not to take up arms against the Southern Confederacy until regularly exchanged, the necessary documents for the egress of the troops were prepared, and they marched out toward Frederick.

"On Tuesday morning a large body of rebels passed through the Ferry, in full retreat from the advancing Union forces. Their number was estimated at 30,000. Their rear-guard destroyed the bridges, and our paroled soldiers had to ford the stream.

"Mention should have been made of the achievement of the force of cavalry who cut their way through the rebel lines, and, as has since been ascertained, captured Longstreet's ammunition train and carried it into Greencastle. Colonel Cole, commanding the New York Eighth Cavalry, is an officer of rare qualifications for his position, and deserves a wider field for his operations."

The loss of Harper's Ferry had an important bearing upon the campaign in Maryland. By its capture the enemy not only secured another way of retreat, but a position which, as long as it was held by the Unionists, endangered their whole army in Maryland. By its loss the operations of McClellan were rendered much less effective than had been hoped. His friends, however, exonerated him from all blame, asserting "that before starting from Washington, General McClellan urged the evacuation of Harper's Ferry and the occupation of Maryland Heights, on the ground that he did not believe that it could be held if thoroughly besieged, and on the further ground that to assist it would greatly interfere with his plan of campaign. In reply to this recommendation, assurances were given that the post was impregnable and the recommendation of General McClellan was unheeded."*

Colonel Miles had repeatedly asked for reinforcements, declaring it impracticable to hold the position beyond a specified time. How far this unfortunate officer† or those serving under him were responsible for the loss of Harper's Ferry can, perhaps, be inferred from this report of the Congressional commission appointed to investigate the circumstances of its surrender:

"The Commission, consisting of Major-General D. Hunter, U. S. A. of Volunteers, Pres.; Major-General G. Cadwalader, U. S. A. of Volunteers; Brigadier-General C. C. Augur, U. S. A. of

* Baltimore *Commercial.*

† Colonel Miles, who received a wound during the siege, died of its effects.

Volunteers; Major Don Piatt, A. A. G. of Volunteers; Captain F. Ball, A. D. C. of Volunteers; Colonel G. Holt, Judge-Advocate-General, called by the Government to investigate the conduct of certain officers connected with, and the circumstances attending the abandonment of Maryland Heights, and the surrender of Harper's Ferry, have the honor to report the following:

"On the 3d of September, General White entered Harper's Ferry with his force from Winchester. The next day he was ordered to Martinsburg, to take command of the forces there. On the 12th of September he again returned to Harper's Ferry, where he remained until the surrender, without assuming the command.

"On the 7th of September, General McClellan, the most of his forces having preceded him, left Washington under orders issued some days previously, to drive the enemy from Maryland. That night he established his headquarters at Rockville, from which place, on the 11th of September, he telegraphed to General Halleck to have Colonel Miles ordered to join him at once.

"On the 5th of September, Colonel Thomas H. Ford, Thirty-second Ohio, took command of the forces on Maryland Heights. Forces were placed at Solomon's Gap and at Sandy Hook. Those at Sandy Hook, under Colonel Maulsby, retired by Colonel Miles' order to the eastern slope of Maryland Heights, two or three days previous to their evacuation by Colonel Ford. On the 11th of September the forces at Solomon's Gap were driven in by the enemy. Colonel Ford called upon Colonel Miles for reinforcements. The One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York and the Thirty-ninth New York (Garibaldi Guards) were sent him on Friday, the 12th of September, and on the morning of the 13th he was further reinforced by the One Hundred and Fifteenth New York and a portion of a Maryland regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Downey.

"Colonel Ford made requisition for axes and spades to enable him to construct defences on the heights, but obtained none; with ten axes, belonging to some Maryland troops, hiring all that could be obtained, a slight breast-work of trees was constructed on the 12th near the crest of the heights, and a slashing of timber made for a short distance in front of the breast-work.

"The forces under Colonel Ford were stationed at various points on Maryland Heights, the principal force being on the crest of the hill near the breast-work and look-out. Skirmishing commenced on Friday, the 12th, on the crest of the hill.

"Early on the morning of the 13th, the enemy made an attack on the crest of the hill, and after some time the troops retired in some confusion to the breast-work, where they were rallied. About nine o'clock a second attack was made, which the troops behind the breast-work resisted for a short time, and until Colonel Sherrill, of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York was wounded, and carried off the field,

when the entire One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regiment, as some witnesses testify, all but two companies, Major Hewitt states, broke and fled in utter confusion. Men and most of the officers all fled together, no effort being made to rally the regiment, except by Colonel Ford, Lieutenant Barras, acting adjutant, and some officers of other regiments, directed by Colonel Miles, then on the heights.

"Soon after, the remaining forces at the breast-work fell back, under a supposed order from Major Hewitt, who himself says that he gave no such order; merely sent instructions to the captains of his own regiment that, if they were compelled to retire, to do so in good order.

"Orders were given by Colonel Ford for the troops to return to their position. They advanced some distance up the heights, but did not regain the breast-work.

"That evening Colonel Miles was on Maryland Heights for some hours, consulting with Colonel Ford. He left between eleven and twelve o'clock, without directly ordering Colonel Ford to evacuate the heights, but instructing him, in case he was compelled to do so, to spike his guns, and throw the heavy siege guns down the mountain.

"About two o'clock, perhaps a little later, by the order of Colonel Ford, the heights were abandoned, the guns being spiked according to instructions.

"On Sunday, Colonel D'Utassy sent over to the Maryland Heights four companies under Major Wood, who brought off, without opposition, four brass twelve pounders, two of which were imperfectly spiked, and a wagon-load of ammunition. General White, on his return to Harper's Ferry on the 12th of September, suggested to Colonel Miles the propriety of contracting his lines on Bolivar Heights so as to make a better defence, but Colonel Miles adhered to his original line of defence, stating that he was determined to make his stand on Bolivar Heights.

"General White also urged the importance of holding Maryland Heights, even should it require the taking the entire force over there from Harper's Ferry. Colonel Miles, under his orders to hold Harper's Ferry to the last extremity, while admitting the importance of Maryland Heights, seemed to regard them as applying to the town of Harper's Ferry, and held that to leave Harper's Ferry, even to go on Maryland Heights, would be disobeying his instructions.

"General McClellan established his headquarters at Frederick City on the morning of the 13th of September. On the night of the 13th, after the evacuation of Maryland Heights, Colonel Miles directed Captain (now Major) Russell, of the Maryland Cavalry, to take with him a few men and endeavor to get through the enemy's lines and reach some of our forces—General McClellan, if possible—and to report the condition of Harper's Ferry, that it could not hold out more than forty-eight hours, unless reinforced, and to urge the sending of reinforcements.

"Captain Russell reached General McClellan's headquarters, at Frederick, at nine A.M. on Sunday, the 14th of September, and reported as directed by Colonel Miles. Immediately upon his arrival General McClellan sent off a messenger, as Captain Russell understood, to General Franklin.

"At ten A.M., Captain Russell left for General Franklin's command, with a communication to General Franklin from General McClellan. He reached General Franklin about three o'clock that afternoon, and found him engaged with the enemy at Crampton's Gap. The enemy were driven from the Gap, and the next morning, the 15th, General Franklin passed through the Gap, advancing about a mile, and finding the enemy drawn up in line of battle in his front, drew his own forces up in line of battle.

"While thus situated, the cannonading in the direction of Harper's Ferry, which had been heard very distinctly all the morning, Harper's Ferry being about seven miles distant, suddenly ceased, whereupon General Franklin sent word to General McClellan of the probable surrender of Harper's Ferry by Colonel Miles, and did not deem it necessary to proceed farther in that direction.

"The battle of South Mountain was fought on Sunday the 14th.

"On the same day, Sunday, during the afternoon, the enemy at Harper's Ferry attacked the extreme left of the line on Bolivar Heights, but after some time were repulsed by the troops under command of General White.

"Sunday night the cavalry at Harper's Ferry made their escape, under Colonel Davis, of the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry, by permission of Colonel Miles, and reached Greencastle, Pennsylvania, the next morning, capturing an ammunition train belonging to General Longstreet, consisting of some fifty or sixty wagons.

"Several of the infantry officers desired permission to cut their way out, at the same time the cavalry made their escape, but Colonel Miles refused upon the ground that he had never been ordered to hold Harper's Ferry to the last extremity.

"On the morning of the 15th the enemy opened their batteries from several points—seven to nine, as estimated by different witnesses—directing their attack principally upon our batteries on the left of Bolivar Heights. The attack commenced at daybreak. About seven o'clock Colonel Miles represented to General White that it would be necessary to surrender.

"General White suggested that the brigade commanders be called together, which was done. Colonel Miles stated that the ammunition for the batteries was exhausted, and he had about made up his mind to surrender. That was agreed to by all present, and General White was sent by Colonel Miles to arrange terms. The white flag was raised by order of Colonel Miles, but the enemy did not cease to fire for some half or three quarters of an hour after. Colonel Miles was mortally wounded after the white flag was raised. The

surrender was agreed upon about eight A.M. on Monday, the 15th of September.

"The following was the testimony respectively of the officers commanding batteries: At the time of the surrender Captain Von Schelein had some ammunition, could not tell what amount, but mostly shrapnel; had lost about 100 rounds on Saturday, the 13th, by the explosion of a limber, caused by one of the enemy's shells. Captain Rigby had expended, during the siege of Harper's Ferry, about 600 rounds, with the exception of canister; had nothing but canister left. Captain Potts had expended about 1,000 rounds, with the exception of canister; had only canister left. Captain Graham had but two guns of his battery under his immediate command on the morning of the surrender; had, probably, 100 rounds of all kinds, but no long-time fuses. Captain Phillips had expended all his ammunition, except some forty rounds of canister and some long-range shell too large for his guns. Captain McGrath's battery had been spiked and left on Maryland Heights on Saturday.

"It appears that during the siege, and shortly previous, Colonel Miles paroled several Confederate prisoners, permitting them to pass through our lines. During the week previous to the evacuation of Maryland Heights, a Lieutenant Rouse, of the Twelfth Virginia Cavalry, who had been engaged in a raid upon a train from Harper's Ferry to Winchester a short time before, was captured and brought into Harper's Ferry. He escaped while on the way to the hospital to have his wounds dressed, but was retaken. He was paroled, but returned in command of some rebel cavalry on the morning of the surrender.

"The attention of General A. P. Hill was called to the fact that Lieutenant Rouse was a paroled prisoner, but no attention was paid to it. Lieutenant Rouse himself, on being spoken to about it, laughed at the idea of observing his parole. On Saturday, the day of the attack upon and evacuation of Maryland Heights, Colonel Miles directed that sixteen Confederate prisoners be permitted to pass through our lines to rejoin the rebel army at Winchester. Other cases are testified to, but these are the most important.

"Of the subordinate officers referred to in this case, the Commission finds, with the exception of Colonel Thomas H. Ford, nothing in their conduct that calls for censure. General Julius White merited its approbation. He appears from the evidence to have acted with decided capability and courage.

"In this connection the Commission calls attention to the disgraceful behavior of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Infantry, and recommends that Major Baird should for his bad conduct, as shown by this evidence, be dismissed the service. Some of the officers, after the wounding of the gallant Colonel, such as Lieutenant Barras, and others not known to the Commission, behaved with gallantry, and should be commended.

"In the case of Colonel Ford, charged

with improper conduct in abandoning the Maryland Heights, the Commission, after a careful hearing of the evidence produced by the Government and that relied on by the defence, and a due consideration of the arguments offered by counsel, find:

"That on the 5th of September, Colonel Ford was placed in command of Maryland Heights by Colonel Miles. That Colonel Ford, finding the position unprepared by fortifications, earnestly urged Colonel Miles to furnish him means by which the heights could be made tenable for the small force under his command, should a heavy one be brought against him. That these reasonable demands were, from some cause unknown to the Commission, not responded to by the officer in command of Harper's Ferry. That subsequently, when the enemy appeared in heavy force, Colonel Ford frequently and earnestly called upon Colonel Miles for more troops, representing that he could not hold the heights unless reinforced. That these demands were feebly or not at all complied with. That as late as the morning of the 13th, Colonel Ford sent two written demands to Colonel Miles for reinforcements, and saying that with the troops then under his command he could not hold the heights, and unless relieved or otherwise ordered, he would have to abandon them. That as late as eleven o'clock A.M. of the 13th, a few hours previous to the abandonment of this position, Colonel Miles said to Colonel Ford that he (Colonel Ford) could not have another man, and must do the best he could, and if unable to defend the place, he must spike the guns, throw them down the hill, and withdraw to Harper's Ferry in good order.

"The Court is then satisfied that Colonel Ford was given a discretionary power to abandon the heights as his better judgment might dictate; and it believes from the evidence, circumstantial and direct, that the result did not to any great extent surprise nor in any way displease the officer in command at Harper's Ferry.

"But this conclusion, so much relied upon by the defence, forces the Commission to a consideration of the fact—did Colonel Ford, under the discretionary power thus vested in him, make a proper defence of the heights, and hold them, as he should have done, until driven off by the enemy?

"The evidence shows conclusively that the force upon the heights was not well managed; that the point most pressed was weakly defended as to numbers, and after the wounding of the colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Infantry, it was left without a competent officer in command, Colonel Ford himself not appearing, nor designating any one who might have restored order and encouraged the men; that the abandonment of the heights was premature is clearly proved. Our forces were not driven from the hill, as full time was given to spike the guns and throw the heavier ones down the cliff, and retreat in good order to Harper's Ferry. The

next day a force returning to the heights, found them unoccupied, and brought away, unmolested, four abandoned guns and a quantity of ammunition.

"In so grave a case as this, with such disgraceful consequences, the Court cannot permit an officer to shield himself behind the fact that he did as well as he could, if in so doing he exhibited a lack of military capacity. It is clear to the Commission that Colonel Ford should not have been placed in command on Maryland Heights; that he conducted the defence without ability, and abandoned his position without sufficient cause, and has shown throughout such a lack of military capacity as to disqualify him, in the opinion of the Commission, for a command in the service.

"The Commission has approached a consideration of Colonel D. S. Miles' conduct in connection with the surrender of Harper's Ferry with extreme reluctance. An officer who cannot appear before any earthly tribunal to answer or explain charges gravely affecting his character; who has met his death at the hands of the enemy, even upon the spot he disgracefully surrenders, is entitled to the tenderest care and most careful investigation. This the Commission has accorded Colonel Miles, and in giving a decision only repeats what runs through our 900 pages of testimony strangely unanimous upon the fact, that Colonel Miles' incapacity, amounting to almost imbecility, led to the shameful surrender of this important post.

"Early as the 15th of August he disobeys the orders of Major-General Wool to fortify Maryland Heights. When it is surrounded and attacked by the enemy, its naturally strong positions are unimproved, and from his criminal neglect, to use the mildest term, the large force of the enemy is almost upon an equality with the small force under his command.

"He seems to have understood, and admitted to his officers, that Maryland Heights is the key to the position, and yet he places Colonel Ford in command, with a feeble force—makes no effort to strengthen them by fortifications, although between the 5th and 14th of September there was ample time to do so; and to Colonel Ford's repeated demands for means to intrench and additional reinforcements, he makes either an inadequate return, or no response at all. He gives Colonel Ford a discretionary power as to when he shall abandon the heights — the fact of abandonment having, it seems, been concluded on in his own mind. For, when this unhappy event really occurs, his only exclamation was to the effect that he feared Colonel Ford had given up too soon—although he must have known that the abandonment of Maryland Heights was the surrender of Harper's Ferry. This leaving the key of the position to the keeping of Colonel Ford, with discretionary power, after the arrival of that capable and courageous officer who had waived his rank to serve wherever ordered, is one of the more striking facts illustrating the incapacity of Colonel Miles.

"Immediately previous to and pend-

ing the siege of Harper's Ferry, he paroles rebel prisoners and permits, indeed, sends them to the enemy's headquarters. This, too, when he should have known that the lack of ammunition, the bad conduct of some of our troops, the entire absence of fortifications, and the abandonment of Maryland Heights were important facts they could, and undoubtedly did, communicate to the enemy. Sixteen of these prisoners were paroled on the 13th, and a pass given them in the handwriting of Colonel Miles, while a rebel officer by the name of Rouse, after an escape is retaken, and subsequently has a private interview with Colonel Miles, is paroled, and after the surrender appears at the head of his men, among the first to enter Harper's Ferry.

"It is not necessary to accumulate evidence from the mass that throughout scarcely affords one fact in contradiction to what each one establishes, that Colonel Miles was incapable of conducting a defence so important as was this of Harper's Ferry. The Commission would not have dwelt upon this painful subject were it not for the fact that the officer who placed this incapable in command should share in the responsibility, and in the opinion of the Commission, Major-General Wool is guilty to this extent of a grave disaster, and should be censured for his conduct.

"The Commission has remarked freely on Colonel Miles, an old officer who has been killed in the service of his country, and it cannot, from any motives of delicacy, refrain from censuring those in high command, when it thinks such censure deserved. The General-in-Chief has testified that General McClellan, after having received orders to repel the enemy invading the State of Maryland, marched only six miles per day, on an average, when pursuing this invading enemy. The General-in-Chief also testifies that, in his opinion, General McClellan could and should have relieved and protected Harper's Ferry, and in this opinion the Commission fully concur.

"The evidence thus introduced confirms the Commission in the opinion that Harper's Ferry, as well as Maryland Heights, was prematurely surrendered. The garrison should have been satisfied that relief, however long delayed, would come at last, and that 1,000 men killed in Harper's Ferry would have made a small loss, had the post been saved, and probably saved 2,000 at Antietam. How important was this defence we can now appreciate. Of the 97,000 men composing at that time the whole of Lee's army, more than one-third were attacking Harper's Ferry. And of this the main body was in Virginia. By reference to the evidence, it will be seen that at the very moment Colonel Ford abandoned Maryland Heights, his little army was in reality relieved by Generals Franklin and Sumner's corps at Crampton's Gap, within seven miles of his position; and that after the surrender of Harper's Ferry no time was given to parole prisoners before 20,000 troops were hurried from Virginia, and the entire force went off on the double quick to relieve Lee, who

was being attacked at Antietam. Had the garrison been slower to surrender, or the Army of the Potomac swifter to march, the enemy would have been forced to raise the siege, or would have been taken in detail, with the Potomac dividing his forces."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The People at the North disappointed at the Results of the Battle of Antietam.—No renewal of the Conflict.—Both Antagonists wearied with the Fight.—Lee crosses with his whole Army into Maryland.—Inactivity.—Reoccupation by the Federals of Harper's Ferry.—Losses of Pope.—Losses of McClellan.—What the Enemy took at Harper's Ferry.—A Dash by the Enemy into Pennsylvania.—Stuart's Report of his Expedition.—Pursuit by General Pleasanton.—Causes of its Failure.—McClellan ordered to Advance.—His Delay.—His Excuses.—Lee allowed to escape.—Jackson left on watch.—Cautious Advance of McClellan.—McClellan removed from Command.—His successor, Burnside.—Influence brought to bear on Lincoln's supposed reluctance.—Removal of McClellan, why determined upon.—Justification of the act.—Halleck's Letter accusing McClellan of Disobedience of Orders.—Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.—His Plan of Organization.—Preparing for an active Winter Campaign.

THE people of the North believing that a victory had been gained by their army in the great battle of Antietam, were disappointed in its immediate results. The enemy, it is true, had been foiled in the main object of their invasion of Maryland, that of rousing the State to rebellion, but this failure was as much due to the impassiveness of her people as to the activity of our troops.

1862.

It had been hoped that General McClellan would have succeeded either in capturing the army of General Lee, or so far routing it as to render it incapable of serious resistance and of continuing to obstruct the approach to Richmond.

So severely, however, had both armies felt the shock of the fierce contest, that on the day after neither seemed disposed to renew the conflict, and during the night General Lee withdrew his whole army across the Potomac, "saving all his transportation, and carrying off all his wounded but 300." * **Sep. 18.**

Having reached the Virginia side of the upper Potomac, the enemy made so firm a stand that they succeeded in resisting for a long time every attempt on the part of McClellan to cross the river in force, and even ventured to make some offensive demonstrations in Maryland with their cavalry. The two armies now remained with the river between them, confronting each other, and awaiting the development of the plans of their leaders.

Occasional skirmishing took place, but the only immediate movement of importance was the occupation by our troops of Harper's Ferry, which had been abandoned by the enemy, who concentrated

* Dispatch from McClellan's headquarters, Sept. 10.

their forces more to the north, where they were busy in destroying the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and to the west, toward Winchester, which they had established as the basis of their operations.

It is difficult, from the want of precision in the various reports, to give anything but a conjectural estimate of the losses in the various battles of Pope's and McClellan's campaigns. The former reported his total loss in the single battle of Bull Run to be 8,000. 30,000, in killed, wounded, and missing would not be, perhaps, an exaggerated estimate of the loss sustained by our troops during the disastrous campaign of Pope, from the battle of Cedar Mountain to that of Chantilly.

McClellan has given this statement of his and the enemy's losses in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam:

"At South Mountain," he said, "our loss was 443 dead, 1,806 wounded, and 76 missing. Total, 2,325.

"At Antietam our loss was 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,046 missing. Total, 12,469.

"Total loss in the two battles, 14,794.

"The loss of the rebels in the two battles, as near as can be ascertained from the number of their dead found upon the field and from other data, will not fall short of the following estimate:

"Major Davis, assistant inspector-general, who superintends the burial of the dead, reports about 3,000 rebels buried upon the field of Antietam by our troops.

"Previous to this, however, the rebels had buried many of their own dead upon the distant portion of the battle-field, which they occupied after the battle—probably at least 500.

"The loss of the rebels at South Mountain cannot be ascertained with accuracy, but as our troops continually drove them from the commencement of the action, and as a much greater number of their dead were seen on the field than of our own men, it is not unreasonable to suppose that their loss was greater than ours.

"Estimating their killed at 500, the total rebels killed in the two battles would be 4,000. According to the ratio of our killed and wounded, this would make their loss in wounded 18,642.

"As nearly as can be determined at this time, the number of prisoners taken by our troops in the two battles will, at the lowest estimate, amount to 5,000. The full returns will no doubt show a larger number. Of these, 1,200 are wounded.

"This gave a rebel loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of 25,542. It will be observed that this does not include their stragglers, the number of whom is said to be large.

"It may be safely concluded, therefore, that the rebel army lost at least 30,000 of their best troops.

"From the time our troops first encountered the enemy in Maryland until he was driven back into Virginia, we captured thirteen guns, seven caissons, nine limbers, two field-forges, two caisson bodies, thirty-nine colors, and one signal flag. We have not lost a single gun or a color.

"On the battle-field of Antietam 14,000 small-arms were collected, besides the large number carried off by citizens and those distributed on the ground to recruits and other unarmed men arriving after the battle.

"At South Mountain no collection of small-arms was made, but owing to the haste of the pursuit from that point, 4,000 were taken on the opposite side of the Potomac."

McClellan, in a subsequent "general order," October 3d, 1862, claimed to have captured in the battle of Antietam "14 guns, 39 colors, 15,500 stand of arms, and nearly 6,000 prisoners."

The great prize of Harper's Ferry, with all its garrison and munitions of war, gave a great preponderance of captures in favor of the enemy. The spoils they obtained in the course of the two campaigns have been computed to amount to 50,000 stand of arms and 100 pieces of artillery!*

The first sign of activity after the battle of Antietam was given by the enemy, whose cavalry, with characteristic enterprise, made a dash into Pennsylvania. General Stuart, in this his official report, narrates with apparent truthfulness the incidents of the spirited expedition of which he was the leader:

"HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY DIVISION,
October 14, 1862.

"COLONEL R. H. CHILTON, A. A. GENERAL, ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA:

"COLONEL: I have the honor to report
Oct. 9. that on the 9th instant, in compliance with instructions from the Commanding General Army Northern Virginia, I proceeded on an expedition into Pennsylvania, with a cavalry force of 1,800 and four pieces of horse-artillery, under command of Brigadier-General Hampton and Colonels W. H. F. Lee and Jones. This force rendezvoused at Darksville at twelve M., and marched thence to the vicinity of Hedgeville, where it camped for the night. At daylight next morning (October 10th) I crossed the Potomac at McCoy's, between Williamsport and Hancock, with some little opposition, capturing two or three horses of the enemy's pickets. We were told here by citizens that a large force had camped the night before at Clear Spring, and were supposed to be *en route* to Cumberland. We proceeded northward until we reached the turnpike leading from Hagerstown to Hancock, known as the National road. Here was a signal station on the mountain, and most of the party, with their flags and apparatus, were surprised and captured, and also eight or ten prisoners of war, from whom, as well as from citizens, I found that the large force alluded to had crossed but an hour ahead of me, toward Cumberland, and consisted of six regiments of Ohio troops and two batteries, under General Cox, and were *en route*, *via* Cumberland, for the Kanawha. I sent back this intelligence at once to the Commanding General. Striking directly across the National road, I proceeded in the direction of Mercersburg, Pa., which point was reached about noon. I was extremely anxious to reach Hagerstown, where

* Correspondent of New York *Times*.

large supplies were stored, but was satisfied, from reliable information, that the notice the enemy had of my approach, and the proximity of his forces, would enable him to prevent my capturing it. I therefore turned toward Chambersburg. I did not reach this point till after dark, in a rain. I did not deem it safe to defer the attack till morning, nor was it proper to attack a place full of women and children without summoning it first to surrender. I accordingly sent in a flag of truce, and found no military or civil authority in the place; but some prominent citizens who met the officer were notified that the place would be occupied, and if any resistance were made the place would be shelled in three minutes. Brigadier-General Wade Hampton's command being in advance, took possession of the place, and I appointed him military governor of the city. No incidents occurred during the night, during which it rained continuously. The officials all fled the town on our approach, and no one could be found who would admit that he held office in the place. About 275 sick and wounded in hospitals were parolled. During the day a large number of horses of citizens were seized and brought along. The wires were cut, and railroads were obstructed. Next morning it was ascertained that a large number of small-arms and munitions of war were stored about the railroad buildings, all of which, that could not be easily brought away, were destroyed, consisting of about 5,000 new muskets, pistols, sabres, ammunition; also, a large assortment of army clothing. The extensive machine shops and dépôt buildings of the railroad, and several trains of loaded cars, were entirely destroyed. From Chambersburg I decided, after mature consideration, to strike for the vicinity of Leesburg, as the best route of return, particularly as Cox's command would have rendered the direction of Cumberland, full of mountain gorges, particularly hazardous. The route selected was through an open country. Of course I left nothing undone to prevent the inhabitants from detecting my real route and object. I started directly toward Gettysburg, but having passed the Blue Ridge, turned back toward Hagerstown for six or eight miles, and then crossed to Maryland by Emmettsburg, where, as we passed, we were hailed by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. A scouting party of 150 lancers had just passed toward Gettysburg, and I regret exceedingly that my march did not admit of the delay necessary to catch them. Taking the road toward Frederick, we intercepted dispatches from Colonel Rush (lancers) to the commander of the scout, which satisfied me that our whereabouts was still a problem to the enemy.

"Before reaching Frederick, I crossed the Monocacy, continued the march through the night, *via* Liberty, New Market, Monrovia, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where we cut the telegraph wires and obstructed the railroad. We reached, at daylight, Hyattstown, on McClellan's line of wagon communi-

cation with Washington, but we found only a few wagons to capture, and pushed on to Barnesville, which we found just vacated by a company of the enemy's cavalry. We had here corroborated what we had heard before, that Stoneman had between 4,000 and 5,000 troops about Poolesville and guarding the river fords. I started directly for Poolesville, but instead of marching upon that point, avoided it by marching through the woods, leaving it two or three miles to my left, and getting into the road from Poolesville to the mouth of the Monocacy. Guarding well my flanks and rear, I pushed boldly forward, meeting the head of the enemy's column going toward Poolesville. I ordered the charge, which was responded to in handsome style by the advance squadron (Irving's) of Lee's brigade, which drove back the enemy's cavalry upon the column of infantry advancing to occupy the crest from which the cavalry were driven. Quick as thought Lee's sharpshooters sprang to the ground, and engaging the infantry skirmishers, held them in check till the artillery in advance came up, which, under the gallant Pelham, drove back the enemy's force to his batteries beyond the Monocacy, between which and our solitary gun quite a spirited fire continued for some time. This answered, in connection with the high crest occupied by our piece, to screen entirely my real movement quickly to the left, making a bold and rapid strike for White's Ford, to make my way across before the enemy at Poolesville and Monocacy could be aware of my design. Although delayed somewhat by about 200 infantry strongly posted in the cliffs over the ford, yet they yielded to the moral effect of a few shells before engaging our sharpshooters, and the crossing of the canal (now dry) and river was effected with all the precision of passing a defile on drill, a section of artillery being sent with the advance and placed in position on the Loudon side, another piece on the Maryland Height, while Pelham continued to occupy the attention of the enemy with the other, withdrawing from position to position until his piece was ordered to cross. The enemy was marching from Poolesville in the mean time, but came up in line of battle on the Maryland bank only to receive a thundering salutation, with evident effect, from our guns on this side. I lost not a man killed on the expedition, and only a few slight wounds. The enemy's loss is not known; but Pelham's one gun compelled the enemy's battery to change its position three times. The remainder of the march was destitute of interest. The conduct of the command and their behavior toward the inhabitants is worthy the highest praise; a few individual cases only were exceptions in this particular.

"Brigadier-General Hampton and Colonels Lee, Jones, Wickham, and Butler, and the officers and men under their command, are entitled to my lasting gratitude for their coolness in danger and cheerful obedience to orders. Unoffending persons were treated with civility, and the inhabitants were generous

in proffers of provisions on the march. We seized and brought over a large number of horses, the property of citizens of the United States.

"The valuable information obtained in this reconnoissance as to the distribution of the enemy's force was communicated orally to the Commanding General, and need not be here repeated. A number of public functionaries and prominent citizens were taken captives and brought over as hostages for our own unoffending citizens whom the enemy has torn from their homes and confined in dungeons in the North. One or two of my men lost their way, and are probably in the hands of the enemy.

"The results of this expedition, in a moral and political point of view, can hardly be estimated, and the consternation among property holders in Pennsylvania beggars description.

"I am especially indebted to Captain B. S. White (C. S. Cavalry), and to Mr. ——— and Mr. ———, whose skilful guidance was of immense service to me. My staff are entitled to my thanks for untiring energy in the discharge of their duties.

"Believing that the hand of God was clearly manifested in the signal deliverance of my command from danger, and the crowning success attending it, I ascribe to Him the praise, the honor, and the glory.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. E. B. Stuart,

"Major-General Commanding Cavalry."

An energetic effort of the Union cavalry under General Pleasanton to intercept General Stuart in his audacious enterprise proved abortive, from a failure in combination and consequent want of force.

Though General McClellan had been peremptorily ordered by the commander-in-chief, General Halleck, on the 6th of October, "to cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south," he lingered at Harper's Ferry with his large army until near the close of the month, excusing his delay on the score that his troops were in want of supplies. Finally, however, he began a series of strategic movements, but notwithstanding his efforts by closing the gaps of the Blue Ridge to shut up the enemy within the valley of the Shenandoah, they succeeded in eluding his elaborate but fruitless designs. General Lee having anticipated the dilatory movements of the Union army, was enabled to move his main body to the south bank of the Rappahannock, leaving, however, a strong force under Jackson in the valley of the Shenandoah, to menace the flank of the Union army. A rear-guard of cavalry, under General Stuart, had, by activity and skilfulness of manœuvre, concealed and secured Lee's escape. Demonstrations of resistance were made at the various gaps of the Blue Ridge, but only to delude and delay McClellan. When this object was accomplished, each pass in turn was yielded to the Union army, whose cautious advance was only checked by an occasional skirmish. McClellan had thus slowly felt his way as far as Warrenton,

which was taken possession of, without opposition, on the 6th of November, when he was suddenly arrested in his campaign by being removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac. General Burnside was at once appointed his successor.

Nov. 8.

The removal of McClellan had been long urged upon the President by many of his political friends, who were either persuaded of the young General's incapacity, or averse to him as the supposed military representative of the Democratic party. Mr. Lincoln was slow to yield to the constantly reiterated attempts to overthrow a commander who was not only acceptable to himself personally, but a favorite with the army and the people.

The resistance of the President was at last overcome when it became manifest that General McClellan had failed to meet the expectations of the country at the opening of the new campaign in Virginia. To reconcile public opinion to this overthrow of a popular idol, a justification of the act was presented in the form of a letter addressed by the Commander-in-Chief to the Secretary of War. In this document General Halleck declares, "On the 1st of October, finding that he (McClellan) purposed to operate from Harper's Ferry, I urged him to cross the river at once and give battle to the enemy, pointing out to him the disadvantages of delaying till the autumn rains had swollen the Potomac and impaired the roads. On the 6th of October he was peremptorily ordered to 'cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army *must* move now, while the roads are good.' "

These orders were not obeyed by General McClellan, on the plea of a want of supplies. This excuse for assuming the grave responsibility of disobedience was met by the declaration of General Halleck that, "in my opinion, there has been no such want of supplies in the army under General McClellan as to prevent his compliance with the order to advance against the enemy. Had he moved to the south side of the Potomac, he could have received his supplies almost as readily as by remaining inactive on the north."

The first step taken by General Burnside after assuming the command of the Army of the Potomac was the organization of his main force into three grand divisions, each consisting of two *corps d'armée*. The division on the right was placed under the command of General Sumner, that on the left under General Franklin, and that of the centre under General Hooker, while a large body of reserve was commanded by General Sigel. With his army thus reorganized, Burnside made ready to carry on an active winter campaign in Virginia against the enemy under Lee, prepared to dispute the approach to Richmond, their capital.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Enemy concentrating their Forces in the West.—General Kirby Smith's March into Kentucky.—Bragg at Chattanooga.—His Designs.—Morgan guiding Smith.—Success of Smith.—Attack on the Unionists at Richmond (Ky.).—Manson forced to Retreat.—General Nelson to the Rescue.—Continued Retreat of the Unionists.—Advance of Smith.—The borders of Ohio reached.—The Alarm in Ohio.—Great Preparations for Defence.—Smith falls back into the Interior of Kentucky.—Guerrillas on the Ohio River.—Junction of Marshall with Smith.—March of Bragg into Kentucky.—Buell in danger of being flanked.—His March to overtake Bragg.—Bragg eludes him.—Bragg's artful Address.—Bragg captures Munfordsville.—Bragg secures a junction with Smith.—Agitation at Louisville.—Preparations for Defence.—Buell arrives in time to save Louisville.—Trouble in the Army.—Assassination of General Nelson.—Buell removed and restored.—Buell marches to attack Bragg.—Bragg retires.—Possession of Frankfort by Bragg, and Installation of a Provisional Governor of Kentucky.—Battle of Perryville.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Non-pursuit of Buell.—Bragg's booty.—Official Report of Buell.

PRESUMING upon the success of the cavalry raids of the audacious Morgan and other guerrilla chiefs, the enemy determined to concentrate their scattered forces in the West, and execute their design of invading Kentucky and threatening the free States bordering on the Ohio. **1862.**

General Kirby Smith, gathering to his standard the various guerrilla bands, of which Morgan and his men formed an effective part, and the detached parties which had been hovering about the borders of Kentucky and Tennessee, succeeded in mustering a considerable number of troops, with which he marched, through Rogers' and Big Creek gaps of the Cumberland Mountains, into Kentucky.

This force was to act as the vanguard of the Confederate army at Chattanooga, in the southern part of Tennessee, under General Bragg, who was manœuvring to elude the vigilance of General Buell at Huntsville, and follow Kirby Smith, with whom he proposed to form a junction in Kentucky.

The route in Kentucky having been so lately explored by the adventurous Morgan, he now acted as the guide of Smith, and led the way with confidence. Fully informed of the position and force of the Union troops in Kentucky, and intimately conversant with the feeling of the people of the State, he knew where to strike his enemies in their weakness and to meet his friends in their strength.

The expedition, thus directed by the experience of Morgan, met with unexampled success. Passing rapidly into the interior of Kentucky, and increasing in strength as he moved, Smith appeared before Richmond with 10,000 men. General Manson, in command of the Union forces at that place, under-estimating the strength of the enemy, marched out to meet them with a single brigade of raw troops, but was soon forced to retreat before superior numbers. Major-General Nelson, the chief in command of the Union forces in Kentucky, was now summoned to the rescue. **Aug. 30.**

"Immediately after I received General Manson's dispatch," says the General, "I rode to the field—riding fifty-two miles to get there. I arrived, alone, at two o'clock P.M., and found the troops remaining with General Manson in a disorderly retreat. By great exertion I succeeded in rallying about 2,200 men, and took a strong position. The enemy attacked in front and on both flanks at once; at the third or fourth round the men, already much demoralized, broke and fled."

General Nelson did not hesitate to charge his subordinate with the responsibility of the defeat, declaring—

"The action was brought on by General Manson, who was in command at Richmond, against my instructions and against the instructions of General Wright, the commander of the department, which were, that the troops being new, were not to be risked in action until some time had been spent in drill and discipline."

"No report was made to me," he adds, "of the approach of the enemy in force till half-past two o'clock on Saturday morning, the day of the fight. I immediately ordered a retreat along the Lancaster road, in order that the two brigades from Richmond might join the brigade marching from Lexington to that point, and to join General Dumont, who was ordered to march to Danville from Lebanon. There would then have been 16,000 men at Lancaster, Danville, and Camp Dick Robinson, in a triangle of two equal sides of eight miles, and all these connected by good turnpike roads. The enemy would not have dared to pass the Kentucky River with this force on his flank. But General Manson, without notifying me, marched five miles to the front, with one brigade, to meet the enemy. Supposing their force to be 2,500 strong, he met them from 10,000 to 12,000 strong."

In this untoward engagement in front of Richmond 2,000 Union troops were captured and 200 killed and wounded. Among the latter was General Nelson himself.

As the enemy, after their triumph near Richmond, continued to advance, the Union troops fell back, successively evacuating Lexington, Frankfort, the capital of the State of Kentucky, Shelbyville, Paris, and Cynthiana. Kirby Smith followed rapidly, occupying each of these places in turn, and finding the route clear, marched almost without opposition to the banks of the Ohio, where he took possession of Maysville, and even ventured to send his guerrilla and reconnoitring parties across the river. The people of Ohio became greatly alarmed lest their State should be invaded, but made spirited and energetic preparations to resist the enemy. The militia throughout Ohio mustered in force, and the citizens of Cincinnati, which seemed especially exposed to danger, showed great zeal in efforts to avert it.

Martial law was declared, all business suspended, and every capable citizen was called to arms or to work at the intrenchments and fortifications which were being hastily constructed to defend the

city. General Wallace was in command, and energetically superintended the preparations for defence. Kirby Smith, however, after having advanced his main body to within a day's march of Cincinnati, gave up his supposed purpose of attacking that city, and withdrawing his advance from Maysville, on the Ohio River, fell back, on the 12th of September, with his whole army, toward Frankfort and Lexington.

Sep. 6.

"Last night"—we quote from the Cincinnati *Enquirer* of September 8th—"closed the most eventful week that was ever seen in the history of Cincinnati. It was a week that will never be forgotten—a grand historical week that will always be referred to as an important incident of this troublous era. For the first time in more than half a century, Cincinnati has been menaced with invasion—a deadly and ruthless foe has threatened to establish himself within our gates. The only parallel is to be found in its early days, when the little settlement was in fear of an Indian attack, and when the men slept upon their arms to repel it.

"The week that has passed opened under circumstances that have been greatly improved, thanks to the vigorous measures taken by General Wallace, and those under him. We are now in a condition to give the foe a proper reception—to 'welcome him with bloody hands to hospitable graves,' if he directs his steps toward the banks of the Ohio. Our whole male population, assisted by thousands from the interior, are united in an earnest determination that, come what will, this city must not be taken. Fighting for our homes and our firesides, and contending for the constitution and the Union, we surely cannot fail, and, what is more, we will not."

Though the army under General Kirby Smith had fallen back into the interior of Kentucky, the detached cavalry bands of the enemy continued to operate upon the northern border. As late as the 27th of September these marauders attacked Augusta, on the Ohio River, and though spiritedly resisted by the Home Guards, captured the town, and after loading themselves with booty, set fire to the place.

Kirby Smith having been reinforced by the troops from southwestern Virginia, under Humphrey Marshall, was now manœuvring with this united force to form a junction with Bragg, who had succeeded, by eluding General Buell, in marching into Kentucky.

The army under General Bragg, computed to be 30,000 strong, evacuated Chattanooga early in August, and commenced its advance to the north. Soon after General Buell, who was thus in danger of being flanked, abandoned Huntsville, Stevenson, Battle Creek, Decherd, and other points which he held on the boundary line between Tennessee and Alabama, and strove to overtake Bragg. The latter, however, succeeded in reaching Kentucky before his pursuer, and after addressing the following artful appeal to the people, on entering the State, advanced into the interior.

Aug. 22.

Sep. 18.

GLASGOW, KY., *September* 18, 1862.

"KENTUCKIANS: I have entered your State with the Confederate Army of the West, and offer you an opportunity to free yourselves from the tyranny of a despotic ruler. We come, not as conquerors or despoilers, but to restore to you the liberties of which you have been deprived by a cruel and relentless foe. We come to guarantee to all the sanctity of their homes and altars; to punish with a rod of iron the despoilers of your peace, and to avenge the cowardly insults to your women. With all non-combatants the past shall be forgotten. I shall enforce a rigid discipline, and shall protect all in their persons and property. Needful supplies must be had for my army, but they shall be paid for at fair and remunerative prices.

"Believing that the heart of Kentucky is with us in our great struggle for constitutional freedom, we have transferred from our own soil to yours, not a band of marauders, but a powerful and well-disciplined army. Your gallant Buckner leads the van. Marshall is on the right, while Breckinridge, dear to us as to you, is advancing with Kentucky's valiant sons to receive the honor and applause due to their heroism. The strong hands which in part have sent Shiloh down to history, and the nerved arms which have kept at bay from our own homes the boastful army of the enemy, are here to assist, to sustain, to liberate you. Will you remain indifferent to our call? or will you not rather vindicate the fair fame of your once free and envied State? We believe that you will, and that the memory of your gallant dead who fell at Shiloh, their faces turned homeward, will rouse you to a manly effort for yourselves and posterity.

"Kentuckians! We have come with joyous hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall if we find you wedded in your choice to your present lot. If you prefer Federal rule, show it by your frowns, and we shall return whence we came. If you choose rather to come within the folds of our brotherhood, then cheer us with the smiles of your women, and lend your willing hands to secure you in your heritage of liberty.

"Women of Kentucky! Your persecutions and heroic bearing have reached our ears. Banish henceforth, forever, from your minds the fear of loathsome prisons or insulting visitations. Let your enthusiasm have free rein. Buckle on the armor of your kindred, your husbands, sons, and brothers, and scoff with shame him who would prove recreant in his duty to you, his country, and his God. BRAXTON BRAGG,

"General Commanding."

Bragg's first hostile movement was to send a detachment against Munfordsville, garrisoned by a single brigade of Union troops, in command of Colonel Wilder. Repulsed on their first attack, the enemy finally surrounded the place with a large force, and forced it to capitulate.

"On Saturday night, about one o'clock (September 13th)," says a correspondent of the Louisville *Democrat*, who was an eye-witness of the attack on Munfordsville, "the rebels, eleven regiments

strong, under General Chalmers, appeared in front of the fortifications, and sent in a flag of truce demanding a surrender. Colonel Wilder replied that his business was to hold the place, and he should do so until whipped out.

"As soon as it was light the rebels opened on the works with artillery, from the heights on the south, with five pieces, and from the north with two mountain howitzers.

"The guns from the works—four in number—replied with terrible effect, silencing all the rebels' guns but three, after some two hours.

"Being foiled in their attempt to shell out the works, the rebels threw out their whole available infantry force against the whole line of works, and were repulsed with terrible loss five successive times, and finally withdrew, sending back a flag of truce for permission to bury their dead, which was granted. In this fight our loss in killed and wounded was 33. The rebels admit a loss of 700.

"Again, on Tuesday morning, the rebSep. 16. els appeared on the south side of the river, and made demonstrations as if to renew the onset, driving in our pickets at about half-past nine A.M., sending forward sharpshooters, and firing an occasional shell into the works. Our forces replied at intervals, reserving the fire, except when the enemy would approach within range. Thus matters lasted for three or more hours, when Colonel Dunham, growing tired of fighting without any result on either side, sent out three or four companies from the Fiftieth and Sixtieth Indiana as skirmishers, to draw them up, but to no effect, and at about five P.M. the firing ceased on both sides, without any serious result to either side only some two of our skirmishers being killed.

"The result showed that the demonstration on Tuesday was only designed to attract the attention of Colonel Dunham, while a heavy column of Bragg's forces crossed Green River above, and moving down, secured the heights on the north, which effectually commanded the works, which movement was effected, and on Wednesday morning Colonel Dunham found himself completely surrounded by an overwhelming force, and had no alternative but to surrender or Sep. 17. literally murder his entire command. He very properly did the former at six A.M. on Wednesday. The forces surrendered were the Sixty-seventh, Eighty-ninth, and Sixtieth Indiana, about 400 of the Fiftieth, two companies each of the Seventeenth and Seventy-first Indiana, one company First Wisconsin, one company Louisville Provost Guards, ten pieces of artillery, with men, and about 70 recruits for the Thirty-third Kentucky infantry, in all about 4,600."

By the capture of Munfordsville, General Bragg secured his communications with Kirby Smith at the north, and had thus outmanœuvred General Buell, whose object was to prevent such a junction, but who had arrived too late to overtake his antagonist. The latter had reached Glasgow before Buell had even got to Bowling Green, some thirty miles to the west of the former place.

Louisville, already agitated by the advance of Kirby Smith toward the Ohio River, became, on the approach of Bragg, still more disturbed. Thither, on the evacuation of Frankfort, the capital, had hurried the State officials with the public archives, the bankers with their treasure, the loyal Governor, and members of the Legislature. Every citizen was called to "rally to the defence of his State, and strike a blow for the defence of his native land, property, and home." General Nelson, who had been forced to retire before Kirby Smith, had concentrated his retreating troops at Louisville, and with the aid of the loyal citizens, energetically prepared to defend the city. Intrenchments and fortifications were rapidly constructed, and an easy communication with the opposite shore of Indiana established by a bridge of boats, in order to secure reinforcements from the north, or a means of retreat, as the emergency of the case might require.

General Buell, persuaded that Louisville was in danger, now hastened to that city, eager to anticipate the threatened approach of General Bragg. On the advance of the Union army the enemy evacuated Munfordsville, without destroying the bridge across the Green River, and moving to Bardstown on the east, left the route clear to Louisville, **Sep. 25.** where Buell finally arrived, greatly to the satisfaction of the citizens. "We think," said the Louisville *Journal* of the 25th of September, "we may say a word of encouragement to our citizens this morning. We believe that the crisis has passed, and that our city is now guarded by at least 100,000 soldiers."

Though Louisville was thus relieved from anxiety in regard to the enemy without, the city became again agitated by dissensions within. A quarrel **Sep. 29.** took place between General Nelson, of Kentucky, and Jefferson C. Davis, of Indiana, which was tragically closed by the assassination of the former by the latter.

This unhappy dispute being revived by the friends of the two generals and assumed by the soldiers, threatened for a while to embroil the Union camp in a partisan feud. The disorder which ensued was momentarily increased by the sudden removal of General Buell from the chief command. His principal officers, however, having interposed in his favor, the Government restored him to his former position. Buell now devoted himself with such energy to the restoration of order and the reorganization*

* A correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, writing from Louisville, October 1st, says:

"Under the new organization the army is now composed as follows:

"FIRST CORPS—MAJOR-GENERAL McCOOK COMMANDING.

"Second Division—Brigadier-General Sill (formerly Colonel Second Ohio).

"Third Division—Brigadier-General Rousseau.

"Tenth Division—Brigadier-General Jackson.

"SECOND CORPS—MAJOR-GENERAL CRITTENDEN COMMANDING.

"Fourth Division (Nelson's old)—Brigadier-General Smith (formerly Colonel First Ohio).

"Fifth Division—Brigadier-General Van Ilroe (formerly Colonel Second Maryland).

"Sixth Division—Brigadier-General Wood.

"THIRD CORPS—MAJOR-GENERAL GILBERT (FORMERLY THOMAS).

"Third Division—Brigadier-General Schoepff.

"Ninth Division—Brigadier-General Mitchell, of Kansas.

of his army, that in the course of a few days he was enabled to march out to meet the enemy.

Bragg had in the meanwhile advanced his main body to Bardstown, and thrown his advance some eight miles forward in the direction of Louisville.

The enemy, however, on the approach of Buell's formidable army, began to retire, and successively evacuated Frankfort, Lexington, and Bardstown. Bragg's abandonment of the capital was preceded by an affectation of permanence of occupation which his subsequent action strangely contradicted. On Saturday, October 4th, he installed Richard Hawes as Provisional Governor of Kentucky, with imposing military ceremonies, and on the next day fled from Frankfort. Bragg, closely pursued by Buell, continued to retreat until he reached Perryville, about forty miles south of Frankfort. Here he turned upon the advance of the Union army, when a severe battle ensued.

Oct. 4.

Oct. 8.

General Alexander McDowell McCook, who commanded the *corps d'armée* which engaged Bragg's army at Perryville or Chaplin Hills, gave the following report of the battle:

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST CORPS ARMY OF THE OHIO, CAMP NEAR CRAB ORCHARD, *October* 13, 1862.

"COLONEL JAMES B. FRY, CHIEF OF STAFF:

"SIR: I have the honor to report that, in compliance with written instructions from you, dated October 7, 1862, eight o'clock A.M., and received by me at my camp at Nashville at half-past two o'clock A.M. on the morning of the 8th, I marched, at five o'clock A.M., on the road to Perryville. I had but a portion of my corps with me—Rousseau's and Jackson's divisions, the second division, under General Gill, having been detached at Louisville, to march upon Frankfort. The tenth division, General Jackson commanding, was entitled to the advance, but being composed entirely of new troops, I ordered General Rousseau's division to take the lead. General Rousseau was ordered to march with great caution, in view of the known presence of the enemy in force at Harrodsburg, and also of your letter informing me that the enemy would resist your advance into Perryville, and that you intended to attack them that day. Hearing the report of artillery soon after my troops had commenced

"Eleventh Division—Brigadier-General Dumont.

"General Buell is commander-in-chief, and General Thomas second in command of the whole.

"Each of the divisions is composed of three brigades, with the exception of General Jackson's, which is wholly composed of new regiments, of four old and one new regiment each. A powerful complement of artillery and cavalry is also attached to each corps.

"The reserve force to be formed at this point out of raw regiments already arrived and to arrive, will be under the command of Brigadier-General Boyle. Two additional divisions, at least, will be organized.

"A fourth army corps will be formed at Cincinnati, under Major-General Granger, to consist of the division of General Morgan, from the Cumberland Gap, now on its way to the Ohio River over a route to the east of Lexington, and the new troops in camp at Newport and Covington. The fourth corps will operate along the Kentucky Central Railroad, and converge with the other three in the central part of the State.

"With the seventh and eighth divisions of Generals Negley and Paine, now garrisoning Nashville, the Army of the Ohio will consist, after the formation of the fourth corps, of no less than eighteen divisions—a force more than twice as large as that arrayed last fall upon the soil of Kentucky."

marching, our movements were hastened.

"Macksville is equidistant from Harrodsburg and Perryville, the distance being ten miles. My instructions required me to advance on the Perryville road until I reached a point three or three and a half miles from Perryville, or until I came up abreast of Gilbert's corps. The head of my column reached the point designated at half-past ten A.M. General Rousseau advanced his cavalry and a portion of his infantry to the front, in order to see if the ground were clear. The artillery (Loomis' battery) was halted on the hill in rear. General Rousseau soon sent me word that the enemy was reported advancing in force on the position assigned my corps. I rode forward and examined the ground, and saw a few of the enemy skirmishing with the left of General Gilbert's corps. My attention was then directed to General Gilbert's left. I saw his infantry in line about 400 or 500 yards to our right. I called General Rousseau's attention to this fact, marked out my line of battle, and ordered him to form it.

"I directed Loomis' battery to be brought up and put in position on a commanding piece of ground, to the left of and near Russell's house (called Clark's on the map). I had previously ordered General Rousseau to throw forward a line of skirmishers to examine the woods on our left and front, and also sent Captain Wickliffe, with his company of the Second Kentucky Cavalry, to reconnoitre on the left of the skirmishers. General Gay's cavalry, attached to Gilbert's corps, was making a reconnoissance in front and toward Perryville. I was then well satisfied that the enemy, which had engaged Gilbert's left, had retired from the field. I then informed General Rousseau that my instructions required me to report in person to General Buell, and that I was about to leave the field, but would return in a short time.

"I had given particular instructions to Captain J. A. Campbell, my assistant adjutant-general, to post General Jackson's two brigades on a commanding piece of ground immediately to the right of the Macksville and Perryville road, to hold them there in column so that they could be wound in any direction occasion required. I then galloped off to report to General Buell, whose headquarters were about two and a half miles in rear and right of my line. I received verbal instructions from General Buell to make a reconnoissance down to Chaplin River. I returned immediately to my command, and found that General Rousseau had advanced the line on the right, occupying a commanding ridge about 800 yards in front and to the left of Russell's house.

"The enemy had placed three batteries in position, and were firing upon his line. Loomis' and Simonson's batteries were replying. There being then no infantry of the enemy in sight, I sent an order to these batteries to cease firing and economize their ammunition. The command suffering greatly for water, I proceeded to take the reconnoissance as

ordered. Having been informed by my guide, Captain Beverly D. Williams, assistant quartermaster on General Jackson's staff, and also by Colonel L. A. Harris, commanding the ninth brigade, that by moving a short distance to the left of the Perryville road I could get high commanding ground for a portion of my line, I went forward in person, after ordering a portion of the Thirty-third Ohio into the woods as skirmishers, to ascertain if any of the enemy were present in that vicinity, to a point overlooking and within 600 yards of the Chaplin River.

"I then sent for Generals Jackson and Terrill, showed them the water, marked their line of battle, and ordered a battery to be posted on this line with strong supports. General Terrill was ordered to advance a body of skirmishers cautiously down the slope of the hill to the water, as soon as his line was formed. During my presence no enemy was seen save some cavalry on the opposite hills across the river, who, I supposed, were threatening my train in rear. A few well-directed shots from Stone's First Kentucky Battery, posted to the left and rear of this position, put them to flight.

"Not being apprehensive of an attack, I left this position and moved toward the right of the line. At two P.M. an attack was made by the enemy on the skirmishers of the Thirty-third Ohio. I then ordered the remainder of the regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, to support the line; also the Twenty-second Ohio to support the Thirty-third. My line of battle at the moment was formed as follows: The right of Rousseau's division resting near a barn on the right of the Macksville and Perryville road, extending to the left on a commanding ridge through a cornfield (the corn being cut and shocked) to the skirt of woods occupied by the Second and Thirty-third Ohio; the right of Terrill's brigade of Jackson's division resting on the same woods, running to the left on the commanding ground overlooking a portion of Chaplin River to the north, this left forming a crotchet to the rear, in order to occupy the high ground on his left and rear. Starkweather's brigade, Stone's and Bush's batteries of Rousseau's division, were posted to the left and rear of Jackson's left, on high commanding ground; Webster's brigade of Jackson's division was posted to the left of Russell's house, and in the rear of the centre of Rousseau's line on the right.

"The attack on my line now became general. My attention was directed principally to the left, where the attack was most fiercely made. I had no apprehensions about my right, as it rested on Gilbert's left. A fierce onset being made on Terrill's brigade, and General Jackson being killed at the first fire, this brigade gave way in a few moments in confusion. General Terrill did everything in the power of man to steady them.

"At this juncture—at half-past two P.M.—seeing that I was assailed by at least three times my numbers, I dispatched my aid-de-camp, First Lieutenant L. M. Hosea, Sixteenth United States

Infantry, to General Sheridan, commanding General Gilbert's left division, to request him to look to my right and see that it was not turned.

"At three P.M. I dispatched Captain Horace N. Fisher, of my staff, to the nearest commander of troops for assistance. He first met General Schoepff marching at the head of his division, and reported my condition to him. General Schoepff expressed a desire to come up; stated that he was moving to the front for some purpose, and requested Captain Fisher to see General Gilbert, who was riding with the column. Captain Fisher then reported to General Gilbert that my entire command was engaged, that the reserves were all in line, and that the safety of my corps was jeopardized. General Gilbert referred him to General Buell, to whom this officer reported.

"At half-past three P.M. I also dispatched another aid, Captain W. T. Hoblitzell, to General Schoepff, commanding the first division and reserve of Gilbert's corps, or the commander of the nearest troops in rear, to inform him of my condition and ask for troops.

"I remained in rear of my left and centre until I saw the enemy's right completely routed and driven back by the gallant brigade of Starkweather, so admirably posted for the work they performed so well. I then galloped to the right of the line, but only in time to see it turned by a large force of the enemy. I then ordered Colonel Webster, of the Ninety-eighth Ohio, to move his troops to the right and repel this attack if possible, and it was in obeying this order that this gallant officer received a mortal wound. Returning to Russell's house, I ordered my chief of artillery, Major C. S. Cotter, to bring up a section of artillery to stop their advance. This was promptly done. The guns were well handled, but could not stop this determined attack. At this time the right of Rousseau's line was compelled to fall back to avoid being enveloped by the enemy.

"The enemy placed a battery in the open field, near Bottom's barn, about 800 yards from Russell's house. The fire from this battery was so heavy that the point near Russell's house could not be held. Loomis' battery, having exhausted all its long-range ammunition, had been retired from its position in the afternoon to a commanding ridge about 150 yards in rear of Russell's house and on the right of the Perryville road, supported by three companies of the Michigan Engineers and Mechanics commanded by Major Hopkins. I ordered Captain Loomis to reserve his canister for close work. His battery opened fire, and repulsed this wicked attack for the first time. I then went to the point where the Dixville and Springfield road crosses the Macksville and Perryville road.

"Near this point I met Captain Hoblitzell with a brigade of General Robert P. Mitchell's division, coming to reinforce us. This brigade was commanded by Colonel Gooding, of the Twenty-second Indiana, and consisted of his own regiment, the Fifty-ninth and Seventy-

fifth Illinois, and Captain O. F. Pinney's Fifth Wisconsin Battery. I ordered the posting of his infantry, and then placed Captain Pinney's battery in position near the cross-roads, and in a small skirt of timber to the right. Gooding's attack, assisted by Pinney's battery, drove back and re-secured the position at Russell's house. In this attack Colonel Gooding's gallant brigade lost in killed and wounded 499 men, about one-third of his force.

"At this moment, Brigadier-General Jas. Steadman reported to me, with his brigade of Schoepff's division. It had nearly grown dark when he arrived. He posted his battery on the right of Pinney's and opened fire. I conducted his brigade to a position on the right and front of these batteries. The two battalions of the Eighteenth Regulars, under Major Frederick Townsend, were posted on a commanding ridge, in an open field, the right resting on a wood; the Ninth Ohio on the right of Townsend, the right resting on a field. The other regiments of this brigade were in a second line and supporting the batteries. The line of Steadman's brigade was about 200 yards to the right and rear of Russell's house.

"By this time it was dark, and the firing ceased on both sides. I remained in front of Steadman's line until nine P.M., when I rode to the left and found that the line there had been retired by General Rousseau. Believing that the enemy would renew the attack at daylight, I ordered him to throw his line back, with his left resting on the Macksville and Perryville road, and the line extending to the right, on commanding ground, to the left of Steadman's brigade. This movement was executed about midnight.

"When General Terrill's brigade gave way, a portion of his troops fell back with him to the position occupied by Stone's and Bush's batteries, and at this point, when in the act of rallying his troops, at four P.M., he was struck in the side by the fragment of a shell, carrying away a portion of his left lung. He died at eleven P.M.

"When Terrill's brigade gave way some guns of Parsons' eight-gun battery fell into the hands of the enemy. At six P.M., four of the guns of Harris' Nineteenth Indiana were also taken by the enemy.

"The posting of Starkweather's brigade and stores and Rush's batteries saved my left, and secured to us the Macksville road, upon which stood our entire ammunition train and ambulances. The ground to the right of this road being rough, prevented the train being taken off the road and parked.

"I previously stated that the firing on both sides ceased at dark. The enemy posted their pickets about 500 yards from ours, but the main body escaped during the night, with such precipitation that they left their dead and wounded, and could not carry the captured guns from the field. The guns were all recovered next morning, except two Napoleon guns of Parsons' battery, that were kindly exchanged by the enemy for two six-pounder field-pieces.

"The enemy retreated across Chap-

lin River to the Harrodsburg turnpike, about one and one-half miles distant from the battle-field, thence to Harrodsburg. The battle-field was a chosen one of the enemy. They marched from Harrodsburg to give our army battle at or near Perryville. The ground upon which the battle was fought was very much broken by hills and ravines, which offered every facility to them to conceal their troops. The bluffs and dry channels of Chaplin River and Doctor's Fork were especially advantageous for massing large bodies of troops in concealment. I was assailed by at least three divisions of the enemy. I have since been trustworthily informed that General Bragg commanded the enemy in person, and that Polk's and Hardee's corps were upon the field.

"Thus ends my account of the part taken by my corps in the battle of Chaplin Hills, the bloodiest battle of modern times for the number engaged on our side. Rousseau had present on the field 7,000 men, Jackson 5,400. The brigade of Gooding amounted to about 1,500. The battle was principally fought by Rousseau's division, and if there are or ever were better soldiers than the old troops engaged, I have neither seen nor read of them. Great discrimination must be exercised in making a perfectly fair statement respecting the conduct of the new levies. Exposed, as some of them were, to a terrific fire at the onset of the enemy, it would be extraordinary to expect of them the steadiness and composure of veterans. It was also clearly perceptible that the resolution and obstinate resistance displayed by the old troops in the same brigade or in close proximity, had a salutary effect in animating and encouraging the new troops. For instance, in the ninth brigade, where the Second and Thirty-third Ohio, Thirty-eighth Indiana, and Tenth Wisconsin fought so well, I was proud to see the Ninth and Ninety-eighth Ohio vie with their brothers in deeds of honor.

"Commanders under me have found occasion for severe reflection on individuals whose conduct did not entirely justify the confidence imposed in them by their State and country. These cases, happily but few, compel me the more strongly to awaken the attention of our authorities to a more rigid and careful selection of officers who may join to their qualifications the essential ones of courage and honor. The material of the new levies is evidently as good as that of the old regiments. My apology for the misbehavior of some of them is want of discipline and confidence in their field and line officers.

"If it were not a great pleasure, my duty compels me to call the attention of my superiors and my Government to the conspicuous gallantry and good conduct of Brigadier-General L. H. Rousseau upon this hotly contested field. The manner of posting his left and maintaining its position, renders him one of the most conspicuous lights of this war. * * * * *

"Alexander McDowell McCook,
Major-General Commanding First Corps
Army of the Ohio."

The total loss in killed, wounded, and missing of the Union troops amounted to about 3,000.*

The enemy, though they had severely suffered, were enabled to retire without being seriously interrupted, and finally made good their retreat to a position in the Cumberland Mountains, whither General Buell deemed it prudent not to follow. The invasion of Kentucky, and the audacious attempt to march into Ohio, had been thwarted, but the country was disappointed in its expectation of the overthrow of Bragg's army. The enemy consoled themselves with the immense booty Bragg had carried off. "Just think of it," boasted one of their writers; "he has captured from the enemy, and purchased from the citizens together, enough to load a train of wagons forty miles long."*

General Buell was held responsible for the escape of his antagonist, and was

* The following is General Bragg's official report of the battle of Perryville:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT No. 2,
BRYANTSVILLE, KY., *October* 12, 1862.

"SIR: Finding the enemy pressing heavily in his rear, near Perryville, Major-General Hardee, of Polk's command, was obliged to hold and check him at that point. Having arrived at Harrodsburg from Frankfort, I determined to give him battle there, and accordingly concentrated three divisions of my old command—the Army of the Mississippi, now under Major-General Polk; Cheatham's, Buckner's, and Anderson's—and directed General Polk to take command on the 7th, and attack the enemy next morning. Wither's division had gone the day before to support Smith. Hearing, on the night of the 7th, that the force in front of Smith had rapidly retreated, I moved early next morning, to be present at the operations of Polk's forces.

"The two armies were formed confronting each other on opposite sides of the town of Perryville. After consulting the General, and reconnoitring the ground and examining his position, I declined to assume the command, but suggested some changes and modifications of his arrangements, which he promptly adopted. The action opened at half-past twelve P.M., between the skirmishers and artillery on both sides. Finding the enemy indisposed to advance upon us, and knowing he was receiving heavy reinforcements, I deemed it best to assail him vigorously, and so directed.

"The engagement became general soon thereafter, and was continued furiously from that time to dark, our troops never faltering and never failing in their efforts.

"For the time engaged it was the severest and most desperately contested engagement within my knowledge. Fearfully outnumbered, our troops did not hesitate to engage at any odds; and, though checked at times, they eventually carried every position, and drove the enemy about two miles. But for the intervention of night, we should have completed the work. We had captured fifteen pieces of artillery, by the most daring charges, killed one and wounded two brigadier-generals, and a very large number of inferior officers and men, estimated at no less than 4,000, and captured 400 prisoners, including three staff-officers, with servants, carriage, and baggage of Major-General McCook.

"The ground was literally covered with his dead and wounded. In such a contest our own loss was necessarily severe, probably not less than 2,500 killed, wounded, and missing. Included in the wounded are Brigadier-Generals Wood, Ciebern, and Brown—gallant and noble soldiers—whose loss will be severely felt by their commands. To Major-General Polk, commanding the forces, Major-General Hardee, commanding the left wing, two divisions, and Major-Generals Cheatham, Buckner, and Anderson, commanding divisions, are mainly due the brilliant achievements of this memorable field. Nobler troops were never more gallantly led. The country owes them a debt of gratitude which I am sure will be acknowledged.

"Ascertaining that the enemy were heavily reinforced during the night, I withdrew my force early next morning to Harrodsburg, and thence to this point. Major-General Smith arrived at Harrodsburg with most of his forces and Wither's division the next day, 10th, and yesterday I withdrew the whole to this post, the enemy following slowly, but not pressing us.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"BRAXTON BRAGG, General Commanding.

"To Adjutant-General, Richmond, Va."

* A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* said that "the plunder taken by Bragg's forces is spoken of by men who have seen it as immense, consisting of 3,000 barrels of pork, 8,000 head of cattle, 1,000 mules and horses, and all the stocks of dry-goods, groceries, and provisions taken from the stores of Lexington, Frankfort, Danville, Harrodsburg, and other places They have flour and corn meal in endless quantities, having stolen all the grain in the country, and impressed all the mills to grind it. And all they ask is to be let alone with their booty."

consequently deprived of his command, Oct. 30. to which General Rosecrans, with his laurels fresh from the victory at Corinth, succeeded.

The following official statement of General Buell contains an interesting narrative of his campaign, and a justification of its conduct:

"LOUISVILLE, *November* 4, 1862.

"L. THOMAS, ADJUTANT-GENERAL U. S. A., WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"SIR: It is due to the army which I have commanded for the last twelve months, and perhaps due to myself, that I should make a circumstantial report of its operations during the past summer.

"Such a report requires data not now at hand, and would occupy more time than can be spared at present from the subject of more immediate interest, namely, the operations from Louisville against the rebel forces in Kentucky under the command of General Bragg. I therefore commence this report from that period, premising only in a general way, that my attention to the condition of affairs in Kentucky was demanded, first, by the minor operations of the enemy, which, by the destruction of the railroad, had completely severed the communications of my army, and left it at a distance of 300 miles from its base, with very limited supplies; and, second, by the formidable invasion, which not only threatened the permanent occupation of the State, but exposed the States north of the Ohio River to invasion.

"Leaving a sufficient force to hold Nashville, the remainder of the army under my command was put in march for Kentucky. The rear division left Nashville on the 15th, and arrived at Louisville, a distance of 170 miles, on the 29th of September: the advance arrived on the 25th.

"The particulars of the march will, as I have said, be given in a subsequent report in connection with other matters.

"I found, in and about this city, a considerable force of raw troops, hurriedly thrown in from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, for the defence of the city against the formidable force that had invaded the State under General Bragg and Kirby Smith, under the command of Major-General Nelson, whose untimely death cannot be too much deplored. These troops had been organized into brigades and divisions, and they had some able and experienced officers in general—Boyle, Jackson, Crufts, Gilbert, Terrill, and others.

"But the troops were as yet undisciplined, unprovided with suitable artillery, and in every way unfit for active operations against a disciplined foe. It was necessary to reorganize the whole force. This was done, as far as possible, by intermixing the new troops with the old, without changing the old organization.

"The troops were supplied with shoes and other essentials, of which they were greatly in need, among them certain light cooking utensils, which the men could carry and dispense with wagons, the allowance of which was reduced to one for each regiment, to carry a few

necessary articles for officers, and one for hospital supplies, besides the ambulances.

"The army was to have marched on the 31st of September, but an order, which was subsequently suspended, relieving me from the command, delayed the movement until the following day.

"The army marched on the 1st ultimo, in five columns. The left moved toward Frankfort, to hold in check the force of the enemy which still remained at or near that place; the other columns, marching by different routes, finally fell respectively into the roads leading from Shepherdsville, Mount Washington, Fairfield, and Bloomfield, to Bardstown, where the main force of the enemy, under General Bragg, was known to be; these roads converge upon Bardstown at an angle of about fifteen degrees from each other.

"Skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry and artillery marked the movement from each column from within a few miles of Louisville. It was more stubborn and formidable near Bardstown; but the rear of the enemy's infantry retired from that place eight hours before our arrival, when his rear-guard of cavalry and artillery retreated, after a sharp engagement with my cavalry. The pursuit and skirmishing with the enemy's rear-guard continued toward Springfield.

"The information which I received, indicated that the enemy would concentrate his forces at Danville.

"The first corps, under Major-General McCook, was therefore ordered to march from Bloomfield on Harrodsburg, while the second corps, under Major-General Crittenden, moved on the Lebanon and Danville road, which passes four miles to the south of Perryville, with a branch to the latter place; and the third corps on the direct road to Perryville.

"My headquarters moved with the third (or centre) corps. Major-General Thomas, second in command, accompanied the second (or right) corps.

"After leaving Bardstown, I learned that the force of Kirby Smith had crossed to the west side of the Kentucky River, near Salvisa, and that the enemy were moving to concentrate either at Harrodsburg or Perryville. General McCook's route was therefore changed from Harrodsburg to Perryville.

"The centre corps arrived on the afternoon of the 7th, and was drawn up in order of battle about three miles from Perryville, where the enemy appeared to be in force. The advanced guard, under Captain Gay, consisting of cavalry and artillery, supported toward evening by two regiments of infantry, pressed successfully upon the enemy's rear-guard to within two miles of the town, against a somewhat stubborn opposition.

"The whole army had for three days or more suffered from a scarcity of water; the last day, particularly, the troops and animals suffered exceedingly for the want of it, and from hot weather and dusty roads.

"In the bed of Doctor's Creek, a tributary of Chaplin River, about two and

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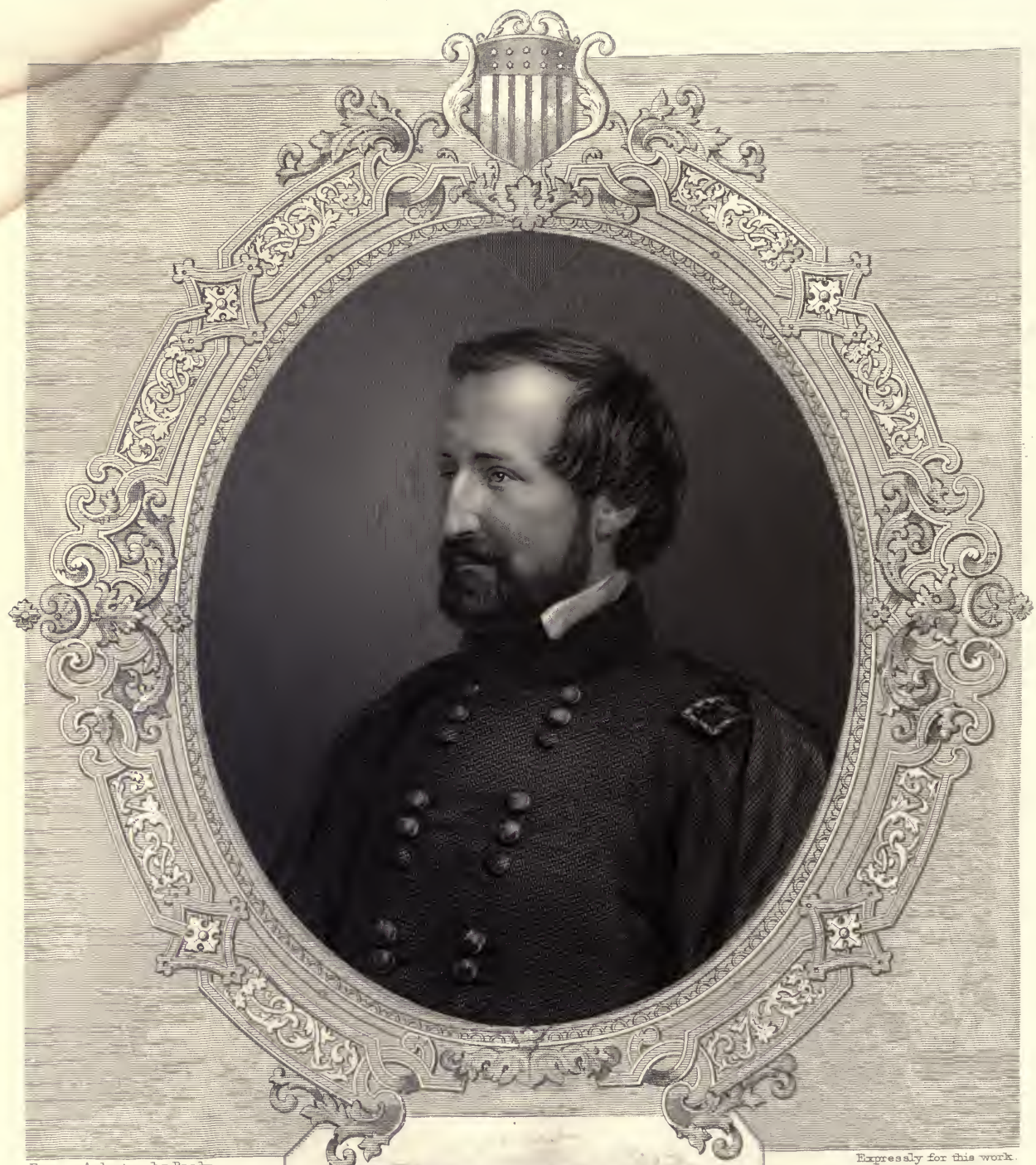

From an Ambrotype by Brady.

Expressly for this work.

W. S. Rosecrans

Entered according to act of Congress AD 1864 by Virtue, Yorston, & Co. in the clerk's office of the district court of the United States, for the southern district of N.Y.

a half miles from Perryville, some pools of water were discovered, of which the enemy showed a determination to prevent us gaining possession.

"The thirty-sixth brigade, under command of Colonel Daniel McCook, from General Sheridan's division, was ordered forward to seize and hold a commanding position which covered these pools: it executed the order that night, and a supply of bad water was secured for the troops.

"On discovering that the enemy was concentrating for battle at Perryville, I sent orders on the night of the 7th to General McCook and General Crittenden to march at three o'clock the following morning, so as to take position, respectively, as early as possible, on the right and left of the centre corps, the commanders themselves to report in person for orders on their arrival, my intention being to make the attack that day, if possible.

"The orders did not reach General McCook until half-past two o'clock, and he marched at five. The second corps failing to find water at the place where it was expected to encamp on the night of the 7th, had to move off the road for that purpose, and consequently was some six miles or more farther off than it would otherwise have been.

"The orders did not reach it in time, and these two causes delayed its arrival several hours. Still, it was far enough advanced to have been pressed into the action on the 8th, if the necessity for it had been known early enough.

"The engagement, which terminated at night the previous day, was renewed early on the morning of the 8th, by an attempt of the enemy to drive the brigade of Colonel McCook from the position taken to cover the water in Doctor's Creek; the design had been discovered, and the divisions of Generals Mitchell and Sheridan were moved into position to defeat it, and hold the ground until the army was prepared to attack in force. A spirited attack was made on Colonel McCook's position, and was handsomely repulsed. Between ten and eleven o'clock the left corps arrived on the Maxville road.

"General McCook was instructed to get it promptly into position, on the left of the centre corps, and to make a reconnoissance to his front and left. The reconnoissance had been continued by Captain Gay toward his front and right, and sharp firing with artillery was then going on.

"I had somewhat expected an attack early in the morning on Gilbert's corps, while it was isolated, but as it did not take place, no formidable attack was apprehended after the arrival of the left corps. The disposition of the troops was made, mainly, with a view to a combined attack on the enemy's position at daylight the following morning, as the time required to get all the troops into position, after the unexpected delay, would probably make it too late to attack that day.

"The cannonading, which commenced with the partial engagement in the centre, followed by the reconnoissance of the cavalry under Captain Gay, ex-

tended toward the left, and became brisker as the day advanced, but was not supposed to proceed from any serious engagement, as no report to that effect was received. At four o'clock, however, Major-General McCook's aid-de-camp arrived, and reported to me 'that the General was sustaining a severe attack, which he would not be able to withstand unless reinforced; that his flanks were already giving way.' He added, to my astonishment, 'that the left corps had actually been engaged in a severe battle for several hours, perhaps since twelve o'clock.' It was so difficult to credit the latter, that I thought there must even be some misapprehension in regard to the former. I sent word to him that I should rely on his being able to hold his ground, though I should probably send him reinforcements.

"I at once sent orders for two brigades from the centre corps—Schoepff's division—to move promptly to reinforce the left. Orders were also sent to General Crittenden to move a division in, to strengthen the centre, and to move with the rest of his corps energetically against the enemy's left flank.

"The distance from one flank of the army to the other was not, perhaps, less than six miles, and before the orders could be delivered, and the right corps make the attack, night came on and terminated the engagement.

"The roads going from Maxville and Springfield enter Perryville at an angle of about fifteen degrees with each other. The road from Lebanon runs nearly parallel to the Springfield road to within five miles of Perryville, and there forks, the left-hand fork going to Perryville, and the right continuing straight on to Danville, leaving Perryville four miles to the north. There is also a direct road from Perryville to Danville. Perryville, Danville, and Harrodsburg occupy the vertices of an equilateral triangle, and are ten miles apart. Salt River rises midway between Perryville and Danville, and runs northward two miles west of Harrodsburg. Chaplin Fork rises near and passes through Perryville, bending in its course so as to run obliquely away from the Maxville and Perryville road, on which the left corps advanced.

"Doctor's Creek, running north, crosses the Perryville and Springfield road at right angles, about two and a half miles west of Perryville, and empties into Chaplin Fork about three miles from town. The ground bordering the Chaplin is hilly, with alternate patches of timber and cleared land. The hills, though in some places steep, are generally practicable for infantry and cavalry, and in many places for artillery.

"The ground afforded the enemy great advantages for attacking a force on the Maxville road, taken in the act of forming, as was the case in the battle of the 8th.

"General McCook's line ran nearly parallel with Chaplin Fork, the right resting on the road, and the left to the north of it. Two of General Rousseau's brigades, the seventeenth, under Colonel

Lyttle, and the fourth, under Colonel Harris, were on the right: then the thirty-third brigade, under General Terrill, of Jackson's division; then, on the extreme left, and to the rear of Terrill, the twenty-eighth brigade, under Colonel Starkweather, of Rousseau's division.

"The other brigade of Jackson's division, under Colonel Webster, was at first in rear of Rousseau's two right brigades, and in the course of the battle was brought into action on the right of Rousseau. General Gilbert's corps was on the right of Rousseau, but the space between them was somewhat too great —first Sheridan's division, then Mitchell's and Schoepff's in reserve opposite the left of the corps.

"The fight commenced early in the day, as has been described, with a feeble attack on the centre corps; then, later, the attack fell with severity and pertinacity on Rousseau's right brigade; then, somewhat later, on Terrill's brigade, and on Rousseau's third brigade, on the extreme left. It was successful against Terrill's brigade, composed of new regiments. The gallant commander of the division, General J. S. Jackson, was killed almost instantly. The heroic young Brigadier Terrill lost his life in endeavoring to rally his troops, and ten pieces of his artillery were left on the ground; two of them were carried off by the enemy next morning; the rest were recovered.

"The main weight of the battle thus fell upon the third division, under General Rousseau.

"No troops could have met it with more heroism. The left brigade, compelled at first to fall back somewhat, at length maintained its ground, and repulsed the attack at that point. Taking advantage of the opening between Gilbert's left and Rousseau's right, the enemy pressed his attack at that point with an overwhelming force. Rousseau's right was being turned, and was forced to fall back, which it did in excellent order until reinforced by Gooding's and Steadman's brigades from Gilbert's corps, when the enemy was repulsed. That result was also promoted by the fire which the artillery of Sheridan's division poured into the enemy's left flank.

"Simultaneously with the heaviest attack on Rousseau's division, the enemy made a strong attack on Sheridan's right. Sheridan was reinforced from Mitchell's division by Colonel Carlin's brigade, which charged the enemy with intrepidity, and drove him through the town to his position beyond, capturing in the town two caissons and fifteen wagons loaded with ammunition, and the guard that was with them, consisting of three officers and 138 men. This occurred about nightfall, which terminated the battle.

"The corps of General Crittenden closed in, and Wagner's brigade of Wood's division became engaged, and did good service on the right of Mitchell's division, but knowing nothing of the severity of the fight in the extreme left, the rest of the corps did not get into action.

"No doubt was entertained that the enemy would endeavor to hold his position. Accordingly, orders were sent to the commanders of corps to be prepared to attack at daylight in the morning.

"They received instructions in person at headquarters that night, except General Crittenden, for whom instructions were given to Major-General Thomas, second in command.

"General McCook supposed, from indications in his front, that the enemy would throw a formidable force against his corps, in pursuance of the original attempt to turn our left.

"He represented also that his corps was very much crippled, the new division of General Jackson having in fact almost entirely disappeared as a body. He was instructed to move in during the night and close the opening between his right and General Gilbert's left. His orders for the following day were to hold his position, taking advantage of any opportunity that the events of the day might present.

"The corps of Generals Crittenden and Gilbert were to move forward at six o'clock, and attack the enemy's front and left flank.

"The advance the following morning, in pursuance of these orders, discovered that the enemy's main body had retired during the night, but without any indications of haste or disorder, except that his dead and many of his wounded were left upon the field. The reconnoissance during the day showed that his whole force had fallen back on Harrodsburg, where the indications seemed to be that he would make a stand.

"It will be impossible to form any correct judgment of the operations from this time, particularly without considering the condition of the two armies, and the probable intention of the enemy.

"The rebel army has been driven from the borders of Kentucky without a decisive battle. It is spoken of as if it were a comparatively insignificant force, and pursued by an overwhelming one, which had nothing to do but to send out patrols and gather in the fragments of a routed and disorganized army. The very reverse was the case. The rebel force which invaded Kentucky, at the lowest estimates, has been rated at from 55,000 to 65,000 men.

"It was composed of veteran troops, well armed, and thoroughly inured to hardship. Every circumstance of its march, and the concurrent testimony of all who came within reach of its lines, attest that it was under perfect discipline. It had entered Kentucky with the avowed purpose of holding the State; its commanders declared that to be their intention to the last; intercepted communications, disclosing their plans, and the disappointment experienced by the Southern press at the result, show that to have been their purpose.

"The enterprise certainly seemed desperate, but it was entered into deliberately—was conducted by the best talent in the rebel service, and there was nothing to indicate that it would be abandoned lightly. Some manœuvring for

advantages, and one decisive battle, were to be expected before Kentucky could be rid of her invaders. Everything goes to show that the final retreat of the enemy was suddenly determined on, and that it was not at the time to be calculated on as a matter of course.

"Any movement on my part, solely in anticipation of it, would only have turned the enemy in a different direction, and any presumptuous attempt to capture a superior force by detachments would, according to all probabilities, have been more likely to result in defeat than in success.

"The effective force which advanced on Perryville on the 7th and 8th under my command, was about 58,000 infantry, artillery, and cavalry. Of these, about 22,000 were raw troops, with very little instruction, or none at all. The reports show an actual loss of upward of 4,000 killed, wounded, and missing in the battle, which would leave the effective force about 54,000 after it. I did not hesitate, therefore, after crossing the Chaplin River, and finding the enemy had fallen back, to await the arrival of General Sill's division, which had marched to Frankfort, and had been ordered to join *via* Lawrenceburg and Chaplintown, when it was ascertained that Kirby Smith's force had marched to form a junction with Bragg.

"That division on the march from Louisville encountered a strong outpost of the enemy on the Frankfort road, about twelve miles out, and skirmishing was kept up until its arrival at Frankfort.

"It was followed closely by the division of General Dumont which remained at Frankfort. In marching from Frankfort to join the main body, Sill's division was attacked near Lawrenceburg by a portion of Kirby Smith's force, which it drove off, and then continued its march, arriving at Perryville on the evening of the 11th. Pending its arrival the army took position, with its right four miles from Danville, its centre on the Perryville and Harrodsburg pike, and the left near Dicksville, on the road converging on Harrodsburg.

"On the 11th, three brigades from Crittenden's and Gilbert's corps, with Gay's and Colonel McCook's cavalry brigades, were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He was found in some force two miles south of Harrodsburg, in the morning; but retired during the day, and his rear-guard was driven out in the evening, with the loss of some stores and about 1,200 prisoners, mostly sick and wounded. It was probable he would retire his whole force to Camp Dick Robinson, though it was not certainly ascertained what portion of it had crossed Dick's River. To compel him at once to take one side or the other, and either give battle on this side, or be prevented from recrossing to attack our communications, when a move was made to turn his position, the left corps moved on the 12th to Harrodsburg (General Sill's division having arrived the night before); the right corps moving forward and retiring near and to the left of Danville, and the centre midway on the Danville and Harrodsburg road,

while a strong reconnoissance was sent forward to the crossing of Dick's River. The enemy was found to have crossed with his whole force.

"The ground between the Kentucky River and Dick's River, as a military position, is rendered almost impregnable on the north and west by the rocky cliffs which border those streams, and which are only passable at a few points, easily defended. Such is the character of Dick's River, from its mouth to where the Danville and Lexington road crosses it, a distance of about twelve miles.

"It could only be reached by turning it to the south, while the passes to the west, by which our line of communication would be exposed, were suitably guarded. The army was moving with that view, when I learned, on the evening of the 13th, at Danville, that the enemy was retiring from his position toward the south. Pursuit was immediately ordered, for the purpose of overtaking or intercepting him, if he should attempt to pass toward Somerset.

"General Wood's division marched at twelve o'clock that night, and engaged the enemy's cavalry and artillery at Stanford at daylight the next morning. The remainder of General Crittenden's corps, and General McCook's corps followed on that road, and General Gilbert's marched on the Lancaster road. The enemy kept the road toward Cumberland Gap, opposing with cavalry and artillery the advance of both of the pursuing columns, which, however, progressed steadily.

"At Crab Orchard the character of the country suddenly changes. It becomes rough and barren, affording scarcely more than enough corn for its sparse population; and the road passes through defiles where a small force can resist with great effect a large one—where, in fact, the use of a large force is impracticable. The little forage the country afforded was consumed by the enemy in his retreat, rendering it impossible to subsist any considerable number of animals. The corps of Generals Gilbert and McCook were therefore halted at Crab Orchard, while that of General Crittenden, with General W. S. Smith's division in advance, continued the pursuit as far as London on the direct road, and on the branch road to Manchester.

"I have not received the formal report of the operations of this corps, but the pursuit was conducted by its commander, according to my orders, with judgment and energy. The road was cleared of the trees felled across it by the enemy, and his rear-guard attacked successfully at several points. Some prisoners were taken and about 300 head of cattle, and other property to no great amount, captured.

"It was not expedient to continue the pursuit beyond London; partly, because it was impracticable in a manner to afford any material advantage; partly, because without advantage, it took the troops out of the way, when they were likely to be required elsewhere. They were, therefore, promptly turned upon other routes toward Tennessee. A portion were to be at Bowling Green,

and the rest at Glasgow, on the 31st ultimo, and thence continue their march by certain routes. In that position I relinquished the command of the army on the 30th to Major-General Rosecrans, in obedience to instructions from the General-in-Chief.

"In the mean time, the railroads, which had been broken up by the enemy, and suspended for two months, had been repaired as far as Bowling Green, to carry forward supplies. * * *

"The campaign whose history I have sketched occupied a period of about twenty days. The result can be stated in a few words.

"An army prepared for the conquest and occupation of Kentucky, with full knowledge of our means of resistance, and with a confident expectation of prevailing over them, has been driven back, baffled and dispirited, from the borders of the State. It is true that only one serious battle has been fought, and that was incomplete and less decisive than it ought to have been.

"That it was so is due partly to unavoidable difficulties, which prevented the troops marching on different roads from getting on the ground simultaneously; but more to the fact that I was not apprised early enough of the condition of affairs on my left. I can find no fault with the former, nor am I disposed at this time to censure the latter, though it must be admitted to have been a grave error. I ascribe it to the too great confidence of the general commanding the left corps, Major-General McCook, which made him believe that he could manage the difficulty without the aid or control of his commander.

"As before stated, there was skirmishing along the whole front, but after a certain hour, for the reason stated, no general engagement was anticipated that day, and no sound of musketry reached my headquarters, by which the sharpness of the action on the left could be known or even suspected; and when the fact was ascertained, it was too late to do more than throw in succor before night set in. But although this lack of information was attended with disappointment and unfortunate consequences, yet the unequal struggle was marked by no disaster, and conspicuously displayed the courage and discipline of the troops.

"From first to last, I suppose 4,000 or 5,000 prisoners, sick, wounded, and well, were taken; and at various points some stores and property fell into our hands — among them 2,500 barrels of pork, and two pieces of cannon, abandoned by the enemy at Camp Dick Robinson. I do not believe that he carried off in his retreat any large amount of stores; he may have sent off a good deal from first to last, while he was in quiet occupation of so much of the State.

"The reports show a loss of 916 killed, 2,943 wounded, and 489 missing; total, 4,348, in the battle of the 8th.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, D. C. BUELL,

"Major-General."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Peril of the Federal Force at Cumberland Gap.—Resolution of General Morgan.—His Defence.—His March to the Ohio River.—Morgan's Address to his Soldiers.—Price's Attempt to Advance from Mississippi into Tennessee.—Occupies Iuka.—Price attacked by Rosecrans, and forced to abandon Iuka.—Retreat of Price.—Pursuit.—Price forms a Junction with Van Dorn.—Rosecrans falls back to Corinth and intrenches.—Attack by the Enemy.—Battle of Corinth.—Victory of Rosecrans.—Pursuit.—Operations in North Carolina.—Movements of Foster.—Operations in South Carolina.—General Mitchell in command.—Successful Expedition in Florida.—Great Preparations of the Enemy for Defence.—General Beauregard in command at Charleston and Savannah.—Death of General Mitchell.—General Brannan's Expedition to destroy the Charleston and Savannah Railroad.—General Butler's Proceedings in New Orleans.—His Expeditions.—The Enemy again invade Missouri from Arkansas.—Repulse of Salomon.—The Enemy driven back by Schofield.—Advance of Schofield to the border.—Reappearance of the Enemy.—The Enemy repulsed again.—Schofield retires to the interior of Missouri.—The Enemy once more threaten to follow.

THE advance into Kentucky of the various divisions of the Confederate army, and the temporary command they had thus secured of the eastern part of that State, imperilled the safety of the Federal force at Cumberland Gap. General Morgan, the Union commander, however, had declared that he "would never give up to the enemy," and he resolutely kept his promise, defending his beleaguered post as long as it was practicable, and when finally forced to abandon it, extricating his troops from all the dangers which threatened them.

1862.

The remarkable defence of Cumberland Gap by Morgan, and his march to the Ohio River, are thus described by one* of his officers:

"On the evening of the 17th of August the Confederate General Stevenson, with a force of 20,000 strong, arrived in front of Cumberland Gap, and at the same time General Kirby Smith passed through Rogers' and Big Creek Gap, with an additional force of 25,000 men. The advance of Smith was rapid and well executed, and in a few days two divisions of his army reached Cumberland Ford, and thus we who held the Gap were perfectly cut off from Lexington and the north, and completely shut in. The rebel journals proclaimed, as apparently they well might, that Morgan's whole Union army were already prisoners, and, as our supplies were cut off, our surrender was looked upon by them as a mere question of days. Indeed, the rebel general at that time informed his government that we could not hold out a week. The week, however, passed away, and we still held out—so Smith was compelled to march toward Lexington to obtain supplies for his men.

"Regarding the immediate destruction of Kirby Smith's army by the Union forces in Kentucky as inevitable, our commander determined to try and obtain enough supplies to keep us alive, from the north side of the mountains, and hold on to the Gap. The rebel

* New York *Evening Post*.

force of Stevenson, also, we would thus hold in position. On the 5th of September, General Morgan sent the Third Kentucky Regiment, mounted on artillery and wagon horses, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mundy's cavalry, to reinforce the Union army then organizing at Lexington, under General Lew Wallace. On the next day De Courcey's brigade was sent by General Morgan to Manchester to secure subsistence. On the day following that another part of our diminished force was sent against Baptist Gap, which surprised, and captured Acting Brigadier-General Allston, of South Carolina, and cut his troops to pieces. On the 8th of September, still another expedition was sent against Rogers' Gap, where the enemy was again surprised, and his entire force—one man excepted—were either killed, wounded, or captured. A few days afterward another expedition was sent against Rogers' and Big Creek Gaps, which blockaded both of them, killed or wounded 30 of the enemy, and captured 110 of their men. In the mean time the battle of Richmond (Ky.), between the forces of General Nelson and those of Kirby Smith, was fought; and in that engagement, as you know, the Union forces of Nelson were routed.

"All hope of our line being opened from the front was soon gone. We were on the eve of being starved out. Our troops holding the Gap had been on short rations for a month; our small stock of captured supplies was being rapidly exhausted, and the last stalk of corn had been devoured by the mules. Our hungry but indomitable regiment would rather have starved than abandon the Gap. But General Morgan, who has proved himself as skilful and careful as he is daring and persevering, saw, I suppose, that our starvation in the mountains would do the country and the cause no good, if after our death and dispersion our 32 pieces of splendid artillery and 14,000 stand of small-arms fell into the hands of the enemy. Evacuation or surrender were the alternatives which presented themselves to our chief. But how could our troops evacuate, when a rebel army, stronger than our own (Stevenson's), was within cannon-shot of our lines? The enemy occupied a look-out at Baptist Gap, from which he could see down directly into our works. Death soon became the penalty for such information, and Cumberland Gap had to be abandoned. So General Morgan made preparations for this desperate bit of strategy.

"On the 17th (September), at one o'clock A.M., the evacuation of Cumberland Gap was begun. The Twenty-third Indiana, the Ninth Ohio Battery, and all the ammunition left at that hour. On the night after that morning all the divisions left at eleven o'clock, except the provost guards and a blockading squad, who were left behind to finish the work of destruction and obstruct the road, so as to retard any movement of the enemy against our rear. At about two o'clock the magazine was blown up, and the flames of the burning commissary building lit up the valley for miles. Cumberland Gap was left a mass

of smouldering ruins. The tents were all destroyed. Nothing but ammunition and a few of the most useful cooking utensils were brought away. No officer brought away any of his property save what he carried on his back or his horse. Quite a large quantity of bacon, beans, and rice was destroyed. Of guns that went the way of all the earth, there were a few thousand old ones unfit for use and four thirty-pounder Parrott cannon, with a large amount of ammunition and accoutrements for small-arms. It is impossible to form an estimate of the value of articles rendered useless. But it made my heart sick to witness the destruction. Tents, cooking utensils, clothing, wagons, gun-carriages, rations, ammunition, arms and accoutrements, in two days' time, passed from a useful and well-ordered stock to a miserable mass of ashes and broken fragments. And all this was done while we were in possession of, perhaps, the strongest place in America. But we were nearly 250 miles from assistance, with a large rebel force between us and our friends, and we had been warned that if we waited much longer we would hardly be able to live at all.

"The guerrillas under John Morgan harassed us on our way through the mountains of Kentucky. He had with him his entire brigade, represented by his men to be 5,000 strong, but probably not half that number. He reports that he killed or wounded 500 of our troops on the march; but the truth is, that our entire loss during the march, including killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not amount to eighty men. His loss was much greater, as in one or two instances our artillery raked his columns.

"Our march from Cumberland Gap through eastern Kentucky to the Ohio lasted sixteen days and nights, and was over a distance of more than 250 miles of hills and mountains and wild regions, too terrible for my feeble pen to describe just now. We suffered enough, but the men all bore it heroically. During the march we sometimes threaded our way over mountain ridges so narrow that a solitary horseman could not pass the wagon train; and at other times through deep defiles, with the towering perpendicular cliffs on either side, and these occupied by the enemy. Sometimes we drove him from his position by shells and sometimes by skirmishers. There were intervals in the march of sixteen or eighteen miles without water, and for three days we had to drink from stagnant pools, and could find but few of them.

"The men here made graters by punching holes in their tin plates, and thus powdered their own corn, which they gathered on the march. At every halt, day and night, you heard the 'Armstrong mills,' as they were called. The cannon were dragged the whole distance by oxen and mules. According to an account given us by a rebel whom we captured, a Major Breckinridge stationed himself in ambush at one point on the march to shoot our commander with his revolver, but when about to fire, he was ordered to desist by his men, lest his fire should reveal the where-

abouts of the rebels, and they should all be captured."

General Morgan, on reaching the Ohio River, issued the following address to his soldiers ;* it is a graphic summary of the heroic endurance of himself and comrades :

"HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
GREENUPSBURG, *October* 3, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDER No. 109.

"COMRADES : At midnight on the 17th of September, with the army of Stevenson three miles in your rear, with Bragg on your left, Marshall on your right flank, and Kirby Smith in your front, you marched from Cumberland Gap mid the roar of exploding mines and magazines, and lighted by the conflagration of the storehouses of the commissary and quartermaster. Since then you have marched 219 miles, overcome difficulties as great as ever obstructed the march of an army, and with your field and siege guns have reached the Ohio River.

"The rapidity of your marches, in the face of an active foe, over ridges regarded impassable, and through defiles which 100 men ought to hold against 1,000, will hereafter be regarded with astonishment and wonder. Although on the retreat you constantly acted on the offensive, so hotly did you press the enemy sent to retard your march, that on three successive days you surprised the hungry rebels at their supper, and fed upon the hurried meals which they had prepared.

"With an effective force of less than 8,000 men you had manœuvred against an army 18,000 strong, and captured Cumberland Gap without the loss of a man. By your labor you rendered it impregnable, and an enemy four times your strength dare not attack you.

"When Kentucky was invaded, you sent two regiments to aid in driving out the invader ; and such was your confidence in your strength, that while threatened by a superior force, you sent out five expeditions, captured 300 prisoners, and killed and wounded 170 of your foes. At length, when it became evident that your services were needed in the field, you marched boldly from your stronghold, hurling defiance at the foe.

"One and all, you are entitled to the thanks of your countrymen ; and I pray you to accept the assurance of my profound gratitude. In my official report

* "Morgan's force," says the officer already quoted, "was composed of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Tennessee ; Third, Fourteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second Kentucky ; Thirty-third and Forty-ninth Indiana, and Sixteenth and Forty-second Ohio—fourteen regiments of infantry. The batteries, or the artillery, are the Wisconsin, Michigan, Ninth Ohio, a Tennessee battery, name not recollected, and some others. In all twenty-eight pieces—Parrotts, Rodmans, and howitzers. The artillery is, in every respect, very efficient. We have a small body of cavalry under Colonel Mundy ; to make it more efficient, a large number of the Third Kentucky were mounted on our best horses, and sent into Kentucky, leaving before the evacuation was determined upon. General Morgan's anxiety to aid in keeping open a communication with his supplies deprived him of the aid of an efficient body of cavalry. These men did some good fighting at various places between Cumberland River and Richmond, Ky. We were thus in a great measure deprived of the aid of Colonel Gerrard, of the Third Kentucky, as well as that of Colonel Mundy. All told, then, we had in round numbers from 10,000 to 12,000 men—men who felt that they were in the right—that their cause was just—men who would not for a moment have hesitated to enter on fair field fight with twice their number, if rebels against their country."

your services and your sufferings will be properly noticed.

"Although you have done well, let it be your determination to do better, and always remember that discipline is the life-blood of an army.

"Soldiers! as a friend and brother, I hail and greet you.

"GEORGE W. MORGAN,
"Brig.-Gen. Volunteers, Commanding."

In combination with the general movement of the enemy to the north, a considerable force had mustered in Mississippi, under General Price, and strove to advance into Tennessee. On the enemy pushing forward to Iuka, on the Charleston and Memphis Railroad, this place was abandoned by the Union troops, who in the haste of their departure left a large quantity of valuable stores behind them.

General Rosecrans, the Union commander, now energetically prepared to check the farther advance of the enemy. Having concentrated his scattered forces at Rienzi, Rosecrans turned back to meet Price, and with his advance, consisting of Stanley's and Hamilton's divisions and Missener's cavalry, came up with him near Iuka, two hours before dark on the 19th of September. "A sharp fight," as General Grant, in his official report, termed it, ensued, lasting until night closed in.

Rosecrans prepared to renew the battle next morning, but the enemy had retired during the night and evacuated Iuka, which was immediately occupied by the Union troops. "The loss on either side in killed and wounded," according to the official report of General Grant, was "from 400 to 500."

General Hamilton thus reported the result of his operations:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRD DIVISION ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI, *September* 23, 1862.

"COLONEL H. C. KENNETT, CHIEF OF STAFF:

"SIR: I have the honor to report that my division, the first brigade leading, marched from Jacinto on the morning of the 19th instant, to attack the enemy at Iuka. One-half mile west of Burnett's the advanced pickets of the enemy were first encountered, in a deep ravine. A battalion of the Third Michigan Cavalry, by dismounting as a body of skirmishers, soon drove the enemy from his cover; soon after passing Burnett's the cavalry were thrown to the rear, and a battalion of the Fifth Ohio deployed as skirmishers. From this time our advance was warmly contested, the enemy's sharpshooters occupied every position of defence, making the last five miles of the march a steady contest, a constant skirmish. At Mrs. Moore's house, four miles from the battle-ground, the action became quite hot. Lieutenant Schraume, of the Benton Hussars, one of my body-guard, was mortally wounded, and a number of our skirmishers killed or wounded. The enemy was steadily driven before us, and with constant loss. When within two miles of the battle-field, the battalion of the Fifth Iowa skirmishers was relieved by an equal force of the Twenty-sixth Missouri, and the forward movement of the column pressed.

"When the head of the column had

reached a point on the brow of a hill at the cross-road, two miles from Iuka, it was halted for the purpose of reconnoitring, and the line of the skirmishers pushed rapidly forward. This line had not advanced more than 300 yards when they came upon the enemy drawn up in great force, and occupying a strong position along a deep ravine running transversely with the main road, and behind the crest of the hill. I was in position just behind the line of skirmishers, and saw at a glance that the moment for action had come. The skirmishers were driven back on the head of the column, and the attack by the enemy immediately began. The ground occupied by the head of my column was on the brow of a densely wooded hill, falling off abruptly to the right and left. The underbrush and timber were too thick to admit of deployments, and the most that could be done was to take a position across the road by marching the leading regiments into position by a flank movement; this was done under a heavy fire of musketry, grape, canister, and shell.

"The Eleventh Ohio Battery was with difficulty got into position on the crest of the hill, where it could command the road in front of us. The Fifth Iowa, under the brave Matthias, being the leading regiment, was the first in position in the woods to the right of the road, with its left resting near the battery. The Twenty-sixth Missouri, under the resolute Boomer, immediately took position on the right of the Fifth Iowa. The next regiment in the column, the Forty-eighth Indiana, under the brave Colonel Eddy, took position on the left of the road, a little in advance of the battery, and with its left thrown forward so as to cover the open field on their left with their fire.

"This was the position when the battle opened on our side. I directed each of these regiments into position myself, and they were taken by the troops under a heavy fire, with the steadiness of veterans determined to conquer. The battle thus opened with but three regiments in position. The rebels were commanded by Major-General Sterling Price in person, who had arrayed against us no less than eighteen regiments. I saw the importance of holding the position we had assumed, and gave each regimental commander orders to hold every inch of ground at every hazard. As the remaining regiments of the first brigade came up the hill, I threw them into position to protect the flanks of our little line of battle, the Fourth Minnesota, under command of Captain Le Grand, the Sixteenth Iowa, Colonel Chambers, the former on the left and the latter on the right of our line, in rear and *en echelon*.

"The battle at this time had become terrific. The enemy in dense masses bore down in front, on the right and left, showing a determined purpose to envelop and crush the little band in front. The ground admitted of no more forces being brought into action in front, and our position must be held, for the enemy once forcing it, his overwhelming masses would have passed over the

hill and fallen on our unformed column in the rear.

"Brigadier-General Sullivan, having reached the rear of the battle-ground with the head of his brigade, placed one of his regiments, the Tenth Iowa, under the gallant Perczel, with a section of the Twelfth Wisconsin Battery, on the road across the ravine and open field on our extreme left, and finding no more of his forces could be brought into immediate action, placed them in position in reserve, and came gallantly to the front, asking to be of service. I immediately placed him in charge of the right of the line in front, with instructions to hold the ground and see that the right flank was not turned by the heavy force of the enemy moving in that direction. Colonel Sanborn, in command of the first brigade, most gallantly held the left in position until, under a desolating carnage of musketry and canister, the brave Eddy was cut down, and his regiment, borne down by five times their numbers, fell back in some disorder on the Eightieth Ohio, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bartelson. The falling back of the Forty-eighth exposed the battery. As the masses of the enemy advanced, the battery opened with canister at a short range, mowing down the rebels by scores, until, with every officer killed or wounded, and nearly every man and horse killed or disabled, it fell an easy prey. But this success was short-lived; the hero Sullivan rallied a portion of the right wing, and with a bravery characterized as audacity, drove the rebels back to cover.

"Again they rallied, and again the battery fell into their hands, but with the wavering fortunes of this desperate fight the battery again fell into our hands; with three of its guns spiked, and the carriages cut and splintered with balls, it is again ready to meet the foe. While these events were transpiring along the road, the brave General Stanley had come to the front, and joining his personal exertions to mine, the regiments that had fallen into disorder were rallied and held in position to the close of the battle. One of Stanley's regiments, the Eleventh Missouri, coming up fresh and eager for action, was pushed into the right, when, uniting its efforts with the Fifth Iowa and Twenty-fifth Missouri, it made a most gallant fight and aided much, first in holding our ground against the enemy, and afterward driving him back in confusion to the cover of the ravine from which the attack was begun.

"An attempt to turn my left flank, by a heavy force of the enemy moving up the open field and ravine on the left, was most signally repulsed by Colonel Perczel with the Tenth Iowa and a section of Immell's battery. So bravely was this attempt repulsed that the enemy made no more attempts in that direction. After this repulse the Fourth Minnesota was withdrawn from the left, and ordered to report to General Sullivan on the right, where it did good service to the close of the action. This completed the movements in the front, and the battle was fought and won in this position. The Thirty-ninth Ohio,

of Stanley's division, coming up during the heat of the contest, could not be placed in position to take an active part, owing to the want of ground, and was placed in reserve near the log church.

"From five P.M. until darkness prevented distinguishing friend from foe, the battle was fought along the road and to the right of it by the Fifth Iowa, the Twenty-sixth and Eleventh Missouri, with a bravery that scarcely admits of a parallel. The enemy, confident in the heavy force they had deployed, pushed on with frantic desperation, but they were met by a greater heroism, and, though often rallied and driven to the charge, they were as often met and hurled back to their cover. Against this little front the fiercest of the battle was waged. Colonel Boomer was cut down by a terrible wound, but his regiment held their ground undismayed. The Fifth Iowa, under its brave and accomplished Matthias, held their ground against four times their number, making three desperate charges with the bayonet, driving back the foe in disorder each time, until with every cartridge exhausted, it fell back slowly and sullenly, making every step a battle-ground and every charge a victory. Night alone closed the contest, and left us in possession of the field so bravely won.

* * * * * * *

"In closing this report, I shall be permitted to embody this summary. On the 19th instant, my division marched nineteen miles, fought a desperate battle with seven regiments against a rebel force under General Sterling Price of not less than eighteen regiments, won a glorious victory, lying at night on their arms on the field their valor had won, and the following morning chased the fleeing enemy for fifteen miles, and the pursuit was discontinued only when the powers of nature were exhausted.

"The records of war may well be challenged to produce a victory under circumstances and odds so desperate. No words of mine can add lustre to the brilliancy of this victory, and no award of praise given to those who were miles away from the battle-field will detract from the glory justly due to those heroes who won this audacious victory.

"The fearful list of killed and wounded in the few regiments actively engaged, shows with what heroism and desperation this fight was won.

"I say boldly that a force of not more than 2,800 men met and conquered a rebel force of 11,000, on a field chosen by Price, and a position naturally very strong, and with its every advantage inuring to the enemy. A list of casualties is herewith submitted:

"It is known that 263 rebel bodies were buried on and near the field; all their severely wounded, numbering over 400, fell into our hands; the number of able-bodied prisoners who fell into our hands is large. I report, with the highest satisfaction, but 26 missing from my command. Over 800 stand of arms were gathered up on the battle-field, mostly of improved patterns, showing

that the rebels are not wanting in this essential means of making war.

Dead of my Division number	352
Wounded	175
Missing	26
Total	688

"Respectfully submitted.

"(Signed) S. S. HAMILTON,

"Brig.-Gen. Com'ding Third Division."

Generals Hamilton and Stanley, with cavalry, followed the retreating enemy; but though it was hoped that the pursuit would break up Price's army and force him to abandon much of his artillery, he made good his retreat, and having soon after formed a junction with Gen. Van Dorn, resumed the offensive.

As the enemy, with their combined army, now presented a formidable front, Rosecrans fell back toward Corinth, and concentrated his forces.

With an army numbering 40,000 men, in a position which was deemed almost impregnable, Rosecrans did not doubt his ability to check the enemy should they venture to advance. Hazardous as was such an attempt, the Confederates in their recklessness did not hesitate to make it. Their disastrous defeat at Corinth was the result.*

"The battle-ground," says a correspondent of the N. York *Tribune*, whose account of the battle we quote, "was principally between the Memphis and Charleston and the Mobile and Ohio railroads. A line drawn from Corinth to Chevalla, from thence to Bethel, and from Bethel to Corinth, would describe the limits of the battle-ground. It will be seen by a reference to the map that this covers an area of twenty-five or thirty miles, almost every foot of which was, earlier or later, contested. When the rebels reached Chevalla, a small body of troops were sent out to reinforce our retreating army, not with any intention of giving battle, but to create the impression that we were being overwhelmed by numbers, and that Corinth would be an easy capture.

"It was on Thursday morning (October 2d) that two companies were detail-

* General Rosecrans thus describes his victory in a hurried dispatch written on the evening of the battle:

"CORINTH, MISS., *October* 4, 1862.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. GRANT:

"This morning Price made a fierce and determined attack on our right, Van Dorn and Lovell on our left. The contest lasted until half-past eleven o'clock, and was very deadly to the enemy. They drove in our centre. Some of them penetrated to the Corinth House. Hamilton, whose left was on their main line of attack, maintained his ground in all but one spot, and made an advance—secured the centre—with two first-rate regiments. Colonel Sullivan gave us time to bring batteries into action and saved the day on that side. Van Dorn and Lovell made a most determined attack on the extreme right, on the Chevalla road. They were led to the attack through the abattis; two of their columns reached the ditch, the other two stopped not fifty paces from it. All that grape and canister could do was tried; but when it reached this point a charge was ordered, when it became a race between the Twenty-seventh Ohio and the Eleventh Missouri.

"This was too much for the staggered columns; many fell down and held up their hands for mercy. They were badly beaten on both fronts, left their dead and wounded on the field, and are in full retreat.

"Our loss, though serious, especially in officers, is nothing like that of the enemy. Brigadier-General Hackleman fell bravely fighting at the head of his brigade yesterday, shot through the jugular vein. Colonels Kirby Smith, Gilbert, and Mower, wounded, not mortally, and General Oglesby, dangerously. The number killed I cannot tell. Their killed and wounded are strewn along the road for five miles out, where they had a hospital.

"We have between 700 and 1,000 prisoners, not counting wounded.

"McPherson has reached here with his forces.

"We move at daylight in the morning.

"W. S. ROSECRANS, Major-General."

ed from the rebel left to destroy the railroad and telegraph south of Bethel.

"At this time the rebel right rested south of and on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, the centre in the open ground between the roads, and the left on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Price commanded the right, Van Dorn the left, and Villipigue the centre. The rebel advance was made in a line describing the arc of a circle.

"On Thursday night the enemy rested in the woods, four or five miles from Corinth, and early Friday morning (October 3d) the attack was resumed by driving in our pickets as heretofore. They fell back until they reached a mile or so of Corinth; each side was reinforced, and a general engagement was brought on. But I am anticipating. Skirmishing and heavy cannonading commenced at an early hour Friday morning, and continued without intermission for three hours, when our troops fell back slowly to the right, to bring them more directly within supporting distance of the forts. It was our right which received the special attention of the rebels, and here we suffered terribly. It was on this day that we suffered the most and greatest loss, and the rebels least. We were between the redoubts and the enemy, and still so distant that our guns could not open upon the rebels without endangering our own safety. We lost several brave officers on this day—among them General Hackleman, who fell at the head of his brigade, and General Oglesby, who was severely and dangerously wounded.

"Early in the day Colonel Oliver, who was stationed on the Chevalla road, opposed to the rebel right, seeing that the enemy were likely to overpower him, sent in an urgent demand for reinforcements, and they were immediately sent him. The enemy, shortly after their arrival, attacked us in large force, outflanking us on the right, but were held in check for nearly an hour, when we were compelled to retire. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a new line being formed, a charge was made upon the enemy, and they fled in considerable disorder, giving the charging column an opportunity to recapture several pieces of artillery taken earlier in the day.

"Here occurred a most unfortunate and humiliating mistake. It has been denied by parties immediately interested, but others strenuously insist upon its actual occurrence.

"Two Union regiments sent to assist the charging column are reported to have mistaken them for the enemy and to have fired a most destructive volley, by which large numbers were killed and wounded, putting the rest to confusion, and compelling them to retire to their original position. Those who deny the fact of the misdirected volley say that the fire came from a body of rebels on their flank. Until this accident, or incident, the charge was eminently successful, and is spoken of as a peculiarly brilliant affair. The fight was continued during the day with varying results, the advantages being generally with the enemy until four o'clock in the afternoon, when firing ceased. The enemy changed

his position and retired within the edge of the timber just outside of the town, and preparations were made by both armies to bivouac and sleep. Darkness settled like a funeral pall over the battle-field. The glimmer of camp-fires was barely discernible through the volumes of sulphurous smoke which enshrouded alike friend and foe. Ambulances were moving the mutilated soldiers to the hospitals, and details were burying the dead.

"At this time Generals McKean and Stanley, the latter having arrived from Kossuth at four o'clock, took up a position on the Union left, and Hamilton occupied the Union right, his right resting on the Purdy road, from whence he attempted to swing in his division two hours before, but failed because he was so far north that he would be brought to the rebel rear, and thereby cut off. Davies occupied the centre, his left joining the right of Stanley, north of Corinth, in the bottom near the building formerly occupied by General Bragg, and latterly by General Halleck as headquarters. It was in this position that our troops waited impatiently for day and a renewal of the battle.

"The night passed without any unusual demonstration, but at half-past three A.M., an hour before daylight, Saturday morning (October 4th), battery 'Robinett,' one of the redoubts recently constructed, mounting thirty-pounder Parrotts, and eight-inch howitzers, and commanded by Lieutenant H. C. Robinett, of the First United States Infantry, pealed forth a salute—a martial good-morning to the rebels. The enemy evidently expected this, and briskly replied. Our batteries, 'Robinett,' 'Williams,' and 'Phillips,' were able to bring an enfilading fire to bear upon the enemy, which proved so disastrous, that with his batteries silenced and reduced he was glad to retire out of range to the edge of the timber east of the railroad. This was at six o'clock in the morning. They abandoned their guns and threw away their caissons and ammunition. The Sixty-third Ohio secured the latter, and a detachment of the United States Infantry secured one of the rifled field pieces, which General Sherman afterward presented them.

"The Thirty-ninth Ohio managed to secure some of the guns the enemy had taken the day before. With the guns and caissons, our boys at this time brought in 100 prisoners, many of them wounded.

"For a time there were no demonstrations on the part of the enemy, and they remained altogether quiet in the angle of the woods near the railroad. Presently two lines were formed, one at right angles to the other—the one destined, with its reserves, to sweep over the railroad, through the abattis into the village—the other, with its reserves, to attack battery 'Robinett,' which was the key to the whole position. It once taken and held, Corinth was undeniably in rebel possession. The line destined for the occupation of the village came rapidly forward at a charge across the railroad, over the fallen timber, driving the Union line before them like chaff. All that grape and canister could do to

impede their progress was attempted, but still their irresistible progress was not stayed. Batteries of light artillery played upon their front and left incessantly; their colors were thrice shot away; but they came still onward, nor halted until they reached the public square, and formed in line of battle directly in front of General Halleck's old headquarters. Our line of battle was formed directly opposite, in the street leading past General Rosecrans' headquarters.

"The two armies advanced and engaged in a terrible hand-to-hand conflict, and for a time the destruction of the Union line seemed inevitable. Our army gradually yielded and fell back until the enemy had nearly reached the Corinth House. Here General Rosecrans rode along the line, and in a few cheering words revived the drooping courage of the wearied soldiers. The enemy's reserve was at this time directly in range of the guns on the redoubts to the left, and huge shells began to drop in their midst, whose explosion in the solid masses began to create considerable confusion and loss of life. At the same time the order was given to 'charge bayonets.' At this command our brave soldiers sprang to their work with a will. They attacked vigorously, and soon the enemy were flying across the public square in wild confusion. The explosion of the fiery missiles from the two batteries added haste to their movements, and by the time they had reached the cover of the timber their retreat had become a rout.

"By the time this line was driven back, the other line, with their reserves, were well advanced in the direction of battery 'Robinett.'

"During the period of seeming inaction, when the enemy had withdrawn to the cover of the timber, while preparing to make the two charges as recorded in the preceding narrative, General Price and his principal officers held a consultation to devise ways and means to take the battery. The importance of its capture was admitted, and the risk and danger of the attempt thoroughly canvassed. General Price would not take the responsibility of ordering the attack, but called for volunteers. Colonel Rogers, of Arkansas, immediately tendered his brigade as the forlorn hope, and Colonel Ross his brigade as a support.

"They massed their troops eight deep, and advanced under a heavy fire of double charges of grape and canister. A terrible enfilading and flanking fire was poured upon them from every battery bearing in that direction, aided by incessant volleys of musketry from the supports of the batteries, and the Union regiments drawn up in line parallel with them.

"The first shell from battery 'William' exploded in the centre of the advancing column, sending thirty or forty to their long home. Every discharge caused huge gaps in their ranks. An eye-witness of that wonderful charge says that he can compare the effect of our fire to nothing but the falling of grain before the scythe. This tremen-

dous mortality did not affect their irresistible onward march. As fast as one man fell his comrade stepped forward in his place. I doubt whether history has ever recorded a charge characterized by such determined valor and bravery. Twice did they approach almost to the outer works of the battery, and twice were they compelled to fall back. The third time they reached the battery, and planted their flag upon the edge. It was shot down, raised again, and again shot down. They swarmed about the battery; they climbed over the parapets; they fired through the escarpments, and for a time it seemed as if they had secured the victory their valor had so richly earned.

"When they obtained the battery, our men who were working it fell back behind the projecting earth-works, out of reach from our shells, and immediately all the batteries bearing upon the position were turned upon battery 'Robinett,' and soon a shower of missiles were falling like hail upon the brave intruders. No mortal man could withstand the fire, and they retreated. Slowly the brave remnant turned their unwilling steps toward the forest from which they started, when the order was given to the two regiments supporting the battery to charge. This order was splendidly executed. The miserable remnant of troops whom the batteries had nearly destroyed were now almost annihilated. A few scattered troops were all that remained of the column which so valiantly attacked the battery scarcely an hour before. The dead bodies of rebels were piled up in and about the intrenchments, in some places eight and ten deep. In one place directly in front of the point of assault, 216 dead bodies were found within a space of 100 feet by four, among them the commanders of both brigades making the assault—Colonel Rogers and Colonel Ross.

"This was the termination of the engagement."

The enemy, on being repulsed, retreated in the direction of Chevalla, and at daylight next morning General Rosecrans set out in pursuit, but did not come up with them until they had been driven back by Generals Hurlbut and Ord,* who had taken a position in their

* The following is General Ord's official report:

"HOSPITAL NEAR POCAHONTAS, *October* 5—SIX P.M.

"MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. GRANT: I joined the column and took command at half-past seven o'clock this A.M., and found that General Hurlbut had driven in the enemy's videttes, and had skirmished considerably in the afternoon of the 4th. I also found that he made excellent arrangements for the advance to-day.

"About half a mile from our camp of last night, the enemy began to dispute our advance, first with cavalry, to which their infantry and artillery in force were soon added. The road, narrow and winding through swamp and jungle, and over precipitous ridges, across which at times the artillery was, with difficulty, dragged by hand, was one of the most dangerous to attempt, in the face of an enemy, I have ever seen. They took advantage of every swamp and jungle for their infantry, and every ridge for their artillery, from which we successfully drove them, generally at the double-quick, for five miles to and across the Hatchie, at Davis' bridge, over which and up the steep beyond we pushed them so rapidly that they had not time to burn the bridge. In driving the enemy we took two batteries and have them, and at the river captured 200 and 300 prisoners, among whom are field-officers and aid-de-camp to General Van Dorn, who commanded the enemy. On account of the fact that we had frequently to attack across open fields and up hills while the enemy were under dense cover, we have lost quite a number of officers and men and have several hundred wounded, probably a greater number than have the enemy. Gen-

rear, and thus met them in their retreat.

"When General Grant heard," says the chronicler previously quoted, "of the nature of the conflict on Friday, foreseeing its result, he ordered General Hurlbut to leave Bolivar with the forces under his command, with four days' rations, and march across the country to the forks of the Hatchie and Tuscumbia, and there intercept Price in his retreat. He marched rapidly and came up with the enemy's advance five miles beyond the Hatchie, west of Pocahontas. An engagement resulted, lasting from noon of Sunday till nightfall, when the enemy were driven back three miles, and both armies lay upon their arms till daylight Monday morning.

"Meantime, General Ord had arrived, and took command of the column. The battle was renewed and most fiercely contested for several hours in the face of topographical difficulties which to any other army than the Army of the Southwest would be insuperable. The road ran along the brows of precipitous hills, and through swamps and jungles in some places impassable to horses and artillery, and the men were compelled to drag their guns by hand. The enemy posted his infantry in the swamps and thickets and his light artillery on the hills, and endeavored to drive back our columns. It was in vain. Our men pressed forward and drove them from their position. They recrossed the Hatchie with such haste and precipitation that

eral Veach was very badly contused by a spent ball striking him in the side.

"I will send you a regimental list of killed and wounded as soon as they can be brought in. General Hurlbut has cavalry in pursuit of the enemy, who moved off to the south about four o'clock this afternoon, our infantry, which started from Bolivar at three o'clock A.M. yesterday, marching twenty-six miles, and to-day fighting five miles over this country, under a fire at short range for seven hours, being too much fatigued to pursue to-day; besides, it would take until dark to bring in the wounded. The troops in their charge over the miserable bridge at Davis' Creek, and up the steep beyond, exposed to a murderous fire of shell, grape, and canister, with three of their batteries playing upon them at canister range, however, proved that, wherever their officers dare to lead them, the men will go. Generals Hurlbut, Veach, and Lauman, the former commanding the division, the latter two brigades, did not confine themselves alone to their duties as commanders, but did everything that men could do to make victory complete. Gallant officers! so much praise of them is entirely unnecessary. To their respective staff-officers I must also add my sincere thanks for the zeal and energy with which they discharged their arduous duties throughout the day. To the officers of the line, and the men, from what I have seen of them to-day, I can only say that, should the fortunes of war continue them under my command, it will be my pride to win their confidence. General Veach pushed the enemy with great vigor and success in front, until their forces were so much increased that it became necessary to bring up our reserve under command of General Lauman, which I ordered at once, whereupon the enemy were driven from their last stronghold, General Lauman showing, by his coolness, energy, and courage, that the front was his proper place.

"General Hurlbut has reported to me that he has gathered about 900 arms already, thrown away by the enemy in their retreat, and expects to collect a large number to-morrow. The names of 289 prisoners have already been registered, and they are still being brought in. From the nature of the country over which we fought, it is impossible to arrive at any accurate estimate of the number of the enemy, but this may be inferred from the number of arms thrown away, the quantity of their artillery, and the fact that a portion of their forces engaged against us were not at Corinth. Guns are heard to-night in the direction of Corinth.

"General Hurlbut will push forward early to-morrow morning, as it is presumed General Rosecrans is harassing the rear of the enemy. My personal staff, Division-Surgeon S. B. Davis, Captain Sharpe, and Lieutenant Brown, A. D. C., and Captain Hotaling, Second Illinois Cavalry and A. D. C., were, by turns, colonels of regiments, or captains of batteries, cheering and leading the men

through the thickest of the fight. They always took the shortest line to danger on the field, and were always on hand when wanted. I commend them to the consideration of the Government. E. O. C. Ord,

"Major-General."

they had not time to burn the bridge, and another fierce engagement was fought with the river between the two armies. Their artillery was so placed east of the bridge that it commanded the approach, but our brave boys charged impetuously, regardless of the bullets, grape, and canister which were falling like hail about them. They carried the rebel position, and drove the enemy back upon Rosecrans.

"Attacked and beaten, front and rear, there was no alternative but flight. They plunged into the swamps and jungles, and sought an avenue of escape to the southward."

Rosecrans now fell back to Chevalla, and Ord and Hurlbut to Bolivar, but McPherson continued the pursuit as far as Ripley, when he was ordered to give up the chase.

The scattered remnants of the enemy continued their flight to Holly Springs.

The following is General Rosecrans' official report:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
THIRD DIV., DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
CORINTH, *October* 28, 1862.

"MAJOR: I have the honor to submit, for the information of the Major-General commanding the district, the following report of the battle of Corinth:

"The rumors which followed the battle of Iuka were that Price had marched to the vicinity of Ripley, and was being joined by Van Dorn with all the available rebel forces in north Mississippi, for the purpose of capturing Corinth, or breaking our line of communication and forcing us to retreat toward Columbus.

"These rumors gained strength until the 1st of October, when strong cavalry scouts sent out for the purpose demonstrated the fact that the rebels were moving from Ripley *via* Ruckersville, and the main body was at Pocahontas.

"The question then was, where they would strike the main blow?

"Equally favorably situated to strike either Bolivar, Bethel, Jackson, or Corinth, which would it be?

"Unfortunately for me, there was no map of the country northwest of this place to be found; therefore I could not tell whether to expect a strong demonstration here to hold us in suspense while the blow was struck elsewhere, or *vice versa*. Rumors that the attack was to take the direction of Jackson or Bolivar, *via* Bethel, were so rife, and the fortifications of Corinth were so well known to the rebels, that I had hopes they would undertake to mask me, and, passing north, give me an opportunity to beat the masking force and cut off their retreat.

"This hope gained some strength from the supposed difficulties of the country lying in the triangle formed by the Memphis and Charleston, the Mobile and Ohio railroads and Cypress Creek.

"To be prepared for eventualities, Hamilton's and Stanley's divisions were placed just beyond Bridge Creek, the infantry outposts were called in from Iuka, Burnsville, Rienzi, and Danville, and the outpost at Chevalla retired to New Alexander, and strengthened by another regiment and a battery, early on the morning of the 2d.

"During that day evidences increased, showing the practicability of the country northwest of us, and disclosed the fact, not before known, that there were two good roads from Chevalla eastward, one leading directly into the old rebel intrenchments, and the other crossing over into the Pittsburg Landing road.

"Accordingly, the following disposition of the troops for the 3d was ordered at half-past one o'clock A.M. of that day, viz.:

"There being indications of a possible attack on Corinth, immediately the following dispositions of troops will be made: General McKean with his division will occupy the present position; General Davies will occupy the line between the Memphis and Columbus road; General Hamilton with his division will take position between the rebel works on the Purdy and on the Hamburg roads; and General Stanley will hold his division in reserve at or near the old headquarters of Major-General Grant.

"The respective divisions will be formed in two lines, the second line being either in line of battle or close column by division, as their circumstances may require.

"The troops were ordered to move toward their positions, with 100 rounds of ammunition and three days' rations per man, by three o'clock A.M.

"These dispositions were made, and the troops at nine o'clock on the morning of the 3d occupied the positions shown on the accompanying map. Hamilton on the right, Davies on the centre, McKean on the left, with an advance of three regiments of infantry and a section of artillery under Colonel Oliver on the Chevalla road, at or near Alexander's, beyond the rebel breastworks. The cavalry were disposed as follows: A battalion at Burnsville, one at Romney's Mill, on the Jacinto and Corinth road; Colonel Lee, with the Seventh Kansas and a part of the Seventh Illinois at Kossuth and Boneyard, watching the rebels' right flank; Colonel Hatch and Captain Wilcox on the east and north fronts, covering and reconnoitring.

"The reasons for these dispositions flow obviously from the foregoing explanations of our ignorance of the northwesterly approach, and of the possibility that the rebels might threaten us on the Chevalla and attack us by the Smith's Bridge road on the left, or go round and try us with his main force on the Purdy, or even Pittsburg Landing road.

"The general plan which was explained to the division commanders verbally on the morning, was to hold the enemy at arm's length by approaching him strongly in our assumed positions, and when his force became fully developed and he had assumed a position, to take a position which would give us the use of our batteries and the open ground in the vicinity of Corinth, the exact position to be determined by events and the movements of the enemy.

"Early in the morning the advance under Colonel Oliver found strong indications that the pressure under which he had retired on the 2d came from the ad-

vancing foe, and accordingly took a strong position on a hill near the angle of the rebel breast-works, with his three regiments and a section of artillery.

"By nine o'clock the enemy began to press them sharply and outflank them. Brigadier-General McArthur, whom I had requested to go to the front, reported wide-spread but slack skirmishing, and said the hill was of great value to the advancing force. I ordered him to hold it pretty firmly with that view.

"About ten o'clock word came that the enemy were pressing the point hotly, and that reinforcements were required, or they must yield the position. Supposing its importance was properly understood, and that it was held in subordination to the general views of its use, which were explained, I directed General Davies to send up from his position two regiments.

"But it proved that General McArthur had taken up four more regiments from McKean's division, and was contesting the ground almost as for a battle. It was probably this which induced General Davies to ask permission to rest his right on the rebel intrenchments, and to which I consented, adding the verbal order to Lieutenant-Colonel Ducat, that he might use his judgment about leaving his present for that position, but in no event must he cease to touch the left on McArthur's right.

"The advance was made to the breast-work as shown in the drawing, leaving an interval between McArthur's right and Davies' left. The enemy developed his forces along that line as McArthur retired from his position, which gave the rebels an opportunity to advance behind Davies' left, and forced it, after obstinate resistance, to fall back rapidly about 1,000 yards, losing two heavy guns.

"Our troops fought with the most determined courage, firing very low. At one P.M., Davies having resumed the same position he had occupied in the morning, and McArthur's force having fought a heavy force, it became evident that the enemy were in full strength, and meant mischief. McKean, with Crocker's brigade, had seen only skirmishers; there were no signs of any movements on our left, and only a few cavalry skirmishers on our right. It was pretty clear that we were to expect the weight of the attack to fall on our centre, where hopes had been given of our falling back.

"Orders were accordingly given to McKean to fall back to the next ridge beyond our intrenchments, to touch his right on Davies' left, for Stanley to move northward and eastward, to stand in close echelon, but nearer town. General Hamilton was ordered to face toward Chevalla, and move down until his left reached Davies' right. Davies was informed of these dispositions, told to hold his ground obstinately, and then, when he had drawn them in strongly, Hamilton would swing in on their front, and rear, and close the day. Hamilton was carefully instructed on this point, and entered into the spirit of it.

"Owing to loss of time in conveying orders to Generals McKean and Davies, the orders were less perfectly conformed

to, but nothing materially injurious resulted therefrom. But owing to the tremendous force with which the enemy pressed Davies back, Stanley was called with his division, with his batteries, and sent a brigade under Colonel Mower to support Davies, whose right had at last become hotly engaged. Mower came up while Davies was contesting a position near the White House, and Hamilton began to swing in on the enemy's flank, across the Columbia Railroad, through a very impracticable thicket, when night closed in and put an end to the operations for the day. * * *

"We had now before us the entire army which the rebels could muster in northern Mississippi, Van Dorn commanding (Price's army, Van Dorn's army, Villipigue, and the remnant of Breckinridge's corps). They were in the angle between the Memphis and the Columbus roads. Our left was comparatively free; our right very assailable. They outnumbered us, probably, two to one.

"The plan was to rest our left on the batteries extending from battery Robinett, our centre on the slight ridge north of the houses, and our right on the high ground covering both the Pittsburg and Purdy roads, while it also covered the ridge roads between them leading to their old camps. McKean had the extreme left, Stanley, with his well-tried division, batteries Williams and Robinett, the Memphis Railroad and the Chevalla road extending nearly to the Columbus road. Davies' tried division was placed in the centre, which was retired, reaching to battery Powell; Hamilton's staunch fighting division was on the right with Dillon's battery, supported by two regiments, on the prolongation of Davies' line.

"The design of General Hamilton was to use the hill where the batteries stood against an approach from the west, where Sullivan found the enemy on the last evening. Against my better judgment, expressed to him at the time, I yielded to his wishes, and allowed the occupation as described.

"Early in the evening I called the chiefs of divisions together, and explained to them their plans, and having supervised the position, retired at three A.M. on the 4th to take some rest. I was soon aroused by the opening of the enemy's artillery, which he had planted within 600 yards of battery Robinett.

"This early opening gave promise of a hot day's work; but the heavy batteries and the Tenth Ohio, placed north of General Halleck's headquarters, silenced them by seven o'clock, and there was an interval of an hour, which was employed in going over our lines.

"About seven o'clock, the skirmishers which we had sent into the woods on our front, by their not firing, proclaimed the presence of their forces preparing for the assault. Soon the heads of their columns were seen emerging to attack our centre, on Davies first, Stanley next, and Hamilton last. * * * *

"I shall leave to pens dipped in poetic ink to describe the gorgeous pyrotechnics of the battle, and paint in words of fire the heroes of the fight. * * * *

"I will only add that when Price's left bore down on our centre in gallant style, their force was so overpowering that our wearied and jaded troops yielded and fell back, scattering among the houses. I had the personal mortification of witnessing this untoward and untimely stampede.

"Riddled and scattered, the ragged head of Price's right storming column advanced to near the house north side of the square, in front of General Halleck's headquarters, when it was greeted with a storm of grape from a section of Immel's battery, soon reinforced by the Tenth Ohio, which sent them reeling back, pursued by the Fifth Minnesota, which advanced to them from their position near the dépôt.

"General Sullivan was ordered and promptly advanced to the support of General Davies' centre. His right rallied and retook battery Powell, into which a few of the storming column had penetrated, while Hamilton having played upon the rebels on his right, over the opening, effectively swept by his artillery, advanced by them and they fled. The battle was over on the right.

"During all this the skirmishers of the left were moving on our front. A line of battle was formed on the bridge as shown in the drawing; about twenty minutes after the attack on the right the enemy advanced in four columns on battery Robinett and were treated to grape and canister until within fifty yards, when the Ohio brigade arose and gave them a murderous fire of musketry, before which they fell back to the woods.

"They, however, gallantly re-formed and advanced again to the charge, led by Colonel Rogers of the Second Texas.

"This time they reached the edge of the ditch, but the deadly musketry fire of the Ohio brigade again broke them, and at the word Charge! the Eleventh Missouri and Twenty-seventh Ohio sprang up and forward at them, chasing their broken fragments back to the woods.

"Thus by noon ended the battle of the 4th of October.

"After waiting for the enemy's return a short time, our skirmishers began to advance, and found that their skirmishers were gone from the field, leaving their dead and wounded.

"Having ridden over it and satisfied myself of the fact, I rode all over our lines announcing the result of the fight in person, and notified our victorious troops that after two days' fighting, two almost sleepless nights of preparation, movements, and march, I wished them to replenish their cartridge-boxes, haversacks, and stomachs, take an early sleep, and start in pursuit by daylight.

"Returning from this I found the gallant McPherson with a fresh brigade on the public square, and gave him the same notice, with orders to take the advance.

"The results of the battle briefly stated are: We fought the combined rebel force of Mississippi, commanded by Van Dorn, Price, Lovell, Villipigue, and Rust in person, numbering, according to their own authority, 38,000 men.

"We signally defeated them with lit-

tle more than half their numbers, and they fled, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.

"The enemy's loss in killed was 1,423 officers and men; their loss in wounded, taking the general average, amounts to 5,692. We took 2,248 prisoners, among whom are 137 field officers, captains, and subalterns, representing 53 regiments of infantry, 16 of cavalry, 13 batteries of artillery, and seven battalions, making 69 regiments, six battalions, and 13 batteries, besides separate companies.

"We took also 14 stands of colors, two pieces of artillery, 3,300 stand of arms, 4,500 rounds of ammunition, and a large lot of accoutrements. The enemy blew up several wagons between Corinth and Chevalla; and beyond Chevalla many ammunition wagons and carriages were destroyed, and the ground was strewn with tents, officers' mess chests, and small-arms. We pursued them forty miles in force and sixty miles with cavalry. Our loss was only 315 killed, 1,812 wounded, and 232 prisoners and missing.

"It is said the enemy were so demoralized and alarmed at our advance, they set fire to the stores at Tupello, but finding we were not close upon them, extinguished the fire and removed the public stores, except two car-loads of bacon which they destroyed.

"W. S. Rosecrans, Major-General."

While large armies were contending, and the war was being waged with great activity on the borders, both antagonists at the extreme South remained for some time comparatively inert. Occasional attacks, however, were made on each other's posts, with varying results.

At Plymouth, in North Carolina, a Union garrison of 300 men, principally composed of Hawkins' Zouaves, under the command of Sergeant Green, captured a much larger number of the enemy, who attempted to surprise and capture the town. Thirty of the secessionists were killed, and forty, with their commanding officer, captured, while the Unionists lost but four men in all. **Sep. 2.**

The enemy, in their attempt upon Washington, N. C., garrisoned by Massachusetts troops and a Union North Carolina regiment, met with greater success, having succeeded in surprising and entering the town. They were finally, however, driven out by the aid of the gun-boats, with great loss. **Sep. 6.**

A more formidable expedition, composed of land and naval forces, was finally organized by General Foster, which he commanded in person, to operate in the interior of North Carolina. Foster succeeded in driving the enemy from Williamton and Hamilton, and advancing within eleven miles of Tarboro'; but being disappointed in obtaining reinforcements and supplies, he returned to Newbern, without having accomplished his main purpose, of surprising and capturing a body of Confederate troops reported in that neighborhood, and of pushing on eventually to Weldon and securing possession of that important point of railway communication between Virginia and the Carolinas. **Nov. 2.**

In South Carolina, though there had been a long suspension of active hos-

tility, great preparations were made for carrying on the contest with renewed vigor. General Mitchell, having satisfied the Government of his innocence of the charges preferred against his conduct while in Tennessee, was restored to active duty and placed in command of the Department of the South, from which General Hunter had been recalled. Arriving at Hilton Head on the 15th of September, Mitchell at once inspired the troops with some of his own eagerness for action, and inaugurated his assumption of command by a successful expedi-
Oct. 3. tion against the enemy on St. John's River, in Florida.

The enemy, kept in constant anxiety for the safety of their seaport towns, continued to increase their coast defences. The old forts were strengthened, new ones erected, and iron-clad gun-boats built to protect Charleston, Savannah and Mobile.

General Beauregard, whose sudden
Sep. 6. disappearance from the field had given rise to so much vague conjecture, was again summoned to active duty as the commander-in-chief of the Coast Department, with his headquarters at Charleston.

General Mitchell gave another proof of enterprise in organizing an expedition to interrupt the enemy's communications between Savannah and Charleston. Mitchell was to have commanded the expedition in person, but was prevented by an attack of yellow fever, which resulted in his death* on the 30th of October. The command devolved upon Brigadier-General J. M. Brannan, whose report of the expedition is as follows: Oct. 21.

"HEADQUARTERS EXPEDITIONARY FORCES, U. S. TRANSPORT BEN DEFORD, *Oct.* 24, 1862.

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. P. PRENTICE, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, HILTON HEAD, S. C.:

"COLONEL: In accordance with instructions received from headquarters, Department of the South, I assumed command of the following forces, ordered to destroy the railroad and railroad bridges on the 'Charleston and Savannah line:'

A portion of the First Brigade (Brannan's), Colonel J. L. Chatfield, Sixth Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, commanding	2,000
A portion of Second Brigade, Brigadier-General A. H. Terry commanding	1,410
Detachment Third Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers, Colonel Brown commanding	300
Detachment Forty-eighth Regiment New York State Volunteers, Colonel Barton commanding	300
Detachment First Massachusetts Cavalry, Captain L. Richmond commanding	108
Section First United States Artillery, Lieutenant G. V. Henry commanding	40
Section Third United States Artillery, Lieutenant E. Gettings commanding	40
Detachment New York Volunteer Engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Hall commanding	250
Total effective strength	4,448

"With this command I left Hilton Head, South Carolina, on the evening of the 21st of October, 1862, and proceeding up Broad River arrived off Pocotaligo Creek at half-past four A.M., with the transport Ben Deford and gunboat Paul Jones.

"Colonel William Barton, Forty-eighth Regiment New York State Volunteers; fifty men of the Volunteer Engineer Corps, and fifty men of the

* General Hunter, who had been his immediate predecessor, succeeded General Mitchell in the command of the Southern Department.

Third Rhode Island Volunteers, in accordance with my orders, delivered early that morning, proceeded direct to the Coosawhatchie River to destroy the railroad and railroad bridges in that vicinity. The other gun-boats and transports did not all arrive until about eight A.M., October 22, 1862. I immediately effected a landing of my artillery and infantry at Mackay's Point, on the junction of the Pocotaligo and Tillifiny rivers. I advanced without delay in the direction of the Pocotaligo bridge, sending back the transports Flora and Darlington to Port Royal Island for the cavalry.

"The first brigade was in advance, with a section from First United States Artillery, followed by the second brigade, with a section of the Third United States Artillery and three boat howitzers, which Capt. Steadman, commanding the naval forces, kindly furnished for this occasion—and a detachment of forty-five men from the Third Rhode Island Volunteer Artillery, under Captain Comstock, of that regiment, and followed by Colonel Brown's command. On advancing about five and a half miles, and debouching upon an open, rolling country, the rebels opened upon us with a field battery, from a position on the plantation known as Caston's. I immediately caused the first brigade to deploy, and, bringing my artillery to the front, drove the rebels from this position. They, however, destroyed all the small bridges in the vicinity, causing much delay in my advance. These, with the aid of the engineer corps, were reconstructed, and I followed up the retreat of the rebels with all haste practicable.

"I had advanced about a quarter of a mile farther, when a battery again opened on me from a position on the plantation called Frampton.

"The rebels here had every advantage of ground, being ensconced in a wood, with a deep swamp, passable only by a narrow causeway (the bridge on which had been destroyed), while on our side of the swamp and along the entire front and flank of the enemy (extending to the swamps) was an impervious thicket, intersected by a deep water ditch, and passable only by a narrow road. Into this wood the rebels threw a most terrific fire of grape-shot, shell, canister, and musket-balls, killing and wounding great numbers of my command.

"Here the ammunition for the field-pieces fell short, and though the infantry acted with great courage and determination, they were twice driven out of the woods with great slaughter by the overwhelming fire of the enemy, whose missiles tore through the woods like hail.

"I had warmly responded to this fire with the sections of the First and Third United States Artillery and the boat howitzers, until, finding my ammunition about to fail, and seeing that any flank movement was impossible, I pressed the first brigade forward through the thicket to the verge of the swamp, and sent the section of First United States Artillery, well supported, to the causeway on the farther side of the road, leaving the

second brigade, with Colonel Brown's command, the section of the Third United States Artillery and the boat howitzers, as a line of defence in my rear.

"The effect of this bold movement was immediately evident in the precipitate retreat of the rebels, who disappeared in the woods with amazing rapidity. The infantry of the first brigade immediately plunged through the swamp (parts of which were nearly up to their armpits) and started in pursuit. Some delay was caused by the bridge having been destroyed, rendering the passage of the artillery impossible; however, this difficulty was overcome, and with my full force I pressed forward on the retreating rebels at this point. Apprehending, from the facility which the rebels possessed of heading Pocotaligo Creek, that they would attempt to turn my left flank, I sent an infantry regiment, with a boat howitzer, to my left, to strike the Coosawhatchie road.

"The position which I here found proved, as I had supposed, to be one of great natural advantage to the rebels, the ground being higher on that side of the swamp, and a firm open field for the working of their artillery, which latter they formed in a half-circle, throwing a concentrated fire on the entrance to the wood we had just passed. The rebels left in their retreat a caisson full of ammunition, which latter, fortunately fitting the boat howitzers, enabled us at a later period of the day to keep up our fire when all other ammunition had failed. Still pursuing the flying rebels, I arrived at that point where the Coosawhatchie road, joining that from Mackay's Landing, runs through a swamp to Pocotaligo bridge; here the rebels opened a murderous fire upon us from batteries of siege-guns and field-pieces on the farther side of the creek. Our skirmishers, however, advanced boldly to the edge of the swamp, and from what cover they could obtain did considerable execution among the enemy. The rebels, as I had anticipated, attempted a flank movement on our left, but for some reason abandoned it. The ammunition of the artillery here entirely failed, owing to the caissons not having been brought on, for want of transportation from Port Royal, and pieces had to be sent back to renew it. The bridge across the Pocotaligo was destroyed, and the rebels from behind their earth-works continued a tremendous fire on the only approach through the swamp. Night was now closing fast, and seeing the utter hopelessness of attempting anything further against the force which the enemy had concentrated at this point from Savannah and Charleston, with an army of much inferior force, unprovided with ammunition, and not having even sufficient transportation to remove the wounded, who were lying writhing along our entire route, I deemed it expedient to retire on Mackay's Point, which I did in successive lines of defence, burying my dead and carrying our wounded with us on such stretchers as we could manufacture from branches of trees and blankets, etc., and receiving no molestation from the rebels, embarked and returned to Hilton Head on the

23d instant. Facts turned to show that the rebels were perfectly acquainted with all our plans, as they had evidently studied our purpose with care, and had two lines of defence—Caston and Frampton—before falling back on Pocotaligo, where, aided by their field-works and favored by the nature of the ground and the facility of concentrating troops, they evidently purposed making a determined stand, and, indeed, the accounts gathered from prisoners leave no doubt but that the rebels had very accurate information of our movements.

"I greatly felt the want of the cavalry, who, in consequence of the transports having grounded in Broad River, did not arrive till nearly four P.M., and who, in the early part of the day would, perhaps, have captured some field-pieces in the open country we were in, and would, at all events, have prevented the destruction of the bridge in the rear of the rebels.

"Great praise is due to the brigade and regimental commanders for their calm and determined courage during the entire day, and for the able manner in which they handled their several commands.

"Colonel Barton, Forty-eighth Regiment New York State Volunteers, as will be seen from his accompanying report, partially effected the object of his movement on Coosawhatchie, but meeting with too strong a force of the rebels, was obliged to re-embark.

"I desire to call the attention of the Major-General commanding the Department to the gallant and distinguished conduct of First Lieutenant Guy V. Henry, First United States Artillery, commanding a section of light artillery. His pieces were served admirably throughout the entire engagement. He had two horses shot. The section of Third United States Artillery, commanded by First Lieutenant E. Gettings, Third United States Artillery, was also well served. He being wounded in the latter part of the day, his section was commanded by Lieutenant Henry.

"The three boat howitzers furnished by Captain Steadman, United States Navy, commanding the naval forces, were served well, and the officers commanding them, with their crews, as also the detachment of Third Rhode Island Volunteers, deserve great credit for their coolness, skill, and gallantry. The officers commanding these guns are as follows: Lieutenant Lloyd Phœnix, Ensigns James Wallace, Larue P. Adams, and Frederick Pearson.

"The conduct of my entire staff—Captain Louis J. Lambert, assistant adjutant-general; Captain J. Coryell, assistant quartermaster; Lieutenants Ira V. Germain and George W. Bacon, aids-de-camp—gave me great pleasure and satisfaction. My orders were transmitted by them, in the hottest of the battle, with great rapidity and correctness.

"To Colonel Serrell, New York Volunteer Engineers, who acted as an additional aid-de-camp, I am much indebted. His energy, perfect coolness, and bravery were sources of much gratification to me. Orders from me were executed by him in a very satisfactory

manner. Lieutenant Hill, signal-officer, performed his duties with great promptness. He acted, also, as additional aid-de-camp, and gave me much assistance in conveying my orders during the entire day.

"The troops of the command behaved with great gallantry, and advanced against a remarkably heavy fire of musketry, canister, grape, round-shot, and shell, driving the enemy before them with much determination. I was perfectly satisfied with their conduct.

"It affords me much pleasure again to report the perfect cordiality existing between the two branches of the service, and I am much indebted to Captain Steadman for his valuable aid and assistance in disembarking and re-embarking the troops, also in sending launches (with howitzers) to prevent an attack on our pickets while we were embarking to return to Hilton Head.

"Colonel S. H. Good, Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers—Colonel Chatfield being wounded early in the day—commanded the first brigade during the latter part of the engagement, with much ability. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the promptness and skill with which the wounded were attended to by Surgeon E. W. Bailey, Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers (medical director), and the entire medical staff of the command.

"The fitting out of the expedition, as relates to its organization, supplies, transportation, and ammunition, was done entirely by the Major-General commanding the Department, who at first proposed to command it. I was not assigned to the command till a few hours previous to the sailing of the expedition from Hilton Head. * * * *

"I have the honor to be, Colonel, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. M. Brannan, Brig.-Gen. Com'g."

The enemy's General claimed a victory in the following brief and contemptuous dispatch:

"Savannah, *October* 23, 1862.

"To General S. Cooper:

"The Abolitionists attacked in force Pocotaligo and Coosawhatchie yesterday. They were gallantly repulsed to their gun-boats at Mackay's Point and Bee's Creek Landing by Colonel W. J. Walker, commanding troops sent from here. The enemy had come in thirteen transports and gun-boats. The Charleston Railroad is uninjured. The Abolitionists left their dead and wounded on the field. Our cavalry are in hot pursuit.

"G. T. Beauregard, Gen. Com'ng."

At New Orleans, General Butler continued his vigorous military rule, exacting obedience to his authority from the reluctant within the city, and occasionally making demonstrations against the hostile without.

The former were less determined in their resistance than the latter. General Butler having issued an order confiscating the property of those citizens who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, crowds of anxious proprietors hastened to secure the safety of their possessions.

The expedition of Butler against the enemy's posts at Donaldsonville (Sep-

tember 23d) and Ponchatoula (September 25th), though spiritedly conducted, failed in accomplishing their purpose of demolishing the enemy's fortifications at the former place, and surprising General Jefferson Davis in his headquarters at the latter. A subsequent attack upon Donaldsonville and Labadieville (October 29) was more successful, and resulted in the occupation of Thibodeaux.

After the evacuation of Arkansas by General Curtis, the enemy were left free to combine their forces and act on the offensive. They accordingly mustered a considerable body of troops and crossed the borders of Arkansas into Missouri.

Having occupied Newtonia, near Sarcoxie, they succeeded in repulsing the advance, under General Salomon, of the Union army, which, though inferior in force, had imprudently attempted to drive them out. The main body of the Unionists, under General Schofield, coming up a few days subsequently, attacked the enemy at Newtonia, and after a struggle of two hours putting them to rout, drove them back again into Arkansas. General Schofield now marched his force to Cassville, on the borders, ready to oppose any further attempts at invasion.

Sep. 29.

Missouri had been thus again freed from the organized armies of the enemy, but their guerrilla bands continued to infest the State.

The enemy having again mustered in considerable numbers in Arkansas near the borders of Missouri, General Schofield sent out a force to attack them. The result is thus given in the official report:

"St. Louis, Mo., *October* 25, 1862.

"Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington:

"Our arms are entirely successful again in northwest Arkansas.

"General Schofield, finding that the enemy had camped at Pea Ridge, sent General Blunt, with the first division, westward, and moved toward Huntsville with the rest of his forces.

"Gen. Blunt, by making a hard night's march, reached and attacked the rebel force at Maysville, near the northwest corner of Arkansas, at seven o'clock on the morning of the 22d instant.

"The enemy were estimated at from 5,000 to 7,000 strong.

"The engagement lasted about an hour, and resulted in the total rout of the enemy, with the loss of his artillery —a battery of six pounders—a large number of horses, and a portion of their transportation and garrison equipments.

"Our cavalry and light howitzers were still in pursuit of their scattered forces when the messenger left.

"Our loss was small.

"General Schofield pursued General Hindman beyond Huntsville, coming close upon him, when his forces precipitately fled beyond the Boston Mountain.

"All the organized forces of the rebels have thus been driven back to the valley of the Arkansas River, and the Army of the Frontier has gallantly and successfully accomplished its mission.

"S. R. Curtis, Maj.-Gen. Com'g."

General Schofield, notwithstanding the importance of his position on the borders of Arkansas, was, in consequence of his want of supplies, forced to abandon it and fall back to Springfield, where his illness abated for a time the energy of his operations. In the mean time the enemy mustered their forces and threatened another incursion into Missouri.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Various Opinions in regard to the effect of Emancipation upon the War.—Negro Insurrection differently viewed—Shrewd Policy of the Emancipationists.—Time for Action.—Pressure on Mr. Lincoln.—His Hesitation overcome.—The President's Proclamation of Freedom.—How received at the North.—By the Parties.—By the People.—By the Army.—By the Border States.—The Effect of the Proclamation in the Seceded States.—Action of Confederate Congress.—Savage Resolutions.—Effect of the Proclamation in Europe.—Opinions of the *Morning Post*, London *Times*, Manchester *Guardian*, *Morning News*, and *Star*.—Too early to judge of the effects of the Emancipation Proclamation upon the Slaves.

FROM the commencement of the war there were many at the North who **1862.** believed that the most effectual, if not the only, means of restoring the Federal authority in the seceded States was the emancipation of the slaves. They contended that the 4,000,000 of negroes who, while in bondage, were an element of strength to the rebellion, would, if set free, prove its weakness.

While some of these advocates of emancipation affected not to anticipate as its consequence or desire a servile insurrection, there were others who fearlessly contemplated it as a probable and not undesirable event. The latter, in their enthusiastic ardor for universal freedom, appalled by no sacrifice that human liberty might demand, did not refuse to accept all the consequences of the sudden manumission of millions of semi-barbarous negroes. Any scruples that may have arisen on the prospect of a servile insurrection, with all its horrors, were met by the assertion that the beneficence of the end justified the means, however cruel. For thus, they said, not only would the slave secure his liberty—the greatest boon to man, but the nation its unity—the utmost desire of patriotism.

At the beginning of the struggle the emancipationists shrewdly took care not to shock the public sentiment with too violent an assertion of their peculiar opinions, to which the majority of the people were known to be averse, lest they might shatter the unanimity with which the North had arisen to fight the "war for the Union."

Believing that it would become manifest in the course of the struggle that the rebellion could not be suppressed by the ordinary means of warfare, the Abolitionists patiently awaited the discovery of this fact by the people of the

North before urging upon their consideration the policy of emancipation.

The disastrous close of the campaigns of our armies in Virginia and the West, and the audacious attempts at invasion of the Northern States by the enemy which followed, created a dissatisfaction with the past conduct of the war that seemed favorable to a change of measures. The emancipationists eagerly seized the occasion to urge upon the President the adoption of their policy. He is believed to have long resisted their importunate solicitations, but finally yielded to a pressure, the weight of which, by his own confession, had sorely tried his powers of endurance. His scrupulous regard for constitutional obligations, his politic cautiousness, his common sense, and natural benevolence caused him to hesitate in adopting a policy of questionable legality, of doubtful acceptance, of probable impracticability,* and of possible inhumanity. Overcoming his hesitation at last, the emancipationists prevailed upon the President to issue this proclamation, the severity of which he, with characteristic kindliness of nature, strove to temper by making its operation prospective and conditional :

"WASHINGTON, *September* 22, 1862.

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof in which States that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave States, so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted or thereafter may voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued; that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then thenceforward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if

* Mr. Lincoln, when urged by a delegation of the citizens of Chicago to issue a proclamation of emancipation, answered that it would be like the Pope's bull against the comet.

any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

"That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled, 'An act to make an additional Article of War,' approved March 13th, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional Article of War, for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

"ARTICLE.—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

"SECTION 2.—*And be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

"Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled, 'An Act to suppress insurrection, punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes,' approved July 17th, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figure following:

"SECTION 9.—*And be it further enacted*, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found on (or being within) any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captures of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

"SECTION 10.—*And be it further enacted*, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming such fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion,

nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

"And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce within their respective spheres of service the act and sections above recited.

"And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Sec. of State."

This significant state paper was received by the North with a divided sentiment. The Republican party, and especially its most radical partisans, highly applauded the proclamation, while the Democrats quite as fervently denounced it.

Sep. 24. The "Governors of the loyal States"* who had assembled at Al-

* The meeting of the Governors was called by Governors Curtin, Tod, and Pierpont. The following responded to the call: Israel Washburn, Jr., of Maine; Ichabod Goodwin, of New Hampshire; John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts; William Sprague, of Rhode Island; Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania; Augustus W. Bradford, of Maryland; Francis H. Pierpont, of Virginia; David Tod, of Ohio; Richard Yates, of Illinois; Edward Salomon, of Wisconsin; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; Charles S. Olden, of New Jersey; William A. Buckingham, of Connecticut; and Frederick Holbrook, of Vermont. Governor Morgan, of New York, declined the invitation, as he deemed the convention impolitic. The following signed the address to the President: A. G. Curtin, John A. Andrew, Richard Yates, Israel Washburn, Jr., Edward Salomon, O. P. Morton, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Wm. Sprague, F. H. Pierpont, David Tod, N. S. Berry, and Austin Blair. It was supposed that the main object of the meeting of the Governors was to induce the President to carry on the war with more vigor and to define its policy. As the sessions were held with closed doors, the public were left for the most part to conjecture in regard to the proceedings. It was however rumored that a disposition had been shown, so far, to interfere with the management of the war, as to dictate to the President how it should be carried on, and by what leaders. The "meeting of the Governors" was doubtless suggested by the popular discontent arising from the disasters to our arms in Virginia and the West, and the threatened invasion of the North was one of the many indications of a disposition to stir up the Government to a change of measures and men. A more remarkable manifestation was the extraordinary action of the so-called National War Committee, appointed at a popular meeting of New York citizens. The following correspondence, which fully exhibits the dictatorial character assumed by these civic notabilities, requires no further comment:

"NATIONAL WAR COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK, *Sept.* 10, 1862.

"The National War Committee of the citizens of New York having passed the annexed resolutions on the 2d instant, in the hope that the names of the two major-generals mentioned, being the only two then in New York and not on duty, would attract to the service of the country some persons who might not otherwise enter it immc-

toona, in Pennsylvania, the majority of whom were "Republicans," declared in their address to President Lincoln—

"We hail with heartfelt gratitude and encouraged hopes the proclamation of the President, issued on the 22d instant, declaring emancipated from their bondage all persons held to service or labor as slaves in the rebel States where rebellion shall last until the 1st day of January ensuing. The right of any persons to retain authority to compel any portion of the subjects of the national Government to rebel against it, or to maintain its enemies, implies in those who are allowed the possession of such authority the right to rebel themselves, and therefore the right to establish martial law or military government in a State or Territory in rebellion implies the right and the duty of the Government to liberate the minds of all men living therein, by appropriate proclamations and assurances of protection, in order that all who are capable, intellectually and morally, of loyalty and obedience, may not be forced into treason, as the willing tool of rebellious

diately, and the following correspondence having thereupon taken place, and the answer of the War Department being accepted by this committee as conclusive of its action, it is thereupon

"*Resolved*—That no further action be taken under the said resolution, and that the same, together with the correspondence, be published.

"*Resolved*—That General Fremont and General Mitchell be and are requested, if the Government will consent, to organize in this State, without delay, a corps of 50,000 men, and that the application for such consent be made to the General Government, and if it refuses, then to the State Government.

"*Resolved*—That all residents of this city who are willing to join such a corps be requested to communicate their names and residences to some member of this committee.

"NEW YORK, *September* 3, 1862.

"SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a resolution this day passed by the National War Committee of New York, and to ask whether, if the Government consent, you will undertake the organization of a corps therein requested. Very respectfully yours,

"GEORGE OPDYKE, Chairman.

"Major-General John C. Fremont.

"COPY RESOLUTION.

"*Resolved*—That General Fremont and General Mitchell be each requested, if the Government will consent, to organize in this State, without delay, a corps of 50,000 men, and that application for such consent be made to the General Government, and if refused, then to the State Government.

"NEW YORK, *September* 5, 1862.

"SIR: I had the honor to receive your note of the 3d instant, communicating to me a resolution passed by the National War Committee of New York, in relation to a corps of 50,000 men, and requesting to know, in the event of it having the sanction of the Government, if I would undertake its organization. I thank the Committee for the honor of their invitation, and beg you to inform them that I would undertake the proposed duty with great pleasure. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. C. FREMONT, Major-General United States Army.

"Hon. George Opdyke, etc., Chairman of Committee.

"NEW YORK, *September* 4, 1862.

"TO HONORABLE EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR, WASHINGTON:

"SIR: Will you consent that General Fremont and General Mitchell, each or either, shall organize in this State a separate corps of 50,000 men, composed of citizens of this and other States, and allow the men received to be counted as part of the quota of the State from which they come, upon some of the calls for troops heretofore made by the President.

"If you consent, we shall hope to induce the Generals to undertake the organization. GEORGE OPDYKE,

"Chairman National War Committee.

"WASHINGTON, *September* 5, 1862.

"GEORGE OPDYKE, MAYOR, 79 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK:

"Your telegram of yesterday has received the consideration of this Department. General Mitchell having been assigned to command the Southern Department, must immediately join his command. Raising volunteers in New York has been assigned to the Governor of that State, who is faithfully performing his duty; and there appears to be no reason for interfering with him.

"To authorize military officers of high rank to raise and organize army corps would be productive of military disorganization.

"This Department, therefore, cannot consent that any major-general shall organize a separate corps.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

traitors. To have continued indefinitely the most efficient cause, support, and stay of the rebellion would have been, in our judgment, unjust to the loyal people whose treasure and lives are made a willing sacrifice on the altar of patriotism; would have discriminated against the wife who is compelled to surrender her husband, against the parent who is to surrender his child to the hardships of the camp and the perils of battle, and in favor of rebel masters permitted to retain their slaves. It would have been a final decision alike against humanity, justice, the rights and dignity of the Government, and against a sound and wise national policy. The decision of the President to strike at the root of the rebellion will lend new vigor to the efforts, and new life and hope to the hearts of the people. Cordially tendering to the President our respectful assurances of personal and official confidence, we trust and believe that the policy now inaugurated will be crowned with success, will give speedy and triumphant victories over our enemies, and secure to this nation and this people the blessing and favor of Almighty God. We believe that the blood of the heroes who have already fallen, and those who may yet give up their lives to their country, will not have been shed in vain."

The newspapers, according to their partisan bias, applauded or denounced the proclamation; but though it was received with great favor by a large portion of the people of the North, the majority seemed to manifest their disapprobation, by voting, in the State elections, for the Democratic party, which refused its sanction to any scheme of slave emancipation.

Other causes, however, combined with the emancipation proclamation to produce the change in popular opinion, as manifested by the elections.*

In the army, the predominant feeling was suspected to be adverse to the proclamation; but all manifestations of opinion were checked by a discreet order of General McClellan, forbidding any discussion of the subject.

* Among these were a dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, and an impatience of the arbitrary interference of the Federal Government with the personal rights of the citizen, as shown in the following proclamation:

"*Whereas*, It has become necessary to call into service, not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the States, by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States; and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of the law from hindering this measure, and from giving aid and comfort, in various ways, to the insurrection:

"Now, therefore, be it ordered,

"*First*—That, during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commissions.

"*Second*—That the writ of habeas corpus is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter, during the rebellion, shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one
[L. S.] thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 163.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD., *Oct.* 7, 1862.

"The attention of the officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac is called to General Orders No. 139, War Department, September 24, 1862, publishing to the army the President's proclamation of September 22.

"A proclamation of such grave moment to the nation, officially communicated to the army, affords to the general commanding an opportunity of defining specifically to the officers and soldiers under his command the relation borne by all persons in the military service of the United States toward the civil authorities of the Government. The constitution confides to the civil authorities, legislative, judicial, and executive, the power and duty of making, expounding, and executing the federal laws. Armed forces are raised and supported simply to sustain the civil authorities, and are to be held in strict subordination thereto in all respects. This fundamental rule of our political system is essential to the security of our republican institutions, and should be thoroughly understood and observed by every soldier. The principle upon which, and the objects for which, armies shall be employed in suppressing the rebellion, must be determined and declared by the civil authorities; and the Chief Executive, who is charged with the administration of the national affairs, is the proper and only source through which the views and orders of the Government can be made known to the armies of the nation.

"Discussion by officers and soldiers, concerning public measures determined upon and declared by the Government, when carried at all beyond the ordinary temperate and respectful expression of opinion, tends greatly to impair and destroy the discipline and efficiency of troops, by substituting the spirit of political faction for that firm, steady, and earnest support of the authority of the Government, which is the highest duty of the American soldier. The remedy for political errors, if any are committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls.

"In thus calling the attention of this army to the true relation between the soldiers and the Government, the general commanding merely adverts to an evil against which it has been thought advisable, during our whole history, to guard the armies of the republic; and in so doing he will not be considered by any right-minded person as casting any reflection upon that loyalty and good conduct which has been so fully illustrated upon so many battle-fields. In carrying out all measures of public policy, this army will, of course, be guided by the same rules of mercy and Christianity that have ever controlled its conduct toward the defenceless.

"By command of

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

"JAMES A. HARDEE, Lieutenant-Colonel, Aide-de-Camp, and acting Assistant Adjutant-General."

In the border slave States, the proclamation, naturally meeting with no favor, threatened to overthrow an al-

ready tottering loyalty. In the seceded States, where it was, of course, received as an act of embittered hostility, the proclamation aroused all the fiercest instincts of an enraged enemy. In the Confederate Congress, resolutions were offered and speeches uttered, declaring that the United States Government had, by the proclamation, placed its armies beyond the rules of civilized warfare, and recommending that its officers and soldiers, when captured, be treated accordingly. The majority of the judiciary committee of the Senate, to whom the various "resolutions relative to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation" were referred, reported in favor of the following enactments:

"1. That on and after the first of January, 1863, all commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the enemy, except as hereinafter mentioned, when captured, shall be imprisoned at hard labor, or otherwise put at hard labor, until the termination of the war, or until the repeal of the act of the Congress of the United States, hereinbefore recited, or until otherwise determined by the President.

"2. Every white person, who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting, or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"4. That every person charged with an offence under this act shall be tried by such military courts as the President shall direct; and, after conviction, the President may commute the punishment, or pardon unconditionally, or on such terms as he may see fit.

"5. That the President is hereby authorized to resort to such other retaliatory measures as in his judgment may be best calculated to repress the atrocities of the enemy."

The minority of the judiciary committee concentrated the excess of their indignation in this savage resolution: "That, from this day forth, all rules of civilized warfare should be discarded in the future defence of our country, our liberties, and our lives, against the fell design, now openly avowed by the Government of the United States, to annihilate or enslave us; and that a war of extermination should henceforth be waged against every invader whose hostile foot shall cross the boundaries of these Confederate States."

The House exhibited still more fury. One member introduced a series of resolutions, "exhorting the people of the Confederacy to kill every officer, soldier, and sailor of the enemy found within their borders;" declaring that,

"after the first of January, 1863, no officer of the enemy ought to be captured alive, or, if captured, should be immediately hung;" and "offering a bounty of twenty dollars, and an annuity of twenty dollars for life, to every slave and free negro who shall, after the first of January, 1863, kill one of the enemy." Another member submitted a resolution that, "after the first of January, 1863, all Federal officers captured within our limits shall be treated as felons, and, if condemned by court-martial, hanged by the neck until they are dead."

The House of Representatives finally adopted, by a vote of thirty-five to thirty-two, the following preamble and resolution:

Oct. 11.

"*Whereas*, The Northern States, now represented by the Federal Government of the late Union, commenced the present war of invasion to enforce an unfounded and tyrannical claim of dominion over sovereign States which had withdrawn from the Union; and, pretending that these States are in rebellion, have sought to deny to them, from the beginning of the war, the rights accorded to belligerents by the usages of nations; and after prosecuting this war, without success, more than a year since this Government was recognized by European nations as a belligerent power, have continued, under the same pretext, to inflict upon the good people of these States inhuman injuries, in contemptuous disregard of the usages of civilized warfare; exacting from them treasonable oaths and service, and, upon refusal, subjecting unarmed citizens, women, and children to banishment, imprisonment, and death; wantonly burning their dwelling houses, ravaging the land, murdering men for pretended or trivial offences; making rapine of private property a systematic object of the war; organizing the abduction of slaves by armies and agents of Government; endeavoring to foment servile insurrection by tampering with slaves, by proclaiming schemes for emancipating them, by passing laws to equalize the races, by protecting slaves in resisting their masters, and by preparing armed bands of negroes to fight in the presence of negro slaves for the subjugation of the white race; permitting outrages on women to be committed by a licentious soldiery, encouraged in a memorable instance by the order of a major-general and the acquiescence of his government; attempting, until restrained by a threat of retaliation, to murder privateersmen for engaging in a mode of warfare expressly sanctioned by the constitutions of the United States and the Confederate States, and by the laws of nations; refusing, with double inhumanity, to exchange prisoners, until constrained by the long duration and adverse fortune of the war; attempting to ruin our cities by filling up the entrances to their harbors with stone, and diverting the ancient channels of great rivers, cutting off our supplies of medicines, needed as well for suffering women, children, and captive enemies as for the sick of our armies; and perpetrating other atrocities, which would be disgraceful to savages. And whereas the said Government of the United

States, in the same spirit of barbarous ferocity, has recently enacted a law, entitled, 'An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes;' and has announced by a proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, the President thereof, that, in pursuance of said law, on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free; and has thereby made manifest that the vast war of invasion which it wages with such lawless cruelty is conducted with a view, by judicial murders, banishments, and otherwise, to exterminate the loyal population of these States, to transfer their property to their enemies, to emancipate their slaves, to destroy their labor system, to subvert their institutions, human and divine, upon which it is founded, employing slaves and other negroes for these purposes, with an atrocious design of adding servile insurrection and the massacre of families to the calamities of war; and whereas, since the passage of said act, executive and military orders have evinced a determined purpose of the enemy to carry out this policy of rapine and extermination with brutal and surprising severity; and whereas justice and humanity require the Government of the Confederate States to endeavor to punish and repress the atrocious practices and designs of the enemy, by inflicting severe retribution; therefore,

"*Resolved*, by the Congress of the Confederate States, that the President will be sustained in resorting to such measures of retaliation as in his judgment may be demanded by the above recited lawless and barbarous conduct and designs of the enemy."

In Europe, where every incident of the war was observed with an interest hardly less than that in the United States, the proclamation excited an animated discussion. Public sentiment in England had been early divided between the North and South, and the various journals advocated the cause of the one or the other, according to their partisan relations. This spirit of partisanship was obvious in the expressions of opinion on the proclamation by the British press.

The *Morning Post*, of London, October 6, to which has been attributed the especial function of representing the government of Lord Palmerston, affected to consider the proclamation as a *brutum fulmen*, declaring that "it is not easy to estimate how utterly powerless and contemptible a government must have become which could sanction with its approval such insensate trash. A few weeks since, trembling for the safety of its capital—at the present moment unable to force a passage into its enemy's territory—it still takes upon itself to dispose of property it is powerless to seize. Nor is the assumed authority of the Federal Executive less unconstitutional than it is preposterous. The President of the United States has no more power to liberate a slave in Vir-

ginia than Queen Victoria; and for that matter, neither has the Federal Congress. According to the American Constitution, the local legislature of each State possesses the sole power of emancipating the slaves within its confines. But the President of the United States has long since discontinued the antiquated custom of acting according to law. There are few, however, even of those who have manifested the greatest disregard for the laws they have sworn to administer, who have not been more or less sensitive to ridicule. A man may brave the passions of an angry mob, but he does not like exposing himself to be laughed at. Mr. Lincoln seemingly cares as little for the ridicule as he does for the anger of the American people. He must be well aware that his proclamation will prove a *brutum fulmen*."

The *Times*, of London, October 6, took a similar view, asserting that Mr. Lincoln "had played his last card," and adding, "There is something ludicrous in such a proclamation, solemnly made by the Federal Government when its own capital is almost beleaguered." The *Guardian*, of Manchester, October 7, which, like the *Morning Post* and *Times*, of London, had early manifested a disposition to degrade the motives and depreciate the efforts of the North, echoed the sentiments of its sympathetic cotemporaries. "The proclamation," said the *Guardian*, "is evidently nothing more than a compound of 'bunkum' on a grand scale, with the swaggering bravado so conspicuous throughout the present war."

On the other hand, the *Morning News* and *Star*, of London, which had resolutely from the beginning advocated the cause of the North, warmly welcomed the proclamation. "The fiat," said the *Star*, "has gone forth, and the heart of humanity will hail its execution. On New Year's day, 1863, slavery will cease to defile the American flag, and begin to disappear from the American soil."

Upon the effect of the proclamation on the negroes themselves, and upon the issue of the war, it is useless to speculate, as the rapid succession of events checks the utmost audacity of conjecture. The humane may, however, without suspicion of partisanship, be permitted to express the hope, that the horrors of a servile insurrection will not be added to those of a civil war—that the blood of innocent women and children will not be commingled with that of guilty men, struggling with each other in fratricidal war.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Burnside protests against his Appointment.—Finally yields and assumes Command of the Army of the Potomac.—McClellan's Farewell.—The resolute spirit of Burnside.—Forms a Plan of Campaign.—Disapprobation of his Plan.—Burnside is allowed to have his own way.—His Plan explained.—Operations begun.—Aquia Creek established a Basis.—The Pontoon Question.—Testimony on the subject.—Sumner before Fredericksburg.—Fredericksburg summoned to surrender.—Answer of the Mayor.—Designs of Burnside.—Supposed Weakness of the Enemy.—Arrival of the Pontoons.—Cannonade of Fredericksburg.—Laying of the Pontoons.—Gallantry of the Eighth Connecticut men.—Possession of Fredericksburg.—Crossing of General Franklin.—Attack on Fredericksburg.—Repulse of the Unionists.—Retreat of Burnside.—His Reasons for the Movement.—Burnside assumes the Responsibility.—The Losses.—Lee's Report of his Victory.—Burnside concentrates his Force.—Effect at the North of Burnside's Defeat.—A general cry of Indignation.—The Administration held Responsible.—Congressional Inquiry.—Burnside exonerates the Administration.—The Pontoon Question again.—The President urged to change his Cabinet.—Resignation of Seward and Chase.—Resignation withdrawn.

GENERAL BURNSIDE, after having em-
1862. phatically protested against his appointment, declaring that he "was not competent to command such a large army," and that he "thought that General McClellan could command the Army of the Potomac better than any other general in it," was finally prevailed upon to believe that "he had no right, as a soldier, to disobey the order" of the President. He accordingly assumed the command of the great army as successor to McClellan, who had led it as far as Warrenton in the course of another attempt upon Richmond, when he was suddenly deprived of its leadership. He thus took leave of his troops:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR RECTORTOWN, VA., *Nov.* 7, 1862.

"OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC:

"An order of the President devolves upon Major-General Burnside the command of this army.

"In parting from you, I cannot express the love and gratitude I bear to you. As an army, you have grown up under my care. In you I have never found doubt or coldness. The battles you have fought under my command will proudly live in our nation's history. The glory you have achieved, our mutual perils and fatigues, the graves of our comrades fallen in battle and by disease, the broken forms of those whom wounds and sickness have disabled—the strongest associations which can exist among men—unite us still by an indissoluble tie. We shall ever be comrades in supporting the constitution of our country and the nationality of its people. GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General United States Army."

Burnside, though he had reluctantly accepted the great charge which had been imposed upon him, did not quail before its grave responsibilities, but assumed them with a resolute spirit. He

immediately decided upon a plan of campaign, which did not meet at first with the approbation of the President, the Secretary of War, and the General-in-Chief, Halleck, but was finally concurred in by them.* This plan, as stated by Burnside himself, was to concentrate the army in the neighborhood of Warrenton, to make a rapid movement across the Rappahannock as a feint, with a view to divert the attention of the enemy, and to lead them to believe that the Union army was going to move in the direction of Gordonsville, and then to make a rapid movement of the whole army to Fredericksburg, on the southern side of the Rappahannock. "My reasons for that, I stated," added Burnside, "that the farther we got into the interior of Virginia, the longer would be our lines of communication, and the greater would be the difficulty we would have in keeping them open, as the enemy had upon our right flank a corps that, at almost any time, could, by a rapid movement, seriously embarrass us. If we were caught by the elements so far from our base of supplies, and at the same time in the enemy's country, where they had means of getting information that we had not, it might, I thought, prove disastrous to the army, as we had but one line of railway by which to supply it. In moving upon Fredericksburg we would all the time be as near Washington as would the enemy; and after arriving at Fredericksburg, we would be at a point nearer to Richmond than we would be even if we should take Gordonsville. On the Gordonsville line, the enemy, in my opinion, would not give us a decisive battle at any place this side of Richmond. They would defend Gordonsville until such time as they felt that they had given us a check, and then, with so many lines of railroad open to them, they would move upon Richmond or Lynchburg."*

This plan of operations having been decided upon, General Burnside proceeded to carry out its execution. The mouth of Aquia Creek, where it empties into the Potomac, was established as the basis of supplies; piers and roads were constructed, and immense quantities of stores conveyed thither for the sustenance of an army computed to number over a hundred and fifty thousand men. General Burnside having intimated to General Halleck, the commander-in-chief, and General Meigs, the quartermaster-general, who had been with him at Warrenton, in consultation upon the campaign, his desire to have pontoons for crossing the Rappahannock, a telegram ordering them was dispatched by these gentlemen to Washington. The plan of campaign had been "discussed," says General Burnside, "by General Halleck and General

* "The fact that I decided," says Burnside, "to move from Warrenton on to this line, rather against the opinion of the President, Secretary of War, and yourself (General Halleck), and that you left the whole movement in my hands, without giving me orders, makes me responsible."—*Letter of Burnside to Major-General Halleck.*

* Testimony of General Burnside before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, appointed in accordance with the Senate Resolution of December 18.

Meigs, at my headquarters, on the nights of the 11th and 12th of November; and after discussing it fully there, they sat down and sent telegrams to Washington, which, as I supposed, fully covered the case, and would secure the starting of the pontoon trains at once."

Imprudently trusting the execution of this important detail to others, General Burnside moved his advance under General Sumner, on the 15th of November, to Falmouth, with the view of rapidly crossing the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg. The pontoons, however, had not arrived, and a fatal delay ensued. "I think," testified Sumner, "I could have taken that city (Fredericksburg) and heights on the other side of it, at any time within three days after my arrival here (Falmouth), if the pontoons had been here; for I do not think there was much force of the enemy here up to that time."

The pontoons, whose early arrival was absolutely essential to the accomplishment of General Burnside's plan, did not reach Falmouth until "the 22d or 23d of November," five days too late. The enemy had, in the mean time, discovered the purpose of General Burnside, and having concentrated their forces on the hills behind Fredericksburg, and intrenched that naturally strong position, were fully prepared to resist the Union army in its proposed advance.

While Burnside's forces were concentrating at Falmouth, General Sumner, in command of the advance, sent a summons to Fredericksburg to surrender, accompanied with a complaint that his troops had been fired upon from that city. The mayor replied that he was in the power of the military authorities, by which he was authorized to agree to a neutrality on the part of the city; but added that these "authorities inform us that while their troops will not occupy the town, they will not permit yours to do so." This proposition being acted upon, though not formally accepted, nothing was done by the Union army until it was prepared to cross the river. **Nov. 22.**

It had been the intention to cross the Rappahannock at Port Royal, below Fredericksburg; "but I discovered," says Burnside, "that the enemy had thrown a large portion of his force down the river and elsewhere, thus weakening his defences in front; and also thought I discovered that he did not anticipate the crossing of our whole forces at Fredericksburg; and I hoped by rapidly throwing the whole command over at that place, to separate, by a vigorous attack, the forces of the enemy on the river below from the forces behind and on the crest in the rear of the town, in which case we could fight him with great advantage in our favor."

The pontoons having been brought to the bank of the river, and the artillery placed in position, General Burnside, early on the morning of the 11th of December, opened fire with 163 guns upon the city of Fredericksburg. This was responded to by the cannon of the enemy, which, however, from their **Dec. 11.**

distance on the heights behind the city, and their range, produced little effect. Under the cover of their guns, the Unionists now began to construct bridges directly across to Fredericksburg and about three miles below. This operation was confided to General Woodbury, in command of the Seventeenth and Fiftieth New York Engineers. Concealed by the thick morning haze, the pontooniers succeeded in commencing their work without awaking the suspicion of the enemy, but had not proceeded far when they were forced back by a brisk fire of musketry from the opposite bank of the river. A second attempt with a larger force of men was made, and again checked by the enemy. The Unionists now directed an incessant artillery fire upon the city of Fredericksburg, where the enemy's sharp-shooters were concealed, when eighty men of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, who had volunteered as a forlorn hope, joined the engineers, and made a third effort to lay the bridges. These gallant fellows seized the planks, and carrying a dozen or so to the end of the line of boats, succeeded in placing some of them, when they in turn were forced to retire. The whole force being recalled, an enfilading fire of artillery was directed upon the enemy's rifle-pits and cover within the houses of the city. The pontooniers were now enabled to complete their bridges, and our forces crossed, driving the enemy back, and took possession of Fredericksburg. General Franklin constructed his bridges below and threw over his troops, marching with but slight molestation, and getting his men into position with the loss only of a few men.

Burnside's main body having thus reached the opposite bank, it was determined to give battle to the enemy, who were concentrated in full force under General Lee, within their intrenched position on the heights in the rear of Fredericksburg. The preliminaries and the conflict are well described in this narrative by a correspondent of the New York *Tribune:*

"FREDERICKSBURG, *Saturday, Dec.* 13, 11 P.M.

"Last evening, a general council of war, attended by all the grand division, corps, and division commanders, was held at a late hour at General Sumner's headquarters, at which General Burnside submitted and explained his plan for the general attack he proposed to make to-day on the position of the enemy. The plan comprised a simultaneous advance of our whole line upon the enemy's strong positions on the hills in front of the left and right grand divisions, which were to be carried by sudden assaults upon the stronghold, of select bodies of troops. It was in keeping with the well-known boldness and dash of its author, but some doubts were expressed in the council of its practicability by a number of those in attendance. All, however, expressed their readiness to undertake anything ordered by the commander-in-chief, and the necessary instructions were given to commence a general movement upon the enemy with daylight. The fog, that kept the valley of the river and the

adjacent heights from view every day this week, again prevented the commencement of operations at the stated time. Fortunately, however, it cleared away early in the day, and about ten o'clock orders were directed to the generals commanding the right and left grand divisions, to prepare to charge immediately the works respectively assigned to them.

"General Sumner and staff left their headquarters about eleven o'clock, and repaired to the Lacey House, from which a full view of the scene of impending action on the right grand division could be obtained. General Sumner had selected French's division of General Couch's corps for the advance of the attacking column. Orders were given to move from its position in the streets of Fredericksburg next to the river to the outskirts of the town, form a line of battle by brigades, and, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, move at a double-quick upon the enemy's works. General French was necessarily obliged to march his troops in solid columns in parallel streets. As soon as the heads of the columns had emerged from the lower into the higher portions of the streets, the enemy's batteries opened upon them from several points. Upon reaching the outskirts of the town, the order was given to deploy, but stone and other fences prevented its ready execution. During the delay thus caused, the troops were exposed to an enfilading fire, which taxed the endurance of the troops most severely. The line being formed at last, about noon the order to advance was given. The line moved up and over a low range of elevations, and down toward the foot of the hills on which the enemy's breast-works were situated. From houses, rifle-pits, barricades across the road, and other shelter, the rebel sharp-shooters now opened from all sides with fearful effect. The vigor of the fire of the rebel artillery also steadily increased, and when the line reached the foot of the second range of hills, a perfect hail of lead fell upon it. The advance, however, was continued until within a few hundred yards of the crest of the hills, when a rapid succession of terrific volleys from long lines of rebel infantry, suddenly rising in front of their works, checked it. From the position they had gained, our troops now exchanged round after round with the enemy, until their ammunition became exhausted, and the line fell back some distance, leaving nearly one-half of its number on the field, to make room for General Hancock's division. This division advanced, likewise formed in parallel lines of brigades. It moved forward steadfastly up to the point where French's had received its check, when it was also stopped by the murderous fire of the rebel infantry and artillery. For two hours it alternately replied to the enemy's musketry, and attempted to make its way up the second range of hills. Although unable to advance, and continually losing numbers, it fought until its ammunition gave out, when it was relieved by Howard's division, and retired nearer to town. Howard's command went into action

about three o'clock. One after the other of its brigades was advanced to the front, but, like those of French and Hancock's, did not succeed in reaching the enemy's works. The last of it was ordered to charge up the hill with the bayonet, and moved forward in most gallant style, but was checked, as all the other troops had been.

"Shortly after French's division had moved to the attack, Sturgis' division of Wilcox's corps advanced over a parallel road, on the left of our right, upon the works and batteries covering the enemy's right flank. It experienced the same difficulties in forming, in consequence of obstructions on the ground, as French's, but pushed forward with the utmost determination, halting only at times to open its way for musketry. It reached within eighty yards of the crest of the hill it aimed to take, but having been fearfully weakened in numbers during its advance, had to halt. It held the point gained for three hours.

"Notwithstanding it was confronted by vastly superior numbers of infantry, and enfiladed by batteries on each flank, even after its ammunition had all been spent, it did not give way, but firmly held its ground until properly relieved shortly before sunset. When Howard's division moved to the front, the last of the available force of Couch's corps, forming our extreme right, was employed. Of Wilcox's corps, Getty's division, which had been held in reserve during the day, was all that were at command, after Sturgis' had been exhausted by the severity of its protracted struggle, Burns having been sent early in the morning to establish connection between the left and right, and not being within ready march. Fortunately, however, Butterfield's corps of Hooker's grand division, which was acting as a reserve to the right, as Stoneman's was to the left, came to the rescue when the energies of Wilcox's and Couch's corps had been nearly spent. It had commenced moving across the river, over the upper and middle bridges, as soon as the advance of Couch's and Wilcox's troops furnished room for it on the lower part of the town. It had all moved across between four and five o'clock. Shortly before dark, Humphrey's and Griffin's divisions were ordered to advance to the front and relieve the troops of General Couch on the right, and those of Wilcox on the left. They reached the front and formed in line just before sunset, and at once charged upon the enemy's works. Humphrey's division came within a short distance of them, and Griffin's division reached the point held by Sturgis, which respective positions they have since occupied. During their advance the firing from the rebel artillery reached the highest intensity of the whole day, but ceased shortly after nightfall. Simultaneously with the advance of Griffin and Humphrey, Getty's division moved from its position up the valley of a little stream skirting the town, and advanced to the base of the hill occupied by the rebel batteries on the extreme right, driving the rebel infantry from behind a stone wall, from which they had

greatly troubled our troops during the day. Here it lay during the night. Sykes' division of Butterfield's corps followed between Griffin and Humphrey to the front, but arrived too late for action. Thus ended the conflict between our right and the rebel left.

"The lines of General Franklin, as formed for the attack, represented an obtuse angle, one line of which—General Reynolds' corps—extended diagonally from the river bank—Smith's corps in a line parallel with the river, and formed on the right of Wilcox's corps. The extreme left was three miles below Fredericksburg, and the right of the left grand division was less than two miles from the town. The extent of General Franklin's lines, then, was more than a mile from right to left. The position of the different divisions was as follows, commencing on the right:

"First, Brooks' division, which lay upon the ground along the road to Fredericksburg, running parallel with the river, and half way between it and the rebel batteries.

"Howe's division formed on the left; on his right joined Reynolds' corps, the first division of which, General Gibbons commanding, took position in advance beyond the road. Meade's division formed an angle with Gibbons', and extended towards the river. Doubleday was next to Meade, and rested on the river. This, in general, was the position of the left grand division when the action commenced. The first fire was made by the skirmishers of the Thirteenth Massachusetts in our front. They had moved cautiously in advance of our lines for half a mile, when discovering the enemy's pickets they fired upon them. Cannonading soon commenced in earnest. The hazy atmosphere of the early part of the day having cleared away so as to give to each of the contending parties a view of the position taken by the other, Hall's battery, the Second Maine, discovered a battery of the enemy in close proximity and opened a rapid and vigorous fire upon it. In a few moments the artillery fire extended along the entire line. The Second United States Artillery, Captain Ranson, Cooper's battery of Pennsylvania Reserves, and others, made and received a severe attack. The skirmishing was kept up as our lines advanced, and the position of the enemy in the woods was almost reached. A scattering musketry fire continued from the first advance, about nine o'clock, till noon, and with occasional lulls. The cannonading was heavy and severe. During the advance of the left grand division upon the enemy's position, Major-General Stoneman's corps, of the second grand division, Hooker's, which had moved to the vicinity of the river the evening previous, moved over the bridges. General Birney's division, on the advance, moved toward the left to the support of that portion of the line. Great enthusiasm was excited among the troops as the battle-flag of General Birney, of Stoneman's corps, was seen moving across the plain, in advance of the corps in deep column, winding onward from the river.

"General Birney had received orders to place himself in position to support the right of General Reynolds' corps in an attack which was momentarily expected to be made. Orders to advance having been received, General Gibbons' and General Meade's divisions were directed to advance upon the enemy in the woods and upon the hill, holding position if support should come to them, abandoning it in case they should be too severely pressed. Now came the most successful and determined effort on this part of our line. The attack was made from the point of intersection of the angle formed by our lines already referred to. This point was nearest to the woods, and the enemy's shells were falling thickly about it. Gibbons' division and the Pennsylvania Reserves advanced boldly toward the works of the enemy. They pushed determinedly through the brushwood and bushes on to a grove of cedars, and through these up the hills toward the breast-works of the enemy. The works were carried, many prisoners captured, and the crest of the hill gained; not, however, without a heavy loss. General Gibbons has fallen, wounded in the arm, while leading his command to the attack. The works of the enemy at this point were gained, but not held. The enemy, unfortunately, possessed the strength to concentrate overwhelming numbers of fresh troops upon the threatened point, and for all the valor of those who survived, and all the sacrifices of those who fell, the position had to be abandoned, and our troops were compelled to fall back to the plain. They had penetrated beyond the railroad and the Bowling Green turnpike, through the woods and across the outer works of the enemy, to the top of the hill, and were then forced back to this side of the railroad, where they maintained their stand in advance of that they had originally occupied. In the mean time, General Doubleday had been constantly pushing the enemy upon the left. A most determined resistance was made by the enemy as skirmishers and with reserves and artillery. The fire, which during the afternoon was kept on the left, told of the most severe fighting. For full a mile the enemy was pressed back, contesting the ground inch by inch, receiving and inflicting heavy loss. The enemy fell back upon his defences, and the advantage gained was indecisive. During three successive advances and checks along the centre and left grand division, uninterrupted shelling was kept up by the rebel batteries upon the bodies of troops at different points of the plain. At a large stone mansion near the centre of our line, used as a field-hospital during the day, an incessant fire was directed. Near this building General Bayard found an untimely death. A shell struck him while sitting under a tree within a few yards of General Franklin, in the leg, without exploding. His leg was nearly torn off, and he died in the course of the evening. Toward the middle of the afternoon, the firing along the lines of the left grand division grew weaker and gradually settled into a comparative lull. Shortly before sunset, however, the fir-

ing on the extreme left was again renewed with vigor, and kept up until after dark. At half-past five o'clock it gradually died away, and at six o'clock it had entirely ceased. On the left, as well as on the right, the battle came short of our expectations. We gained some ground, but failed to realize the main object of the day's work, namely, the dislodgment of the enemy from their intrenched position on the heights overlooking the plain, held by the left, and the town, occupied by the right division. New efforts, new sacrifices of life, will be required to accomplish it.

"By far the severest fighting occurred on the right. All the generals that have participated in the battle of Antietam say that to-day's contest on this portion of the line exceeded it in intensity. The rebels had our troops at a disadvantage. Their infantry fought principally under cover, while their artillery had it almost their own way, from its elevated position. On the right it was found impossible to bring any of our artillery into action, for want of proper positions in the early part of the day, until late in the afternoon, when a single battery, Phillips', was employed in sections from high points of the streets of the town. At least sixty pieces played upon our right from the enemies' batteries during the greater portion of the day." * * *

After this severe check our army remained but one day in Fredericksburg, and then withdrew to its former position

Dec. 15. on the left bank of the Rappahannock. This perilous operation was conducted during a stormy night, with great skill and perfect success. "The Army of the Potomac," said General Burnside, "was withdrawn to this side of the Rappahannock River (the left), because I felt fully convinced that the position in front could not be carried, and it was a military necessity either to attack the enemy or retire. A repulse would have been disastrous to us under existing circumstances. The army was withdrawn at night, without the knowledge of the enemy and without loss, either of property or men." In this dispatch to Major-General Halleck, general-in-chief of the United States army, General Burnside states the reasons for his movement, and assumes the full responsibility of his action:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
FALMOUTH, *December* 19, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF UNITED STATES ARMY, WASHINGTON:

"GENERAL—I have the honor to offer the following reasons for moving the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock sooner than was anticipated by the President, Secretary of War, or yourself, and for crossing at a point different from the one indicated to you at our last meeting at the President's:

"During my preparations for crossing at the place I had first selected, I discovered that the enemy had thrown a large portion of his force down the river and elsewhere, thus weakening his defences in front, and also thought I discovered that he did not anticipate the crossing of our whole force at Freder-

icksburg; and I hoped, by rapidly throwing the whole command over at that place, to separate, by a vigorous attack, the forces of the enemy on the river below from the forces behind and on the crest, in the rear of the town, in which case we could fight him with great advantage in our favor.

"To do this, we had to gain a height on the extreme right of the crest, which height commanded a new road lately made by the enemy for purposes of more rapid communication along his lines; which point gained, his position along the crest would have been scarcely tenable, and he could have been driven from it easily by an attack on his front in connection with a movement in the rear of the crest.

"How near we came to accomplishing our object future reports will show. But for the fog and unexpected and unavoidable delay in building the bridges, which gave the enemy twenty-four hours more to concentrate his forces in his strong positions, we would almost certainly have succeeded, in which case the battle would have been, in my opinion, far more decisive than if we had crossed at the places first selected. As it was, we came very near success.

"Failing in accomplishing the main object, we remained in order of battle two days—long enough to decide that the enemy would not come out of his strongholds to fight us with his infantry—after which we recrossed to this side of the river unmolested, without the loss of men or property.

"As the day broke, our long lines of troops were seen marching to their different positions as if going on parade. Not the least demoralization or disorganization existed.

"To the brave officers and soldiers who accomplished the feat of thus recrossing the river in the face of the enemy, I owe everything.

"For the failure in the attack I am responsible, as the extreme gallantry, courage, and endurance shown by them were never exceeded, and would have carried the points had it been possible.

"To the families and friends of the dead I can only offer my heartfelt sympathies; but for the wounded I can offer my earnest prayers for their comfortable and final recovery.

"The fact that I decided to move from Warrenton on to this line, rather against the opinion of the President, Secretary of War, and yourself, and that you left the whole movement in my hands, without giving me orders, makes me responsible.

"I will add here that the movement was made earlier than you expected, and after the President, Secretary, and yourself requested me not to be in haste, for the reason that we were supplied much sooner by the different staff departments than was anticipated when I last saw you.

"Our killed amounts to 1,152; our wounded, to about 9,000; and our prisoners, to about 700, which last have been parolled and exchanged for about the same number taken by us.

"The wounded were all removed to this side of the river, and are being well

cared for, and the dead were all buried under a flag of truce.

"The surgeons report a much larger proportion of slight wounds than usual, 1,622 only being treated in hospitals.

"I am glad to represent the army at the present time in good condition.

"Thanking the Government for that entire support and confidence which I have always received from them, I remain, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"A. E. BURNSIDE,
"Major-General Commanding the Army of the Potomac."

General Burnside subsequently corrected his statement of the loss by declaring—"On the authority of Dr. Letterman, our medical director, the whole number of wounded is between 6,000 and 7,000. About one-half of these are receiving treatment in the hospitals."

The following is General Lee's official report of the battle of Fredericksburg:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *December* 14, 1862.

"THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA:

"SIR—On the night of the 10th instant the enemy commenced to throw three bridges over the Rappahannock—two at Fredericksburg, and the third about a mile and a quarter below, near the mouth of the Deep Run. The plain on which Fredericksburg stands is so completely commanded by the hills of Stafford, in possession of the enemy, that no effectual opposition could be offered to the construction of the bridges or the passage of the river, without exposing our troops to the destructive fire of his numerous batteries. Positions were therefore selected to oppose his advance after crossing. The narrowness of the Rappahannock, its winding course, and deep bed, afforded opportunity for the construction of bridges at points beyond the reach of our artillery, and the banks had to be watched by skirmishers. The latter, sheltering themselves behind the houses, drove back the working parties of the enemy at the bridges opposite the city; but at the lowest point of crossing, where no shelter could be had, our sharp-shooters were themselves driven off, and the completion of the bridge was effected about noon on the 11th.

"In the afternoon of that day, the enemy's batteries opened upon the city, and by dark had so demolished the houses on the river bank as to deprive our skirmishers of shelter, and, under cover of his guns, he effected a lodgment in the town. The troops which had so gallantly held their position in the city under the severe cannonade during the day, resisting the advance of the enemy at every step, were withdrawn during the night, as were also those who, with equal tenacity, had maintained their post at the lowest bridge.

"Under cover of darkness and a dense fog, on the 12th, a large force passed the river, and took position on the right bank, protected by their heavy guns on the left.

"On the morning of the 13th, his arrangements for attack being completed,

about nine o'clock, the movement veiled by a fog, he advanced boldly in large force against our right wing. General Jackson's corps occupied the right of our line, which rested on the railroad; General Longstreet's the left, extending along the heights to the Rappahannock, above Fredericksburg; General Stuart, with two brigades of cavalry, was posted in the extensive plain on our extreme right. As soon as the advance of the enemy was discovered through the fog, General Stuart, with his accustomed promptness, moved up a section of his horse artillery, which opened with effect upon his flank, and drew upon the gallant Pelham a heavy fire, which he sustained unflinchingly for about two hours.

"In the mean time the enemy was fiercely encountered by General A. P. Hill's division, forming General Jackson's right, and, after an obstinate combat, repulsed. During this attack, which was protracted and hotly contested, two of General Hill's brigades were driven back upon our second line. General Early, with part of his division, being ordered to his support, drove the enemy back from the point of woods he had seized, and pursued him into the plain, until arrested by his artillery.

"The right of the enemy's column, extending beyond Hill's front, encountered the right of General Hood, of Longstreet's corps. The enemy took possession of a small copse in front of Hood, but were quickly dispossessed and repulsed with loss.

"During the attack on our right, the enemy was crossing troops over his bridges at Fredericksburg, and massing them in front of Longstreet's line. Soon after his repulse on our right, he commenced a series of attacks on our left, with a view of obtaining possession of the heights immediately overlooking the town. These repeated attacks were repulsed in gallant style by the Washington Artillery, under Colonel Walton, and a portion of McLaw's division, which occupied these heights.

"The last assault was made after dark, when Colonel Alexander's battalion had relieved the Washington Artillery, whose ammunition had been exhausted, and ended the contest for the day.

"The enemy was supported in his attacks by the fire of strong batteries of artillery on the right bank of the river, as well as by the numerous heavy batteries on the Stafford Heights.

"Our loss during the operations, since the movements of the enemy began, amounts to about 1,800 killed and wounded. Among the former, I regret to report the death of the patriotic soldier and statesman, Brigadier-General Thomas R. R. Cobb, who fell upon our left; and among the latter, that brave soldier and accomplished gentleman, Brigadier-General M. Gregg, who was very seriously, and, it is feared, mortally, wounded, during the attack on our right.

"The enemy to-day has been apparently burying his dead. His troops are visible in their first position in line of battle, but with the exception of some desultory cannonading and firing

between skirmishers, he has not attempted to renew the attack.

"About 550 prisoners were taken during the engagement, but the full extent of his loss is unknown.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE,

"General in Command."

On resuming his old position at Falmouth, General Burnside concentrated his forces, and thus called in the corps under Sigel, which had been operating on his right flank. Notwithstanding the activity of Sigel, and an occasional successful skirmish—as at Snicker's Ferry, where General Stahl routed a force under the Confederate general, White—some 2,000 cavalry, commanded by General Hampton, succeeded in eluding his vigilance and reaching Dumfries, in the rear of Burnside's army, where the enemy captured a score of men and some baggage and sutlers' wagons.

Nov. 30.

Dec. 12.

The disaster to the Union army at Fredericksburg created a great commotion at the North. The people, so often disappointed in their expectations of a success commensurate with the means which had been so profusely placed at the disposal of the Government, now became impatient of its conduct of the war. A general cry of indignation arose, artfully stimulated by the opposition, against the party in power. The President, Cabinet, and General-in-Chief, held by popular opinion responsible for the repeated failures of the Union arms, and especially for the disaster at Fredericksburg, were respectively charged with incapacity. The revelations in the course of the court of inquiry in the case of General McDowell, and the court-martial on General Porter, had prepared the people for the discontent with the Government to which they gave full utterance after the defeat at Fredericksburg. From these legal investigations, the fact of the interference of Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet with the plans of military leaders, and especially with those of the popular favorite, General McClellan, as testified by him in the McDowell inquiry, became manifest. Public opinion, not unnaturally, attributed to this interference the repeated disasters of the Union arms, and more particularly the ill success of the Peninsular campaign against Richmond. McClellan testified that, in his belief, he could have taken the Confederate capital, had McDowell formed a junction with him from Fredericksburg, and the latter general proved that he would have done so, as he greatly desired, had he not been ordered by the Government to protect Washington against its conjectural danger from the enemy. With this proof of interference and testimony as to its fatal consequences, the people indignantly denounced the Government as the guilty party. A criminal, having been once detected, is naturally marked, and charged with the next offence committed. It was thus that no sooner was the disaster at Fredericksburg known, than popular indignation vented itself upon a Government which had been

proved to be an old offender. General Burnside, however, with a generous self-sacrifice, came to the rescue of his indicted superiors, by assuming in a letter the full responsibility of the plan and conduct of the attack upon Fredericksburg.

Congress, in sympathy with the popular sentiment, appointed a joint committee on the conduct of the war, which, after proceeding to the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, and taking the testimony of the general, Burnside, and his chief officers, published a report on the battle of Fredericksburg. The facts elicited proved that the plans and the conduct of the battle had emanated solely from General Burnside. This officer, however, and his subordinates, concurred in the opinion that an earlier attempt would have been successful, and that such would have been made, had the pontoons arrived in time. It was proved that General Halleck had so far undertaken to provide them, as to send a telegraphic order for them to Washington, but relieved himself from any further responsibility in the matter by testifying to the Congressional committee that he had told General Burnside "that everything was at his requisition; he must make his own requisitions and give his own orders; that I would not interfere, except to assist in carrying his views out as much as I could; whenever anything was reported to me as not being done, that I would render all the assistance in my power; and just previous to that time, with reference to a requisition which he had sent me, I told him not to send me any requisitions, but to make them on the proper heads of departments, and if they did not do their duty, then immediately report it to me; but that I could not attend to any requisitions at all." General Burnside did unfortunately trust to General Halleck for the pontoons. "I supposed," he says, "of course, that those portions of the plan which required to be attended to at Washington would be carried out there at once." He, however, frankly adds: "I could have sent officers of my own there to attend to these matters, and perhaps I made a mistake in not doing so, as General Halleck afterward told me that I ought not have trusted to them in Washington for the details."

The extreme Republican members of Congress took the occasion of the popular discontent with the Administration to urge upon the President a change in his cabinet. They especially indicated the Secretary of State for dismission, with whom the ultraists of his party had been long dissatisfied in consequence of his suspected moderation. Mr. Seward, on discovering this movement to eject him, sent in his resignation. Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, though far from obnoxious to the faction so hostile to his associate, being indignant at this interference, also resigned. The President, however, determined to retain them, and finally prevailed upon both to remain in his cabinet.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Co-operative Movements with Burnside.—Advance of General Foster in North Carolina.—Success of Foster at Kinston.—Movement to Whitehall and Goldsboro.—Attack on the Wilmington and Weldon Railway.—Return of Foster to Newbern.—Compelled to return by the advance of the Enemy in force.—Movements from Norfolk to Suffolk.—Hopes from Banks' great Expedition.—Disappointment in regard to its destination.—Banks at New Orleans.—General Hamilton, of Texas.—Removal of General Butler from New Orleans.—Causes.—Farewell Order of Butler.—Banks' Proclamation.—Promise of a more Conciliatory Policy.—Anomalous duty of Judge Peabody.—Activity of Banks.—Capture of Baton Rouge.—The Enemy retire to Port Hudson.—Formidable Defences.

1862. In order to co-operate with Burnside in his designs on Richmond, the Union army—numbering about 20,000 men, concentrated at Newbern, under the command of General Foster, accompanied by a flotilla of gun-boats moving up the Neuse River —marched into the north-eastern part of North Carolina, with a view of destroying the enemy's railway communications between Richmond and the South, and forming a junction with the Federal forces at Suffolk and Norfolk. After a continued series of skirmishes, Foster met the enemy in considerable force under General Evans, at Kinston,*

Dec. 11.

where a spirited engagement took place, in which the Union arms were victorious. The enemy lost 200 killed and wounded, 400 who were taken prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, 500 stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The Union loss was about 200 in killed and wounded. Having taken possession of Kinston, which was partially burned, General Foster moved upon Whitehall and Goldsboro, whence he drove the enemy. Having destroyed a half-finished iron-clad boat, a number of bridges, some six miles of the Wilmington and Weldon Railway, and the

Dec. 24.

* "Headquarters Department of North Carolina, Kinston, N. C., *Dec.* 14, 1862.

"Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington:

"I have the honor to inform you that I left Newbern for this place on the 11th inst., but that, owing to the bad roads and consequent delays of my trains, etc., I did not reach Southwest Creek, five miles from this town, until the afternoon of the 13th instant. The enemy were posted there, but by a heavy artillery fire in front and a vigorous infantry attack on either flank, I succeeded in forcing a passage, and without much loss.

"This morning I advanced on this town, and found the enemy strongly posted at a defile through a marsh bordering on a creek. The position was so well chosen that very little of our artillery could be brought in play. The main attack, therefore, was made by the infantry, assisted by a few guns pushed forward in the roads. After a five hours' hard fight we succeeded in driving the enemy from their position. We followed them rapidly to the river. The bridge over the Neuse at this point was prepared for firing, and was fired in six places; but we were so close behind them that we saved the bridge.

"The enemy retreated precipitately by the Goldsboro and Pikeville roads. Their force was about 6,000 men and twenty pieces of artillery.

"The result is, we have taken Kinston, captured eleven pieces of artillery, taken 400 to 500 prisoners, and found a large amount of quartermasters' and commissary stores. Our loss will probably not exceed 200 killed and wounded. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"S. G. Foster, Major-General Commanding."

telegraph line, he returned to Newbern after an absence of eight days. Foster thus briefly summed up the results of his expedition:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, *Dec.* 20, 1862.

"MAJOR-GEN. HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF:

"My expedition was a perfect success. I burned the railroad bridge at Goldsboro and Mount Olive, and tore up several miles of the track of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad.

"We fought four engagements, viz.: at Southwest Creek, Kinston, Whitehall, and Goldsboro, and whipped the enemy handsomely each time.

"J. G. FOSTER,

"Brigadier-General Commanding."

The expedition of General Foster, however skilfully conducted, was rendered abortive by the failure of Burnside at Fredericksburg. The enemy, being relieved by their victory from any immediate danger to their capital from that quarter, were enabled to send reinforcements to defend its approaches in other directions. Thus they not only compelled General Foster to retire to his base of operations at Newbern, but succeeded in keeping in check the movements of the Union troops from Norfolk and Suffolk, which had been occupied after the capture of the former city, intended also to be co-operative with the advance of General Burnside upon Fredericksburg.

Though the first United States expe- **Dec. 1.** dition which started for Suffolk succeeded in driving the enemy across the Blackwater River at Franklin, recapturing the celebrated Pittsburg battery, and taking thirty prisoners, the second from the same place resulted in total failure. General Terry set out **Dec. 11.** with a detachment of troops and a pontoon train to cross the Blackwater, but being met by a superior force of the enemy, was forced to retire, though fortunately with a loss only of three killed and wounded, for which he was compensated by the capture of thirteen prisoners.

When the disaster to the Union arms at Fredericksburg became known, it was hoped that the great naval and military expedition, which had been so long preparing at New York, was destined to operate on the south of Richmond, either by North Carolina or the James River. The people at the North hoped that thus the defeat of their army in front might be avenged by a signal success in the rear, and the capture of the enemy's capital secured, in spite of Burnside's check on the Rappahannock. These hopes, however, were disappointed. General Banks, who had sailed from New York on the evening of December 4th, in his flag-ship the steamer North Star, arrived at New Orleans on the 14th of the same month. He was accompanied by a large fleet of men-of-war and transports, though many of his vessels had been detained on the voyage in consequence of various mishaps, owing to the unseaworthiness of the miscellaneous craft which had been carelessly pressed into the service. On the arrival of General Banks at New Orleans, he immediately assumed the

command at that city, which was established as the basis of great military and naval operations, to be carried on for the further subjugation of Louisiana, the full conquest of the Mississippi River, the capture of the enemy's posts in the Gulf of Mexico, and the re-establishment of the Federal authority in Texas. To aid in this last object, General Banks was accompanied by General A. J. Hamilton, who had been appointed by the President military governor of Texas.

Hamilton, though a Southern man by birth, having been born in Alabama, whence he had emigrated to Texas, had, on the breaking out of the rebellion, signalized himself as a firm advocate of the Union. Persecuted by the secessionists, he had been forced to fly from his home, and escaping through Mexico to New York, became prominent for his advocacy of the extermination of slavery, as a means of prosecuting the war for the Union. His loyalty and political sympathy with the Government, as well as his supposed influence in Texas, where as a lawyer and a member of Congress he had been much esteemed, marked him out as a suitable person to assist in executing the design of encouraging the Union sentiment of his State.

General Butler, whose rigid rule at New Orleans had, by its interference with their representatives, aroused the susceptibilities of foreign nations, was superseded, in politic concession, it was suspected, to the remonstrances of European powers.

General Butler, on yielding up his command to General Banks, took leave of the army in a farewell order, in which he dwelt, with characteristic self-gratulation, upon a career whose motives and conduct had been so variously estimated. In this address to the people of New Orleans, Butler repeated the complacent remarks upon himself, and added some observations upon the conduct of others, singularly indiscreet on the part of an officer of a Government at peace with those whose actions he held up to scorn.

"ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS.
"CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS:

"It may not be inappropriate, as it is not inopportune in occasion, that there should be addressed to you a few words at parting, by one whose name is to be hereafter indissolubly connected with your city.

"I shall speak in no bitterness, because I am not conscious of a single personal animosity. Commanding the Army of the Gulf, I found you captured, but not surrendered; conquered, but not orderly; relieved from the presence of an army, but incapable of taking care of yourselves. So far from it, you had called upon a foreign legion to protect you from yourselves. I restored order, punished crime, opened commerce, brought provisions to your starving people, reformed your currency, and gave you quiet protection, such as you had not enjoyed for many years.

"While doing this, my soldiers were subjected to obloquy, reproach, and insult.

"And now, speaking to you who

know the truth, I here declare that whoever has quietly remained about his business, affording neither aid nor comfort to the enemies of the United States, has never been interfered with by the soldiers of the United States.

"The men who had assumed to govern you and to defend your city in arms having fled, some of your women flouted at the presence of those who came to protect them. By a simple order (No. 28) I called upon every soldier of this army to treat the women of New Orleans as gentlemen should deal with the sex, with such effect that I now call upon the just-minded ladies of New Orleans to say whether they have ever enjoyed so complete protection and calm quiet for themselves and their families, as since the advent of the United States troops.

"The enemies of my country, unrepentant and implacable, I have treated with merited severity. I hold that rebellion is treason, and that treason persisted in is death, and any punishment short of that due a traitor gives so much clear gain to him from the clemency of the Government. Upon this thesis have I administered the authority of the United States, because of which I am not unconscious of complaint. I do not feel that I have erred in too much harshness, for that harshness has ever been exhibited to disloyal enemies of my country, and not to loyal friends. To be sure, I might have regaled you with the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the supposed rules of civilized warfare. You might have been smoked to death in caverns, as were the Covenanters of Scotland by command of a general of the royal house of England; or roasted like the inhabitants of Algiers during the French campaign; your wives and daughters might have been given over to the ravisher, as were the unfortunate dames of Spain in the Peninsular war; or you might have been scalped and tomahawked, as our mothers were at Wyoming by the savage allies of Great Britain in our own Revolution; your property could have been turned over to indiscriminate 'loot,' like the palace of the emperor of China; works of art which adorned your buildings might have been sent away, like the paintings of the Vatican; your sons might have been blown from the mouths of cannon, like the Sepoys at Delhi; and yet this would have been within the rules of civilized warfare, as practiced by the most polished and the most hypocritical nations of Europe. For such acts the records of the doings of some of the inhabitants of your city towards the friends of the Union, before my coming, were a sufficient provocative and justification.

"But I have not so conducted. On the contrary, the worst punishment inflicted, except for criminal acts punishable by every law, has been banishment with labor to a barren island, where I encamped my own soldiers before marching here.

"It is true I have levied upon the wealthy rebel and paid out nearly half a million of dollars, to feed 40,000 of

the starving poor of all nations assembled here, made so by this war.

"I saw that this rebellion was a war of the aristocrats against the middling men; of the rich against the poor; a war of the land-owner against the laborer; that it was a struggle for the retention of power in the hands of the few against the many; and I found no conclusion to it save the subjugation of the few and the disenthralment of the many. I therefore felt no hesitation in taking the substance of the wealthy, who had caused the war, to feed the innocent poor, who had suffered by the war. And I shall now leave you with the proud consciousness that I carry with me the blessings of the humble and loyal under the roof of the cottage and in the cabin of the slave, and so am quite content to incur the sneers of the *salon* or the curses of the rich.

"I found you trembling at the terrors of servile insurrection. All danger of this I have prevented by so treating the slave that he had no cause to rebel.

"I found the dungeon, the chain, and the lash your only means of enforcing obedience in your servants. I leave them peaceful, laborious, controlled by the laws of kindness and justice.

"I have demonstrated that the pestilence can be kept from your borders.

"I have added a million of dollars to your wealth, in the form of new land from the batture of the Mississippi.

"I have cleansed and improved your streets, canals, and public squares, and opened new avenues to unoccupied land.

"I have given you freedom of elections, greater than you have ever enjoyed before.

"I have caused justice to be administered so impartially, that your own advocates have unanimously complimented the judges of my appointment.

"You have seen, therefore, the benefit of the laws and justice of the Government against which you have rebelled.

"Why, then, will you not all return to your allegiance to that Government, not with lip-service, but with the heart?

"I conjure you, if you desire ever to see renewed prosperity, giving business to your streets and wharves — if you hope to see your city become again the mart of the Western world, fed by its rivers for more than 3,000 miles, draining the commerce of a country greater than the mind of man hath ever conceived—return to your allegiance.

"If you desire to leave to your children the inheritance you received of your fathers — a stable constitutional government—if you desire that they should in the future be a portion of the greatest empire the sun ever shone upon—return to your allegiance.

"There is but one thing that stands in the way.

"There is but one thing that at this hour stands between you and the Government, and that is slavery.

"The institution, cursed of God, which has taken its last refuge here, in his providence will be rooted out as the tares from the wheat, although the wheat be torn up with it.

"I have given much thought to this subject.

"I came among you, by teachings, by habit of mind, by political position, by social affinity, inclined to sustain your domestic laws, if by possibility they might be with safety to the Union.

"Months of experience and observation have forced the conviction that the existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety either of yourselves or of the Union. As the system has gradually grown to its present huge dimensions, it were best if it could be gradually removed; but it is better, far better, that it should be taken out at once, than that it should longer vitiate the social, political, and family relations of your country. I am speaking with no philanthropic views as regards the slave, but simply of the effect of slavery on the master. See for yourselves.

"Look around you and say whether this saddening, deadening influence has not all but destroyed the very framework of your society.

"I am speaking the farewell words of one who has shown his devotion to his country at the peril of his life and fortune, who in these words can have neither hope nor interest save the good of those whom he addresses; and let me here repeat, with all the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven to bear me witness, that such are the views forced upon me by experience.

"Come, then, to the unconditional support of the Government. Take into your own hands your own institutions; remodel them according to the laws of nations and of God, and thus attain that great prosperity assured to you by geographical position, only a portion of which was heretofore yours.

"BENJ. F. BUTLER."

General Banks, in his new orders and proclamation, showed himself to be more modest in expression, and promised to be more lenient in policy, than his predecessor. The first act of the new commander was to arrest the further sale of confiscated property, which had been hitherto carried on so extensively and conducted in a manner so equivocal as to excite suspicion, not only of its justice, but of its expediency. In order to regulate such proceedings in the future by the forms if not the enactments of established law, Charles A. Peabody, formerly judge of the Supreme Court of New York, had been endowed by the President with extraordinary judicial powers, and sent out with General Banks to perform the anomalous duty of reconciling martial with legal requirements.

In his proclamation General Banks addressed the people such words of conciliation as encouraged them to hope for a charity of sentiment and a liberality of treatment of which they had despaired under the severe rule of his predecessor.

The following was General Banks' proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, *Dec.* 16, 1862.

"In obedience to orders from the President, I have assumed command of the Department of the Gulf, to which is added, by his special order, the State of Texas.

PARTS OF SOUTHERN STATES BORDERING ON GULF OF MEXICO

CONSTRUCTED AND ENGRAVED TO ILLUSTRATE "THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH"

EXTENSION OF THE LARGER MAP EASTWARD
(on the same scale)

J. Wells Del.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1863 by Virtue Yorston & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the United States for the South. dist. of N. York

Rae Smith Sc.

5.58

"This duty with which I am charged requires me to assist in the restoration of the Government of the United States. It is my desire to secure to the people of every class all the privileges of possession and enjoyment which are consistent with public safety, or which it is possible for a beneficent and just Government to confer.

"In the execution of the high trust with which I am charged, I rely upon the co-operation and counsel of all loyal and well-disposed people, and upon the manifest interest of those dependent upon the pursuits of peace, as well as upon the support of the naval and land forces.

"My instructions require me to treat as enemies those who are enemies; but I shall gladly regard as friends those who are friends. No restrictions will be placed upon the freedom of individuals which are not imperatively demanded by considerations of public safety; but while their claims will be liberally considered, it is due also to them to state that all the rights of the Government will be unflinchingly maintained.

"Respectful consideration and prompt reparation will be accorded to all persons who are wronged in body or estate by those under my command.

"The Government does not profit by the prolongation of civil contest, or the private or public sufferings which attend it. Its fruits are not equally distributed. In the disloyal States, desolation has empire on the sea and on the land. In the North the war is an abiding sorrow, but not yet a calamity. Its cities and towns are increasing in population, wealth, and power. The refugees from the South alone compensate in great part for the terrible decimations of battle.

"The people of this department who are disposed to stake their fortunes and their lives upon resistance to the Government may wisely reflect upon the immutable conditions which surround them. The valley of the Mississippi is the chosen seat of population, product, and power on this continent. In a few years, twenty-five millions of people, unsurpassed in material resources and capacity for war, will swarm upon its fertile shores. Those who assume to set conditions upon their exodus to the Gulf count upon a power not given to man. The country washed by the waters of the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi can never be permanently severed. If one generation basely barters away its rights, immortal honors will rest upon another that reclaims them.

"Let it never be said either that the East and the West may be separated. Thirty days' distance from the markets of Europe may satisfy the wants of Louisiana and Arkansas, but it will not answer the demands of Illinois and Ohio. The valley of the Mississippi will have its deltas upon the Atlantic. The physical force of the West will debouch upon its shores with a power as resistless as the torrents of its giant rivers. The country cannot be permanently divided. Ceaseless wars may drain its blood and treasure—domestic tyrants or foreign foes may grasp the sceptre of its power—but its destiny will remain

unchanged. It will still be united. God has ordained it. What avails, then, the destruction of the best government ever devised by man—the self-adjusting, self-correcting Constitution of the United States?

"People of the Southwest! Why not accept the conditions imposed by the imperious necessities of geographical configuration and commercial supremacy, and re-establish your ancient prosperity and renown? Why not become the founders of states which, as the entrepôts and dépôts of your own central and upper valleys, may stand, in the affluence of their resources, without a superior, and, in the privileges of the people, without a peer, among the nations of the earth?

"N. P. Banks,
"Major-General Commanding."

General Banks did not allow his conciliatory disposition to weaken his energies in carrying on the war against the enemy. He had hardly been two days in New Orleans when he sent out **Dec. 16.** an expedition of gun-boats and transports laden with troops, under the command of General Grover, to take possession of Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, which had been evacuated by General Butler. The enemy offering no resistance, the almost deserted city was occupied by the Union troops.

The Confederate forces had abandoned the place to concentrate at Port Hudson, on the Mississippi, where they had raised formidable fortifications to aid in the defence of that portion of the river extending to Vicksburg, of which they still held the command.

CHAPTER XL.

The Enemy on the Borders of Missouri.—General Blunt's attack at Cane Hill.—Victory for the Unionists.—Retreat of General Marmaduke.—The Enemy reinforced, return to attack Blunt at Cane Hill.—The Enemy repulsed.—Remarkable Victory of Blunt.—Retreat and Pursuit of the Enemy.—Schofield resumes command of the Union Forces.—Prepares to march into Arkansas.—Missouri temporarily quiet.—A Loyal Legislature.—Majority in favor of Slave Emancipation.—Missouri again invaded.—Marmaduke eludes the vigilance of the Unionists, and attacks Springfield.—The Enemy repulsed, return to Arkansas.—Movements in the Southwest.—Rosecrans supersedes Buell in Tennessee.—Advance of General Grant through Mississippi.—Unsuccessful efforts of Hovey and Sherman to co-operate.—The Enemy in the rear of Grant.—Dashing movements of Van Dorn.—Capture of Holly Springs.—Great booty.—Grant denounces the conduct of the Union officer in command of Holly Springs.—Grant forced to return.—Success of Sullivan.—Activity of the Enemy's Cavalry.—Alarm produced.—Fright at New Madrid and No. 10.—The Enemy concentrating at Vicksburg under command of Pemberton.—Expedition of General Sherman.—Fortifications of Vicksburg.—Visit of Jefferson Davis.—Sherman at the mouth of the Yazoo.—Attack on Vicksburg.—Failure of Sherman.—McClernand assumes the command.—Capture of Arkansas Post.—Action of the Fleet.—Successes on White River.—General Grant returns to Memphis.—Another Expedition to Vicksburg.—General Grant in command.—Arrival at Young's Point.—The Strength of the Enemy.

THE Confederate forces continuing to hover about the borders of Arkansas with the view of invading Missouri, a division of the Union army under General Blunt made forced marches and attacked the enemy at Cane Hill. The battle lasted several hours, and resulted in a complete victory for the Union arms. General Marmaduke, the Confederate commander, was forced to abandon his position and fly precipitately with his troops until he reached Van Buren. General Blunt encamped on the battle-field. The strength of the enemy was estimated at nearly 8,000, while that of the Unionists was only 5,000. The losses were heaviest on the part of the Confederates, but on neither side great. The enemy having succeeded in concentrating their detached troops in Arkansas, again advanced with an army now numbering 24,000 men, and attempted to drive General Blunt from the position he held at Cane Hill, and at the same time strove to cut off the reinforcements he was awaiting. The struggle and the remarkable victory over superior numbers by Blunt are best described in his own words. This was his official report:

1862. Nov. 28.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE FRONTIER,
BATTLE FIELD, NEAR FAYETTEVILLE,
December 8, 1862.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS:

"This place on yesterday was the scene of a hard-fought and bloody field, resulting in a complete victory of the Army of the Frontier.

"The rebel forces, under Generals Hindman, Marmaduke, Parsons, and Frost, numbered 24,000. I had been holding the enemy on the Boston Mountains for two days, skirmishing with

their advance, holding them in check until General Herron could come up with reinforcements.

"On the 7th they drove in my outposts, and got possession of a road by which they commenced a flank movement on my left during the night, while they made a heavy feint in front. Their object was to cut off communication between myself and General Herron, who was to be at Fayetteville at daylight.

"They attacked General Herron at about ten o'clock A.M., who, by gallant and desperate fighting, held them in check for three hours, until I came and attacked them in the rear. The fighting was desperate on both sides, and continued until it was terminated by the darkness of the night.

"My command bivouacked on their arms, ready to renew the conflict at daylight in the morning. But the enemy had availed themselves of the night to retreat across the Boston Mountains.

"The loss on both sides has been heavy. My loss in killed is small in proportion to the number of wounded. The enemy's loss, compared with ours, was at least four to one. My artillery made terrible destruction in their ranks. They had greatly the advantage in numbers and position. Yet Generals Hindman and Marmaduke acknowledged to me, in an interview under a flag of truce, that they had been well whipped.

"Among the enemy's killed is Colonel Stein, formerly brigadier-general of the Missouri State Guard.

"The Nineteenth and Twentieth Iowa, Thirty-seventh Illinois, and Twenty-sixth Indiana regiments, of General Herron's division, suffered severely.

"General Herron deserves great credit for the promptness with which he reinforced me by forced marches from near Springfield, and also for his gallantry upon the field.

"Very respectfully,

"JAS. G. BLUNT,

"Brigadier-General."

The enemy, whose loss was estimated at 4,000, were so discouraged by their defeat at Prairie Grove, as the battle-field was called, that they seemed incapable of further serious resistance to the Union forces, which continued to advance, driving before them the Confederates, who were forced to evacuate Van Buren, cross the Arkansas River, and seek a refuge in Arkadelphia, fifty-five miles southwest of Little Rock, the capital of the State. The enemy were reputed to be greatly demoralized for want of supplies, and to have lost thousands by straggling and desertion. This is the official report of General Blunt:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE FRONTIER,
VAN BUREN, ARK., *Dec.* 28, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS:

"GENERAL — The Stars and Stripes now wave in triumph over Van Buren. On learning that Hindman had been reinforced, and contemplated making another attempt to force his way to Missouri, I determined to make the attack upon him. Leaving my transportation north of the mountains, I marched from Prairie Grove at eight o'clock yesterday morning upon this place, distant fifty miles.

"At ten o'clock this morning my advance came upon two regiments of rebel cavalry at Dripping Springs, eight miles north of the river. Dashing upon them with 3,000 cavalry and four mountain howitzers, a brisk running fight took place, which was kept up into the town, resulting in the capture of all their transportation, forty wagons, with six mule teams, all their camp and garrison equipage, one hundred prisoners, and a large amount of ammunition.

"Four steamers and a ferry-boat were also captured. The latter, in attempting to cross the river with rebel troops, was shelled from the howitzers when in the middle of the stream. The boat was disabled and a number of the men were killed. The remainder jumped overboard and swam ashore.

"Three large steamers, heavily laden with government supplies, had got up steam and attempted to escape down the river, but were pursued by the cavalry five miles and brought to by the fire of their carbines and returned to the levee. The enemy then brought their artillery to the opposite bank of the river, and commenced shelling the town for the purpose of driving out my cavalry, but resulting in no other damage than the destruction of some buildings. My artillery, coming up, soon silenced their batteries. Quite a number of the enemy have been killed during the day's operations. The only casualties on our side are five or six men slightly wounded.

"My long-range guns are now shelling the rebel camp across the river, five miles below this place. If the enemy does not retreat during the night, I shall endeavor to cross my troops over the river in the morning and offer them battle. Respectfully,

"JAMES G. BLUNT,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

Major-General Curtis, the commander-in-chief of the Department of the Frontier, paid this tribute to the energetic pursuit by General Blunt: "The march of fifty-five miles, with arms and service, over the mountains and through the deep mud of the valley, was a most gallant and arduous affair."

General Schofield, having recovered from his illness, resumed the command of the Army of the Frontier, and prepared, after concentrating his forces at Fayetteville, to move forward into that portion of Arkansas from which the enemy had been driven by the energy of General Blunt. Dec. 31.

Missouri, by the success of the "Frontier Army" upon its borders, now seemed once more secure from invasion. The guerrilla bands, moreover, which had long disturbed the interior of the State, had been so beaten and dispersed, that little fear of future raids was felt. While the military power, under the command of General Curtis, had thus been effectively exercised in behalf of the Federal authority in Missouri, the citizens of the State, by electing a loyal legislature, the majority of which was in favor of accepting the proposition of President Lincoln for compensatory emancipation, strengthened their sympathies with the North. It was hoped

that Missouri, thus guarded by the Federal arms and revolutionized by political change, would no longer have anything to fear from the secessionists either without or within.

Notwithstanding the hopeful condition of the much vexed Missouri, after the vaunted victories of the Union arms in Arkansas, the enemy succeeded—to use a huntsman's phrase—in doubling upon their pursuers, and once more made their appearance in the very centre of the former State. General Marmaduke, who had been driven across the Arkansas River, and reputed so beaten as to be no longer capable of assuming the offensive, succeeded in eluding the Union troops in Arkansas, and crossing the Missouri boundary, suddenly made an attack upon Springfield, with the hope of capturing the valuable stores at that important point. Fortunately, however, the Union commander, General Brown, was a man equal to the emergency. Though taken by surprise, and wounded early in the engagement, he succeeded in beating off his assailants. In his official report to General Curtis, dated Springfield, January 8, 1863, General Brown thus describes the affair:

Jan. 8.

"SPRINGFIELD, *Jan.* 8, 1863.

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS:

"The firing has just ceased. The attack was made at ten minutes past ten this morning. The fight lasted thirteen hours. The enemy were in command of General Marmaduke, Confederate States Army, consisting of 5,000 picked mounted infantry and two pieces of rifled field artillery, drawn by ten horses each. The expedition was fitted out in this manner on the Arkansas River, for the especial service of the capture of Springfield, with the fort and large dépôts of stores. They moved with great rapidity, marching the last fifty miles in twenty-four hours, skirmishing with my scouting parties almost the entire distance. He moved right up, and immediately commenced the fight by cannonading the town, without having given a moment's time to remove the sick and the helpless women and children. Our artillery consisted of two old iron twelve-pounder howitzers, one iron six-pounder, rudely mounted on old wagon wheels, and without any of the ordinary equipments for artillery, handspikes and wedges having to take the place of elevating-screws, and two six-pounder brass guns at Fort No. 1. The balance of our force consisted of the following-named commands and detachments of commands:

"Third Cavalry, Missouri State militia, commanded by Colonel N. King, 453 men.

"Fourth Cavalry, Missouri State militia, commanded by George H. Hall, 289 men.

"Eighteenth Iowa Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Z. Cook, 378 men.

"Second battalion Fourteenth Cavalry, Missouri State militia, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Pound, 223 men.

"Seventy-second E. M. M., commanded by Captain G. B. Phillips.

"Forty-eight convalescents, organized by Dr. S. H. Melcher, and stragglers, commanded by Colonel B. Crabb and Captain McAfee, 447 men.

"Total force, 2,599 men.

"These troops acted like heroes. I am too weak from loss of blood to dictate more. E. B. Brown,

"Brigadier-General."

"I will add to the General's dispatch that he was treacherously shot from a secesh residence, while leading a charge of his body-guard when the day seemed to be lost. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"James H. Steger,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

When the general advance northward of the enemy's various forces was checked, and they were compelled to fall back, the Union armies began simultaneously to follow them in their retreat. General Marmaduke, after failing in his attempt upon Springfield, made other equally ineffectual attacks upon various places, and finally fled back to Arkansas, where he arrived in safety, though pursued by all the available Union troops.

In Virginia, as has been related, McClellan advanced upon the enemy until superseded by General Burnside. The latter in his turn assumed the offensive, and moved forward to Fredericksburg, until he was arrested by defeat. In Mississippi the Unionists, after having beaten the forces commanded by General Van Dorn at Corinth, also followed them in their retreat. General Grant was now in command of the Union army of Mississippi, in place of General Rosecrans, who had superseded General Buell, at the head of the Union army of Kentucky, with which, as will appear in the course of this narrative, he, too, moved in pursuit of the retiring enemy.

General Grant continued his advance along the line of the Mississippi Central Railroad, successively occupying La Grange, Grand Junction, Holly Springs, and Abbeville, until he reached Oxford, about fifty miles south of Memphis. **Dec. 3.** The enemy, in the mean time, offered but little resistance.

To co-operate with this movement of Grant, General Hovey advanced from Helena, in Arkansas, and General Sherman from Memphis. They both penetrated some distance into Mississippi, but failing in their purpose of destroying the enemy's communications and forming a junction with Grant, returned to their respective bases of operations at Helena and Memphis. Grant, too, finding that the enemy had gained his rear, was forced to retrace his steps. Van Dorn, the Confederate general, who after his defeat by Rosecrans at Corinth had been superseded by General Pemberton, was placed at the head of a detachment of cavalry and artillery, detailed to operate in the rear of General Grant. His main object was so to threaten the communications of Grant as to check his pursuit of Pemberton, and allow him to reach Vicksburg, where the enemy designed to concentrate a large force, in order to oppose the formidable efforts about to be made by the Federal Government to capture

that city and obtain the full control of the Mississippi.

Van Dorn proved to be more effective as a partisan chief than as a leader of armies, and succeeded wondrously in his adventurous raids. Gaining the rear of Grant, he was enabled to interrupt his railroad communications, capture his supplies, and take possession of various places, among which was Holly
Dec. 20. Springs. Surprising the small Union garrison at this place, he seized some 1,500 citizens and soldiers, whom he held as prisoners of war, and a large quantity of Government property, consisting of arms and military stores. He also destroyed an immense stock of cotton, said to amount to a million of dollars, belonging to some loyal dealers, principally from the North. "It is with pain and mortification," said General Grant, in an order of the 24th December, "that the General commanding reflects upon the disgraceful surrender of Holly Springs on the 20th instant, and that without any resistance, except by a few men, who form an honorable exception; and this, too, after warning had been given of the advance of the enemy northward the evening previous. With all the cotton, public stores, and substantial buildings about the dépôt, it would have been perfectly practicable to have made, in a few hours, defences sufficient to resist, with a small garrison, all the cavalry force brought against them until the reinforcements, which the commanding officer was notified were marching to their relief, could have reached him."

This daring movement of Van Dorn produced still more serious consequences than the capture of prisoners and stores. It forced General Grant to march back with his army to Holly Springs. While he remained here awaiting the re-establishment of his railroad communications with the North, a Union force under General Sullivan was sent out in search of the noted guerrilla chief, Forrest, who had been detached from Bragg's army in East Tennessee. He was overtaken at Spring Hill and routed. "General Sullivan has," said Grant in his dispatch of January 3, "succeeded in getting a fight out of the rebel Colonel Forrest, and whipped him badly. General Sullivan has captured six pieces of artillery and a great many horses and prisoners." As the General added, "General Van Dorn was repulsed at every point except this (Holly Springs) with heavy loss," it is to be hoped that the chronicler may not again have occasion to record any further interruptions of the momentous enterprises of our great armies by pitiful bands of moss-troopers, however bold riders they may be. Such was the alarm occasioned by the raids of Van Dorn and Forrest, and the threatened advance of Jefferson Thompson on his familiar ground about the borders of Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky, that the garrisons at New Madrid and Island No. 10, after spiking their guns and throwing their ammunition into the Mississippi, temporarily abandoned their important positions.

While General Grant was forced to

VICKSBURG AND ITS DEFENCES.

CONSTRUCTED AND ENGRAVED TO ILLUSTRATE "THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH"

Entered according to act of Congress, A.D. 1863 by Pirsse Forster & Co in the clerks office of the District court of the United States for the southern District of New York.

Engd by W. Kemble,

A Topographical Map of Vicksburg & its vicinity showing all Batteries that were in existence at the time of its fall, with the names of the owners of Plantations, &c.

Charles Smith
Lop. Engineer

retrace his march to Holly Springs and to remain inactive there until his communications should be restored, the army of the enemy under Pemberton was free to pursue its progress to Vicksburg, where the Confederates were rapidly concentrating a large force to defend that important position. The original plan of the Unionists was to make a combined attack upon Vicksburg. General Grant was to move by land through Mississippi, following Pemberton closely, to overtake him if possible before reaching his destination, or if he failed in this, to form a junction with General Sherman, who was to set out from Memphis and unite with him in a combined assault upon the enemy in his stronghold upon the Mississippi.

General Grant, as has been related, was foiled in his object by the enterprise of an alert enemy who had succeeded in gaining his rear. General Sherman, although his first expedition had proved fruitless, started on a second with the promise of a more successful result. Embarking a large number of troops in transports at Memphis, he sailed down the Mississippi under the convoy of a fleet of gun-boats, which were intended to co-operate in the attack upon Vicksburg.

In the mean time great efforts had been made by the enemy to strengthen their fortifications and increase their force. Jefferson Davis, in the course of a tour to the West, had visited Vicksburg, and stimulated the energies of his generals and soldiers in the defence of a position which he declared was of vital importance to the Confederate cause. One of his ablest generals, Joe Johnston, had been charged with the duty of overseeing the construction of the fortifications, and organizing the forces concentrating for their defence. New works and more powerful guns were added to those which had already so successfully resisted our naval power. The fortifications were said to be of the most skilful construction, and to extend eight miles back from the river.

General Sherman, on reaching the mouth of the Yazoo, sailed some ten miles up that river, and disembarked his troops on the left or southern bank. **Dec. 26.** His first operation was to detach a brigade to destroy a portion of the Little Rock and Vicksburg Railroad. This force having landed on the shore opposite Vicksburg, proceeded promptly to its work, and having successfully accomplished it, rejoined the main body on the same day.

At an early hour next morning, General Sherman formed his troops in line of battle and pushed them forward to meet the enemy, who soon presented themselves in large force. A severe fight ensued, which lasted for five **Dec. 27.** hours, when the Confederates fell back beyond two bayous in the rear of Vicksburg, until they reached an intrenched position on a hill. After an interchange of artillery fire, the contest closed for the day.

The Unionists, being now separated from the enemy by the bayous, passed the night in constructing pontoons, and on the next morning crossed and re-

newed the battle. General Sherman formed his army thus: his centre under Generals Morgan and Blair, his right under Generals A. J. and L. Smith, and his left under General Steele. The Unionists began the assault upon the intrenchments of the enemy with great vigor, and succeeded, notwithstanding a most desperate resistance, in carrying them, when the latter fell back to an inner line of defence. On the next day General Sherman attacked this, which was their central or main work. The enemy, apparently unable to withstand the impetuosity of the assault, gave way at first; but soon being largely reinforced, they charged upon their assailants and repulsed them with great slaughter. General Sherman, now compelled to desist from any further effort, fell back under cover of the gunboats to his landing-place. General McClernand having, in the mean time, arrived, assumed command of the army, and re-embarking the troops, transported them to Napoleon in Arkansas. The loss of the Unionists was estimated at about 3,000 in killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy, in consequence of fighting under cover, was much less; it was reported by themselves to be only a hundred!

Dec. 28.

Dec. 29.

A correspondent of the *Herald*, of December 30, gave the following narrative:

"The advance of our lines to a close proximity to those of the enemy has shown us that they are equally as strong in their rear as in their front. Nature has furnished them the ground-work for impregnable defence, and anticipating our movements with a shrewdness that does them credit, they have thrown up fortifications, dug rifle-pits, and planted batteries in their rear, to such an extent as to render the attempt to flank them most hazardous and desperate. At Vicksburg proper, or a little below, the bluffs upon which the city is partially built take their rise. These bluffs extend in a north-northeasterly direction from the point below Vicksburg where they take their rise, to Haines' Bluffs on the Yazoo River, a distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and are fortified throughout their entire length. The bluffs front the Mississippi and the Yazoo rivers, having an abrupt or precipitous ascent. Back of them the ground is high and broken, somewhat rolling, falling off gradually to the Big Black River. The only land approach to Vicksburg from up the Mississippi is by climbing the face of these bluffs.

"The Yazoo River, which finds its way into the Mississippi about ten miles above Vicksburg, through what is known as the Old River — supposed to have been once the main channel of the Mississippi, is crooked and narrow, very deep, and has but little current. Its general course as it approaches its mouth is from northeast to southwest. Following its windings from its mouth, we pass along the face of the range of bluffs above alluded to, being at the junction of the Yazoo proper with Old River, about six miles from them, and gradually approaching them until, at Haines' or Drumgoold's Bluffs, as they

are called on some maps, the river and bluffs come together. This point is nine miles from Vicksburg by the roads leading along the foot of the bluffs, and twenty-three miles from the Mississippi by the course of the Yazoo River. We thus have a piece of triangular bottom land east of the Yazoo River, nine miles in length on one side, six on the other, the third side being irregular, though being, if straight, about the same length as the first side. Upon this triangle our troops are disembarked, with the purpose of getting in the rear of Vicksburg and gaining that position by such a movement.

"From the Yazoo above its junction with Old River, and in the upper half of the distance to Haines' Bluff, two bayous set in to this triangular piece of bottom land. As they approach the base of the bluffs, they intersect a third that leads along nearly parallel with the base of the hills, diverging from them as it approaches its outlet into the Mississippi, at which point it is about one mile from them.

"Behind this latter bayou and between it and the bluffs is a plain, the timber upon which has been felled to form an abattis. This plain is cut up by deep gullies, which furnish admirable shelter to the sharp-shooters of the enemy, and are fully appreciated by them. Along the base of the bluffs, throughout their entire length, the rebels have dug rifle-pits, which are also defended by single gun batteries, stationed in the face of the bluffs at short intervals from Vicksburg to Milldale, half a mile below Haines' Bluffs, where all their works terminate. In addition to these batteries, they have thrown up at various commanding points along the range, both in its face and upon the summit, field-works for the reception and protection of light artillery whenever it may be needed. No effort seems to have been spared to furnish shelter to their men, and the intention seems apparent to require them to fight in no event, when it can be avoided, out of cover.

"To approach the enemy's position from any point on the Yazoo River beyond the reach of their batteries, it is necessary to cross the bayous above alluded to. These are at present full of water and unfordable. Pontoon bridges have had to be constructed at various points to enable the troops to cross. In constructing them we first met with opposition from the enemy. Their skirmishers and sharp-shooters were placed in the gullies above described, and behind logs, trees, and stumps, and kept up a constant and galling fire upon our working parties. Still our men did not suffer much from their fire, our own picked marksmen giving them a good deal of annoyance, and rendering them careful of showing themselves long enough to get accurate aims.

"In addition to this annoyance, wherever our operations were within reach, the enemy opened their batteries in the face of the bluffs upon us. But in this they were decidedly the losers, as our heaviest field artillery was brought on to the ground wherever this occurred, and in several instances silenced

their batteries and compelled them to withdraw their guns up the hill. The weather continued remarkably fine and favorable for all kinds of movements; and notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy, our work progressed finely, and was completed at all points on Sunday night the 28th instant.

"Yesterday the general advance was ordered, and it was supposed that it would bring on a general engagement. To divert the attention of the enemy and lessen their opposition to our advance, and also to prevent any premeditated flank movements on their part, our gun-boats were brought into play. The iron-clads made a vigorous assault upon the batteries at Milldale, assisted by two mortar boats, and also shelled the rebel encampments in that vicinity. The Lexington and that class of boats, with long-range guns, lay off the mouth of the Chickasaw Bayou and kept up a vigorous cannonading up that stream and into the woods, in the direction whence the enemy would be likely to move should they attempt to turn our left flank. The Marmora and Forest Rose took a position at the head of False River, and fired by the compass across the great bend in the Mississippi in the direction of Vicksburg and to the left of it, actually preventing, as has since been learned, an attempt to turn our right flank. Our field artillery was brought into play along the entire lines, in response to the vigorous firing of the enemy; and thus a continuous roar of artillery was kept up throughout the entire day. It is seldom that a more furious cannonading is heard, and it has never been surpassed in this war, unless at the late battle of Fredericksburg.

"In the midst of this thunder our forces advanced, the centre and left crossing the bayous and deploying into line just beyond the range of the enemy's riflemen, finding cover in the edge of the woods fronting on the plain covered with abattis. General A. J. Smith, commanding our right, did not cross the bayou running parallel with the bluffs, the enemy having cut the timber on this side of it, which would have exposed his position. He moved out on the road from Johnson's Ferry, and deployed to the right in the woods at the edge of the abattis, and pushed his right down to the bank of the Mississippi.

"Our first line of battle was thus formed on a line parallel with the enemy's position, though not so long as their line—it being about five miles in extent—and from a mile to a mile and a half from the rebel works. The accomplishment of this movement was most perfectly successful, our losses being comparatively nothing, less than 100 men having been placed *hors du combat.*

"In the position thus secured, our forces rested on the right, the centre and left making some vigorous efforts to gain positions on the bluffs. General Morgan L. Smith, commanding the centre, ordered a charge up to the foot of the bluff. The regiment having the advance met the enemy's fire just as they came to the crossing of the bayou, when they showed signs of faltering. The General, who was watching the move-

ment, at once sprang to the head of the column, and waving his sword, called on the men to follow him. Scarcely had he spoken when he was struck in the thigh by a musket ball and badly wounded. He was taken from the field, and his forces fell back into their position under cover of the woods. General Smith was painfully, though not badly wounded. The ball penetrated the fleshy part of the thigh, breaking no bones, but making a very ragged wound. He suffered considerably from loss of blood before his wound was dressed, and became very faint. He is now doing well, with every prospect of being able to take the field again within a couple of weeks.

"The division commanded by General M. L. Smith was committed to the charge of General A. J. Smith after the former was wounded, and General Burbridge was assigned to the command of the latter's division on the right.

"General Steele, commanding on the left of the centre, made a desperate effort to gain the bluff, in which he captured two of the enemy's field-works, with nine guns, but was finally compelled to fall back. His loss was but trifling, and it may be that he merely intended to reconnoitre the enemy's position, preparatory to subsequent operations. If this was his object, he was eminently successful. The guns he captured from the enemy will abundantly repay any losses he met with.

"On the extreme left, General Morgan made some demonstrations upon the enemy's position, the nature of which I have not learned. He rested at night in the position he had taken during the day. Yesterday, the battle was renewed with much greater vigor and determination along the entire line. My position was with the right, the doings of which I am more conversant with than with the operations on any other part of the field. If, therefore, I fail in doing justice to other portions of the army that so nobly grappled with the enemy in his strongholds, it must be attributed to the lack of omniscience on the part of your correspondent.

"Owing to the change of commanders, or some other cause as yet unexplained, it was late in the day before the right division was ordered into action. The gun-boats Marmora and Juliet were stationed in False River to protect our flank, which, by their vigorous cannonading, they successfully accomplished. At one time the enemy was observed getting a battery into position, evidently to cover a movement on our right, when the bursting of the shells from the gun-boats convinced them of the hazardous nature of the attempt, and they abandoned it.

"The wagon road leading from Johnson's Ferry to Vicksburg crosses the bayou directly in front of the left of our division. The bridge at this point had been destroyed by the enemy, as also the road to a considerable extent, timber having been felled across it and all sluiceways torn up. The enemy also have upon the bluff at the head of this road a field-work for light artillery, ranging directly down on the course of the road, and

also single gun batteries in the face of the bluff. To avoid as far as possible these obstacles, General Smith had thrown his pontoon bridge across the bayou a little to the right of the old bridge. At this point General Burbridge masked several batteries of artillery, opening a brisk cannonade upon the rebel batteries. They replied earnestly for a while, but their fire gradually slackened as our men warmed up to their work and got more accurate elevations to their pieces and adjusted their fuses with more accuracy, and at last ceased altogether, and their cannoniers were seen hauling their guns up the hill.

"At this juncture the Fifty-fourth Ohio was ordered to charge across the bridge. They obeyed the order with alacrity and courage, meeting a terrible fire of musketry, both from the rebel sharp-shooters concealed in the gullies of the plain beyond and from the rebel infantry in their rifle-pits. But the gallant Buckeyes never flinched, but succeeded in gaining the opposite bank. Here they were charged upon by an entire rebel brigade, against whom they contended manfully for a time, but at last were surrounded and overpowered. The regiment was in an extremely critical situation, and seemed captured for a certainty. Still they fought on, evidently determined not to surrender. They were contending against fearful odds, and their ranks were thinning rapidly. At last, when it seemed clear that they could no longer sustain themselves, and would certainly be captured in a body, one of our batteries was ordered to open upon the promiscuous crowd. In a moment the shells were flying briskly, hitting friend and foe indiscriminately. The fire was too hot for the rebels and they quickly withdrew, leaving the Ohio boys upon the field. These gathered up their killed and wounded and retired across the bridge with all possible dispatch, glad to escape so easily. They were sadly cut up, though, fifty per cent. of their number having been killed or wounded. Seven of them were killed outright by our own shells and a much larger number wounded, but the regiment was saved.

"After the withdrawal of the Fifty-fourth Ohio, the Sixth and Eighth Missouri and the Thirteenth Regulars were ordered to cross. This they did promptly, the gallant Eighth—heroes of every noted field, save Pea Ridge, in the Southwest—taking the lead. The whole force crossed safely and without loss, and immediately deployed off to the left to get possession of the Vicksburg road. Scarcely, however, had they got into line when a rebel brigade came charging down the road upon their flank. The detachment quickly changed front and formed a line of battle, and accepted the challenge offered by the enemy. A brisk engagement ensued, lasting about half an hour, at the end of which time the rebels broke and fled in confusion. They were hotly pressed by the Missouri boys, who cut them up badly, more than trebly avenging the losses of the Fifty-fourth Ohio.

"This closed the action on the right, night being near at hand, and the enemy apparently indisposed to offer further resistance to our crossing. At this time it would have been easy to have crossed the entire division, and obtain any position that was desirable. But for some reasons not explained to outsiders, this was not done, but on the contrary, orders were issued to those who had crossed to retire, and under cover of the darkness they all fell back into their old positions in the edge of the timber. Here they have remained since, no movements at all having been made to-day, only a trifling skirmish early this morning on the extreme right.

"I have been unable to learn the precise nature of the movements in the centre. That division made an advance, crossed the bayou, and gained the foot of the bluff. This was not accomplished without a desperate struggle, but our men were equal to the duty required of them. But after gaining this ground, probably for the same reason that governed in the recall of the troops in the right division, they were withdrawn, and night found their line where it was in the morning, under cover of the timber.

"The left, consisting of two divisions, General G. W. Morgan having the extreme left, and General Steele being upon his right, have been more busily engaged. Their line necessarily forms a curve facing northeast and east. They have the batteries on Haines' Bluff at their left, and the fortifications of the bluffs with the rifle-pits in their front. Opposed to them, the enemy's line is nearly or quite half as long again as their own. The county road leading from Milldale to Vicksburg runs in front of them, between them and the enemy.

"This column has made most desperate efforts to pierce the enemy's line and gain the bluffs, in order to get into the rear of the batteries on Haines' Bluffs, and, with the co-operation of the gun-boats, silence those guns. There are other objects to be gained by crossing the bluffs at this point. Once through the rebel lines, there would be no difficulty whatever in sending a force across to the crossing of the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad over the Big Black River, and by the destruction of the bridge at that point cut off the enemy's retreat as well as prevent their getting reinforcements. These are some of the leading objects to be gained by getting through the rebel lines in this direction. The effort was made twice yesterday, our troops on both occasions getting well up to the enemy's lines, but in both instances being overcome by the tremendous storm of artillery and musketry by which they were received and forced to retire. Our losses here have been heavier than in any other part of the field, though I am unable to state definitely what the casualties have been in those particular divisions.

"The medical director reports the casualties in the entire army up to noon to-day, at 754 in killed, wounded, and missing. Since then a very disgraceful affair occurred in the centre that largely increases the number. An Ohio regiment occupying an advanced position

was attacked by a considerable force of rebel cavalry. With scarcely no resistance at all they threw down their arms and surrendered. What aggravated the case is the fact that relief was close at hand. A large Union reserve force came up so suddenly that the enemy had no time to gather up the arms they had captured; but leaving them lying upon the ground, with all their other spoils, they drove their prisoners before them as a herd of cattle, and made haste to get back into their own lines. This is the first cowardly act of this campaign, and by it the rebels gain about 500 prisoners.

"Colonel Wyman, of the Thirteenth Illinois, acting on General Steele's staff, was shot on Sunday by rebel sharp-shooters, while leading a regiment into action, and instantly killed. The ball entered his breast, passing through his lungs. He had the reputation of being a brave and gallant officer.

"On our right a negro sharp-shooter has been observed, whose exploits are deserving of notice. He mounts a breast-work regardless of all danger, and getting sight of a Federal soldier, draws up his musket at arm's length and fires, never failing of hitting his mark. It is said that Colonel Wyman was shot by a negro; but this lacks confirmation. It is certain that negroes are fighting here, though probably only as sharp-shooters.

"The best information we are able to gather to-day of the enemy's strength places them at 20,000, though I fear the maximum is not reached yet. Deserters this morning reported that they were evacuating, but this is questionable. They are certainly either evacuating or receiving reinforcements, it is doubtful which. Sunday night, yesterday, and last night, trains were arriving on the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad hourly. The whistle of the locomotive, as it arrives and departs, can be distinctly heard in our lines. There is a report that General Lee is in command here. This is confirmed by prisoners, deserters, contrabands, and all sources of information. The fact of his being here would argue a determination to hold the position so long as their most skilful generalship can hold it.

"The non-arrival of Farragut and Banks gives rise to no little comment throughout the lines. It is no longer any secret that they are coming, and were to have been here long ago; but days pass away, and the most anxious looker for the smoke of their vessels goes unrewarded for his diligence.

"We had an unusually heavy rain last night, the water pouring down in perfect torrents. An inch and a quarter of water fell during the night. The soldiers lying out without tents must have suffered severely, especially as it cleared off toward morning cold and windy. The heavy fall of water left the roads extremely wet and muddy, particularly in the woods, and interferes considerably with the movement of artillery and supply trains. The soil, however, being sandy, will soon absorb the water, and doubtless by to-morrow noon the roads will be dry and in good

order again. It may be owing to this cause that everything has been quiet to-day, but whatever the cause, nothing but the most desultory skirmishing has occurred.

"OFF MOUTH OF YAZOO RIVER,
MISSISSIPPI RIVER, *January* 3, 1863.

"We have marched up the hill with much pomp and courage and assurance, and now we have marched down again. On Friday, the 20th ult., the great Mississippi River expedition moved into the Yazoo River for the purpose of securing a position in the rear of Vicksburg, whence that stronghold might be successfully attacked, and with the assurance from General Sherman that on the following day we should be in possession of Vicksburg; and on Friday, the 2d inst.—just one week from our entrance—we moved out of the river, our force diminished by about 2,500 men placed *hors de combat*, and Vicksburg no nearer ours than it was one year ago.

"Since General McClellan's masterly movement from the York to the James River on the Peninsula, it has come to be very fashionable to call any retrograde movement or retirement from the face of the enemy a "change of base;" so here we are politely informed that the withdrawal of our forces from the base of the Walnut Hills and Drumgoold's Bluffs, and the evacuation of the Yazoo River, are a change of our base of operations. Undoubtedly it is so—that is, we shall no longer operate against Vicksburg with the Yazoo River as our base, at least for the present; and if we operate at all, as I have no doubt we will, it will most likely be from some other base. So far this movement may justly be termed a change of base. But the change was rendered imperative by the absolute impossibility of our operating at all where we were, and the extreme probability that if we remained in that situation much longer, the enemy would come down upon us some fine morning and utterly destroy us.

"The movement against Vicksburg has thus far proved a most complete and lamentable failure. We have found the enemy's front impregnable against anything we had to bear upon it, and his rear more strongly fortified than his front. We found him with a small garrison of 15,000 or 20,000 men, and while these held us in check by their extensive and admirable system of fortifications, reinforcements have rolled in upon them until, on our withdrawal, they had from 50,000 to 60,000 men ready for action. Since our occupation of the Yazoo River below their obstructions, they have had the river above the dam crowded with transports, bringing down the army of Pemberton and Price from in front of Grant, while the Southern Mississippi Railroad has been employed to its utmost capacity in aiding the same work.

"It would be a breach of confidence in me to mention the number of troops we have here; but I shall be safe in saying that it is wholly inadequate to cope with the army the rebels now have at Vicksburg, even in the open field. How much less, then, are its chances of

success against the formidable batteries and interminable rifle-pits and trenches of the enemy, manned as they are by so powerful an army!

"There have been sad blunders committed by some one in planning this campaign; but whether the fault is in the War Office at Washington, with General Halleck, or with General Sherman, I will not undertake to say. That General Sherman was both surprised and amazed when he landed on the east bank of the Yazoo and saw the strength of the rebel position, I know. He had no idea of the formidable nature of the task he had undertaken. He had expected to debark his troops quietly, under cover of Admiral Porter's fleet of gun-boats, and in the darkness of the first night charge upon the enemy's works, carry them by storm, and enter Vicksburg triumphantly. This he previously announced as his plan and purpose, and this he faithfully attempted to do; and then it was that he discovered the wonderful strength of those heights he had expected to take so easily.

"Here, then, was the first great mistake, on which has hinged all our failure. We had taken no pains to obtain a knowledge of the enemy's position and strength. We had picked up a few 'intelligent contrabands' along the banks of the river, and had received into our lines one or two deserters, so called (in reality spies), and all our movements were based upon information derived from such sources. Good generalship would have required full, positive, and definite information of the enemy's position and the strength of his garrison, with the number of his batteries and their situation, and number of guns mounted in each, with topographical maps and charts of the country, showing all the localities, the ravines, hills, streams, roads, woods, open fields, buildings, etc. All this could and ought to have been obtained, and then the commander of the expedition could have formed an intelligent idea of the number of men he would require to overcome the enemy rapidly and surely, and could have laid out an accurate and clear plan of campaign, that would have insured success and saved the country the embarrassment and disgrace of a second repulse from this place. I shall be very much mistaken if it does not finally appear that the fault was entirely with General Halleck. I shall be surprised if the future does not disclose the fact that he organized this expedition, assigning to it such numbers of troops as he saw fit, and directing how and when the movement was to be made. But even if this should not prove to be the case, he cannot escape the responsibility of the failure, since the commander was the man of his own choice, and was appointed contrary to the wishes of the President. And further, he will be responsible for permitting the expedition to sail without being fully assured of its ability to accomplish the work which it was organized to do.

"Since I last wrote you we have had a masterly retreat from the face of the enemy, that is all. Our army, broken

in spirit and demoralized, lies cooped up on transports at Milliken's Bend, while General McClernand, the new commander, who arrived on the evening of the retreat, is studying the ground and preparing a new plan of operations. Such is the brief history of a week's doings; yet there are many interesting items scattered along in the details of this main achievement that are deserving of mention.

"You have had full accounts of the battle of Monday last, and of the severe storm that followed. On Tuesday the army rested, the wooded plain in which our lines were formed being covered with water, preventing any movement. The enemy occasionally threw a shell into our lines to keep us awake, and once in a while their sharp-shooters would creep up and open a slight skirmish. The lines of the two armies were parallel and scarcely a mile apart. Between them lay the battle-field of the previous day, strewn all over with the dead, and in many instances the wounded. This field was swept by the musketry as well as the artillery of either party, and hence the impossibility of venturing upon it to bury the dead, or even bring off those worse than dead —the helpless wounded. Occasionally one and another of those unhappy fellows, revived by the cool rain and cooler morning air, would crawl into the lines and find succor; but to many the long day wore wearily away, leaving them still unrelieved upon that miserable plain.

"During the night of Tuesday a flag of truce was received from the enemy, proposing a suspension of hostilities on the following day, that the rites of burial might be performed to those who had fallen on Monday. The proposition was agreed to, and the last day of the old year was devoted to this melancholy duty. All across the plain, scattered among the abattis, and hid away in little entanglements of logs or tufts of bushes, they lay, rebels and Federals side by side, showing how the battle had rolled and surged with the alternate charges of either party.

"But the saddest sight of all was that of the unfortunate wounded, who had lain through all these weary hours since the battle, uncared for, many of them because of the nature of their wounds preventing their moving, others held fast by a little knot of corpses which chance had thrown upon them, and still others, perhaps not wounded at all at first, but caught beneath the horses they rode which had been shot, and, falling, had pinned their riders to the earth. The frantic appeals for water, for food, or other succor, of such of these miserable victims of war as could speak at all, were most heart-rending.

"The clearing of this field gave ample evidence that our estimates of the losses on Monday had all been below the mark. It is now quite clear that in our army the loss was not less than 2,500. Of this number probably 500 were killed, 1,200 wounded, and 800 taken prisoners. The rebel loss was much less than this, owing to the fact that the bulk of their fighting was purely defen-

sive—the men being protected by rifle-pits, while our men could only attack them by charging across the open plain directly in the face, not only of their batteries, but also of their riflemen in the pits. In view of the desperate character of the engagement and its duration, it seems almost wonderful that our loss was not nearly double what it was.

"During the day occupied in burying the dead, the soldiers and subordinate officers of both armies mingled freely upon the field. Much conversation was had between them, though the talk of the rebels was so much on the braggadocio order that but little information of a reliable character could be obtained. If their statements were to be believed at all, both Pemberton and Price had eluded Grant, and, with their armies, were within the fortifications of Vicksburg. There is corroborative evidence of this statement in the fact that cars have been frequently arriving on the Southern Mississippi Railroad, leading from Vicksburg to Jackson, and the smoke of steamers has been seen in the Yazoo River, above the rebel dam, almost constantly for the last few days. It is well known that the rebels have a large fleet of steamers in the Yazoo and its tributaries, and by this channel Pemberton could very readily move his army down from Yazoo City, or even some higher point, leaving him but very little land travel to make. It is considered probable here that the reinforcements arriving by railroad come from Virginia, and are the troops withdrawn from the West after the evacuation of Corinth, and when McClellan was threatening Richmond.

"The rebels claim that their force now in and about Vicksburg amounts to 60,000 men, and is being increased daily. They also claim to have 160 guns in battery along the bluffs and in front of Vicksburg, besides field artillery to an unlimited amount. We know that they have eight miles of rifle-pits in one continuous stretch along the base of the bluffs, and that they have another semicircular range of similar work extending around the rear of the city, two miles back from its outskirts. What defences they may have against a southern attack has not yet transpired.

"A grand combined naval and army movement—a sort of forlorn hope—was planned against the batteries on Haines' Bluffs and the enemy's extreme right, for Thursday (New Year's) morning, with a view of getting a position on the bluffs, expecting thereby to be able to march close up to Vicksburg without encountering their batteries. The movement was a very desperate one, especially for the navy, four vessels of which — the Benton, Louisville, Cincinnati, and DeKalb—were to run close up under the rebel batteries, while the rest of the fleet lay at the foot of the stretch, half a mile distant, and all were to keep up a continuous firing.

"The ram Lioness, with Colonel Ellet, in person, in command, her bows fitted with an enormous drag to clear the river of torpedoes, was to lead the way. The mere tender of his services

for this most hazardous expedition by Colonel Ellet, and his determination to make the tender good, as manifested in putting his ram in readiness and getting her under weigh at the appointed time, entitle him to honorable mention among the heroes of the day. The expedition was to start at three A.M., so as to get in position and commence the attack by four A.M. At five o'clock General Steele was to debark 10,000 picked men on the point at the foot of the stretch below the batteries, and take the place by storm.

"Unluckily a couple of transport engineers, who were to take part in the movement, and who doubtless had obtained pretty correct information of its character and objects, deserted to the enemy on the evening preceding the appointed time, and most likely conveyed to them full intelligence of the projected attack. But notwithstanding this untoward event the movement would have proceeded, taking the chances of discovery, but that on the appointed morning the river was covered with a fog so dense as to render the movement of vessels utterly impossible, unless by constantly sounding alarm-signals, which would have exposed everything. The attack was therefore reluctantly abandoned, though not until Admiral Porter had made every effort to get his vessels through the fog by piloting them with tugs and other futile means.

"With the failure of this attempt perished all hopes of gaining Vicksburg from this base and with this force. The enemy greatly outnumbered us, and were hourly receiving reinforcements, while their position was impregnable. General Sherman therefore promptly ordered a counter-march. The day was spent in making feints and slight demonstrations to conceal our real purposes, while the commanding officers were busily engaged in arranging the details of the withdrawal. Our lines were still maintained in the face of those of the enemy, and at some points were full five miles from the transports, so that it was somewhat perilous to undertake a backward movement. Should the enemy discover it, they could readily fall upon us and do us an infinite amount of mischief before we could face about and get in a position for defence, or reach the bank of the river under cover of the gun-boats. The movement was therefore ordered for one o'clock on Friday morning, at which time, the troops being in marching order, our pickets and sentinels were withdrawn, and the order to march was given. By daylight the last regiment was safe on the river's bank.

"Our gun-boats, scattered all along the stream, protected both the troops and transports during the embarkation. In a single instance the enemy made a dash, expecting doubtless to destroy several boats and capture or cut up a large number of troops. The forces attacked were a brigade of General Morgan's division, and were all stowed away upon their boats and awaiting orders to move before the enemy approached. The enemy deployed one regiment of infantry as skirmishers,

holding the main body of their force back in the edge of a piece of woods about half a mile from the river. The skirmishers felt their way up very quietly through an old cornfield, until within a few hundred feet of the boats, when they opened fire upon some stragglers on the banks. The light-draught gun-boat Marmora, Lieutenant Getty, was lying just above the transports at the time, and had evidently been considered by the enemy as a troop-ship. She was quickly in the stream and had howitzers bearing upon the field. Her guns were worked with most creditable liveliness, causing the rebels to beat a most precipitate retreat. But the main body of them still held their position in the edge of the woods, as if determined to make another attack. But the Lexington was promptly on the spot, with her long-tom guns; and the Benton, Cincinnati, and a couple of rams, attracted to the spot by the Marmora's and Lexington's rapid firing, also opened their heavy guns upon them and made short work of the rebel infantry. From the decks of the vessels it could be easily seen that we made a terrible slaughter in their ranks, compelling them at last to break and run in the wildest confusion.

"The troops being all shipped by this time, the transports commenced moving, those nearest the mouth of the river going out first, and maintaining that order until all had left. The naval squadron then got under weigh and followed them, the flag-ship Black Hawk taking the lead. At the mouth of the river the squadron anchored, the army transports going up the Mississippi to Milliken's Bend, and mooring on the Louisiana shore.

"Thus has ended most ingloriously the second campaign against Vicksburg. Let us hope that General McClernand will devise some plan that will be productive of more gratifying results.

"Since the movement of this squadron down the river, the rebels have been untiring in their efforts to blockade the stream above us and interrupt our communication with Cairo. It is generally reported throughout the fleet that they have accomplished this, and that some boats, bearing mails and dispatches, bound north, have been captured and destroyed. But little confidence is to be placed in these reports. I have taken pains to ascertain as fully as possible the exact state of the case, which is as follows: On Wednesday of last week the rebels brought down a section of a battery of light artillery from Little Rock, Arkansas, and planted it on the river's bank at Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas River.

"On the following day, or soon after, the steamer Blue Wing, a chartered vessel, having in tow two barges of coal for the naval squadron, came in sight, and was brought to by the rebel guns. In rounding to, one of her barges struck a sand-bar and sunk in four feet of water. The other, with the steamer, was captured by the rebels and run up the Arkansas River. The steamer also had a mail on board for the squadron, which was lost. Important dispatches for the

Admiral were in the hands of a special messenger, who had the shrewdness to destroy them.

"Another vessel, passing down in company with the Blue Wing, escaped and brought the news of the disaster to the Admiral, who at once dispatched the gun-boat Conestoga to the place. The gun-boat made short work of capturing the rebels' guns, and then steamed up the Arkansas River and retook the barge of coal. The Blue Wing had been hauled higher up out of reach. The Conestoga is still lying off the mouth of the Arkansas to guard against a repetition of the trouble. The Lexington goes up to-night to relieve her.

"On the 1st instant, information reached here of the rebel raid in Western Tennessee and Kentucky, and the threatened danger at Island No. 10, Fort Pillow, and Hickman. The Admiral at once ordered the iron-clad gun-boat Carondelet, Captain Walke, to get under weigh and proceed to the threatened localities, taking a tug with him to assist him up the river. Owing to the scarcity of coal at Cairo, the low stage of water in the Ohio, and the trouble that has existed in getting coal down here, our supply is entirely exhausted, except what the vessels have in their bunkers, which is but little. The Carondelet had but a very little when she left, scarcely enough to last her in stemming the rising tide of the Mississippi two days. She will therefore be obliged to send her crew ashore occasionally to cut wood; and as this will be green and scarcely fit to burn, her trip up the river will be a very slow one. I do not learn that as yet there has been any trouble at the points to which the Carondelet is sent, but only that there is imminent danger that trouble may arise.

"It seems very strange to all in the squadron that as yet we get no definite information of the movements of Banks and Farragut. That the latter, with some of his fleet, was at Port Hudson on the 18th and 19th inst. is believed with certainty, and the rebels have information of General Banks' arrival at New Orleans; but they are very chary of any further intelligence, if they have any. We are fully aware—for it no longer is attempted to be kept secret—that both these commands were to join this expedition at this place. It scarcely seems credible that they have met with any insurmountable obstacles in ascending the river. Port Hudson is the only strong position the rebels have below Vicksburg, and that can hold out scarcely two hours against a land attack. It is only strong on the river front, as against a fleet and a front attack. The rebels never have had to exceed 5,000 or 6,000 troops there, and these were mostly withdrawn and brought up to Vicksburg previous to our arrival here. The only surmise we can make is, that Banks met with some serious disaster before arriving at New Orleans, and is unable to move at present."

Several untoward events concurred in defeating the object of General Sherman's expedition. Grant's retrograde march and detention was the chief, but

to this were added several mistakes of detail which were hardly less unfortunate. The gun-boats were rendered comparatively useless for want of fuel, their supplies of coal having been captured by the enemy. They, however, made a demonstration against the fortifications at Haines' Bluff on the Yazoo, in the course of which they suffered more damage than they inflicted. The gun-boat Benton was riddled with shot, and her captain and many of her crew killed.

General McClernand, immediately after the defeat of General Sherman at Vicksburg, sought compensation for that disaster to the Union arms in an attack upon Arkansas Post. At this place, the capital of Arkansas County, Arkansas, situated on the Arkansas River, about fifty miles from where it empties into the Mississippi River, the enemy had erected formidable works, the principal of which was Fort Hindman, of which Colonel Dunnington was the commandant, and concentrated a force of 7,000 men, under the command of General Churchill. Ascending the Arkansas River as far as Arkansas Post, the troops, under General McClernand, landed, in order to operate against the enemy's fortifications by land, while the gun-boats, commanded by Admiral David B. Porter, moved up the river to attack them by water. "On the 4th of January," says the latter in his official report of January 11, "McClernand concluded to move up the river upon the Post of Arkansas, and requested my co-operation. I detailed three iron-clads—the Louisville, Baron de Kalb, and Cincinnati—with all the light-draught gun-boats, all of which had to be towed up the river.

1863. Jan. 9.

"On the 9th we ascended the Arkansas River as high as Arkansas Post, when the army landed within about four miles of the fort. The enemy had thrown up heavy earthworks and extensive rifle-pits all along the levee. While the army were making a detour to surround the fort, I sent up the iron-clads to try the range of their guns, and afterward sent up the Rattler, Lieutenant-Commanding Watson Smith, to clear out the rifle-pits and the men behind an extensive breast-work in front of our troops. The Black Hawk also opened on them with her rifled guns, and after a few shots the enemy left the works, and our troops marched in. At two o'clock General McClernand told me the troops would be in position to assault the main fort—a very formidable work—and I held all the vessels in readiness to attack when the troops were in position. At half-past five in the afternoon General McClernand sent me a message stating that everything was ready, and the Louisville, Baron de Kalb, and Cincinnati advanced to within 400 yards of the fort, which then opened fire from their heavy guns and eight rifled guns and with musketry. The superiority of our fire was soon manifested. The batteries were silenced, and we ceased firing; but no assault took place, and it being too dark to do anything, all the vessels dropped down and tied up to the bank for the night.

"The Baron de Kalb, Lieutenant-Commanding Walker, Louisville, Lieutenant-Commanding Owen, and the Cincinnati, Lieutenant-Commanding Bache, led the attack, and when hotly engaged I brought up the light-draught vessels, the Lexington and Black Hawk, to throw in shrapnel and rifle-shell. The fire was very destructive, killing nearly all the artillery horses in and about the fort.

"When the battery was pretty well silenced, I ordered Lieutenant-Commanding Smith to pass the fort in the light-draught iron-clad Rattler, and enfilade it, which he did in a very gallant and handsome manner, but suffered a good deal in his hull in doing so. All his cabin-works were knocked to pieces, and a heavy shell raked him from stem to stern in the hull. Strange to say, two heavy shells struck his iron plating —three-quarters inch—on the bow and never injured it. He got past the fort, but became entangled among the snags placed in the river to impede our progress, and had to return.

"In the evening attack the vessels of all the commanders were well handled, particularly the iron-clads. It was close quarters all the time, and not a gun was fired from our side until the gun-boats were within 400 yards of the fort. The condition of the fort attests the accuracy of fire, and the persons inside gave the Baron de Kalb, Lieutenant-Commanding Walker, the credit of doing the most execution.

"I was informed again this morning by General McClernand, that the army was waiting for the navy to attack, when they would assault the works. I ordered up the iron-clads, with directions for the Lexington to join in when the former became engaged, and for the frailer vessels to haul up in the smoke and do the best they could. The Rattler, Lieutenant-Commanding Smith, and the Guide, Lieutenant-Commanding Woodward, did good execution with their shrapnel, and when an opportunity occurred, I made them push through by the fort again; also the ram Monarch, Colonel Charles Ellet, and they proceeded rapidly up the river to cut off the enemy's retreat by the only way he had to get off.

"By this time all the guns in the fort were completely silenced by the Louisville, Lieutenant-Commanding E. R. Owen, Baron de Kalb, and Cincinnati, and I ordered the Black Hawk up for the purpose of boarding it in front. Being unmanageable, she had to be kept up the narrow stream, and I took in a regiment from the opposite side to try and take it by assault.

"As I rounded to to do so, and the gun-boats commenced firing rapidly, knocking everything to pieces, the enemy held out a white flag, and I ordered the firing to cease. The army then entered and took possession. Colonel Dunnington, the commander of the fort, sent for me and surrendered to me in person. Colonel Churchill, of the rebel army, surrendered to the military commander.

"Our army had almost surrounded the fort, and would no doubt have car-

ried it with ease. They enfiladed it with rifled field-pieces, which did much damage to the houses and light work, leaving their mark in all directions.

"In all this affair there was the greatest zeal on the part of the officers commanding to carry out my orders, and not a mistake of any kind occurred. No fort ever received a worse battering, and the highest compliment I can pay those engaged is to repeat what the rebels said—'You can't expect men to stand up against the fire of those gun-boats.'"

In this engagement with the enemy's forts, the fleet had five killed and twenty-three wounded. Though some of the gun-boats were damaged, none were disabled.

General McClernand, having divided his force, moved the separate divisions in different directions, so as to surround the enemy and force them, after a brief resistance, to surrender. About 7,000 prisoners and a large quantity of ammunition and stores thus fell into the hands of the Unionists. The loss of the latter was not more than 200 killed and wounded.

By the capture of Arkansas Post the way seemed to be opened for a successful expedition to Little Rock, the capital of the State of Arkansas, but it was not deemed by General McClernand advisable to push his advantage in that direction. A combined expedition, however, under the command of General Gorman, was sent up the White River, which ascended to St. Charles, Du- **Jan. 18.**
val's Bluff, and Des Arc. The enemy having in the mean time been fully alarmed, retired from their position, leaving behind them only 150 men, two guns, and about 200 small-arms, which were captured by the Union force.

General Grant having been thwarted by the enterprise of the enemy in his attempt to reach Vicksburg by land, fell back to Memphis. He now embarked his troops in transports, and forming a junction with General McClernand's forces at Napoleon, assumed the command of the whole army and moved **Jan. 18.**
down the Mississippi to renew, in combination with the fleet under Admiral Porter, operations against Vicksburg. On the 22d of January the advance had reached and disembarked at Young's Point, on the Louisiana bank of the Mississippi, about nine miles distant by the river from Vicksburg, on the opposite shore. The rest of the forces rapidly followed, and soon was gathered for the attack of Vicksburg an army of nearly 200,000. The enemy, in the mean time, had concentrated a large force, estimated at 100,000 men, under the command of General Johnston, and prepared to make a vigorous defence of their stronghold.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Activity of the Enemy's Cavalry in Tennessee.—Communications of Nashville Interrupted.—Demand for Surrender of Nashville.—Refusal.—Rout of the Enemy at Lavergne.—Rosecrans at Nashville.—The Enemy's Cavalry at Work.—Surprise and Capture of Hartsville by Morgan.—Morgan's Advance into Kentucky.—His Destructive Work.—Return to Tennessee.—Rosecrans Advances to meet Bragg.—Battle of Stone River.—Sudden Retreat of the Enemy to Tullahoma.—Boasts of the Enemy.—Carter's Spirited Expedition to East Tennessee.—The Enemy's Cavalry still at Work.—Enemy Repulsed at Fort Donelson.

WHEN General Buell was checked in his advance by the battle of Perryville, and the enemy under General Bragg were enabled to make their escape from Kentucky into Tennessee, the detached Confederate forces, principally of cavalry, became very enterprising in both States. Their main object seemed to be so to isolate Nashville by surrounding it and cutting off its communications, as to render the city no longer tenable by the Federal garrison. They so far succeeded as to prevent all regular communications between Nashville and the surrounding country, north, south, east, and west, for more than a month. Supplies of all kinds became exceedingly scarce, and great alarm prevailed in the city for its safety. The enemy, finally presuming upon the completeness with which they had surrounded Nashville, made a final demand for its surrender. To this the Federal commander replied: "General Negley is prepared and determined to hold his position."

1862.

Sep. 28.

General Negley proved as good as his word. Discovering that the enemy were concentrated in force at Lavergne, a small town on the railroad between Nashville and Murfreesboro, about fourteen miles from the former city, he suddenly fell upon and routed them.

"A force of 400 infantry, 400 cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, under command of General Palmer," says General Negley in his report, "was sent *via* the Murfreesboro road. At the same time, 1,800 infantry, under Colonel Miller, marched by a circuitous route to the south of Lavergne. The enemy's pickets and vedettes were in considerable force on the roads, and skirmished with our advance ten miles, enabling their main force, consisting of one regiment of infantry, the Thirty-second Alabama, one steel-rifled cannon, and 3,000 cavalry, to assume a position, forming their lines in anticipation of our entire force advancing on the Murfreesboro road, which was part of our object. The enemy commenced action by opening a fire with three pieces of artillery at a distance of 300 yards. This was soon silenced by a shell from one of our guns exploding their ammunition chest. At the moment the enemy were directing their movements against the right flank of General Palmer's force,

Oct. 6.

Colonel Miller's infantry arrived, advancing in splendid line of battle, and delivering a well-directed fire into the enemy's ranks, which was followed by a skilful deployment right and left to cut off their retreat. The Confederates held their ground for thirty minutes, then fled in the wildest disorder, leaving 175 prisoners in our hands, among whom were two lieutenant-colonels, and a number of line officers, three pieces of artillery, ordnance and quartermaster's stores, a large amount of provisions, camp equipage, personal effects and regimental colors, and two railroad cars, which we destroyed. Their defeat was complete. Their loss in killed and wounded was about eighty."

Gen. Rosecrans having, in the mean **Nov. 10.** time, with characteristic promptitude, pushed on to Nashville, which he had resolved to make his basis of operations, the Confederate forces fell back to Murfreesboro, where they concentrated under General Bragg, and prepared to oppose the further advance of the Union army. Their detachments of cavalry, however, under the enterprising leaders, Morgan, Forrest, and Wheeler, soon resumed their adventurous operations, and succeeded in greatly embarrassing the movements of Rosecrans. Gen. Morgan, always on the alert, **Dec. 7.** surprised at Hartsville, in Tennessee, an advanced Union force, and, after a short struggle, captured it. The reconnoitring and foraging parties of both armies came into frequent collision, with varying results ; now the Unionists were successful, and again the secessionists ; but the vigilance of the former was more than matched by the audacity of the latter. The alert Morgan, having succeeded in gaining the rear of the Union army, operated with characteristic vigor upon its line of communications. After his success at Hartsville he crossed the Cumberland River and moved along the Nashville and Louisville Railroad into Kentucky, driving off or evading the Union garrisons on his route, capturing supplies, and destroying railway trains and bridges. Morgan in this bold raid penetrated as far as Muldraugh's Hill, within thirty miles of Louisville, where, after capturing a **Dec. 28.** guard of 600 Union soldiers, he destroyed the trestle-work of the railroad. Having met with a stout **Dec. 29.** resistance from Colonel Harland at Rolling Fork, Morgan made off to Bardstown, and thence retraced his steps southward to Tennessee. General Forrest, also in the rear of the Union army, was equally enterprising with Morgan in interrupting its communications and capturing its supplies.

General Rosecrans thus harassed by the Confederate cavalry, determined to advance against the enemy's main army under General Bragg, posted at Murfreesboro. This he believed to be the only means by which he could secure the command of the country, now become essential to him for the support of his large army since his communications with the North had been interrupted. Rosecrans put his whole army in motion at sunrise on the morning after Christmas. The preliminary movements, and

the great battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone River, which ensued, are spiritedly described by General Rosecrans in this his official report :

"Assuming command of the army at Louisville on the 27th day of October, it was found concentrated at Bowling Green and Glasgow, distant about 113 miles from Louisville, whence, after replenishing with ammunition, supplies, and clothing, they moved on to Nashville, the advance corps reaching that place on the morning of the 7th of November, a distance of 183 miles from Louisville.

"At this distance from my base of supplies, the first thing to be done was to provide for the subsistence of the troops and open the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The cars commenced running through on the 26th of November, previous to which time our supplies had been brought by rail to Mitchelville, thirty-five miles north of Nashville, and thence, by constant labor, we had been able to haul enough to replenish the exhausted stores for the garrison at Nashville, and subsist the troops of the moving army.

"From the 26th of November to the 26th of December every effort was bent to complete the clothing of the army, to provide it with ammunition, and replenish the dépôt at Nashville with needful supplies to insure us against want from the largest possible detention likely to occur by the breaking of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad ; and to insure this work the road was guarded by a heavy force posted at Gallatin.

"The enormous superiority in numbers of the rebel cavalry kept our little cavalry force almost within the infantry lines, and gave the enemy control of the entire country around us. It was obvious from the beginning that we should be confronted by Bragg's army, recruited by an inexorable conscription, and aided by clouds of mounted men, formed into a guerrilla-like cavalry to avoid the hardships of conscription and infantry service. The evident difficulties and labors of an advance into this country, and against such a force, and at such a distance from our base of operations, with which we connected by a single precarious thread, made it manifest that our policy was to induce the enemy to travel over as much as possible of the space that separated us—thus avoiding for us the wear and tear and diminution of our forces, and subjecting the enemy to all these inconveniences, besides increasing for him and diminishing for us the dangerous consequences of a defeat.

"The means taken to obtain this end were eminently successful ; the enemy, expecting us to go into winter quarters at Nashville, had prepared his own winter quarters at Murfreesboro, with the hope of possibly making them at Nashville ; and had sent a large cavalry force into West Tennessee to annoy Grant ; and another large force into Kentucky, to break up the railroad. In the absence of these forces, and with adequate supplies in Nashville, the moment was judged opportune for an advance on the rebels. Polk's and Kirby Smith's forces were at Murfreesboro, and Hardee's

corps on the Shelbyville and Nolinsville pike, between Triune and Eaglesville, with an advance guard at Nolinsville, while no troops lay in front at Nashville, on the Franklin, Nolinsville, and Murfreesboro turnpike. The plan of the movements was as follows :

"McCook, with three divisions, to advance by Nolinsville pike to Triune. Thomas, with two divisions (Negley's and Rousseau's), to advance on his right by the Franklin and Wilson pikes, threatening Hardee's right, and then to fall in by the cross-roads to Nolinsville.

"Crittenden, with Wood's, Palmer's, and Van Cleve's divisions, to advance by the Murfreesboro pike to Lavergne.

"With Thomas' two divisions at Nolinsville, McCook was to attack Hardee at Triune, and if the enemy reinforced Hardee, Thomas was to support McCook.

"If McCook beat Hardee, or Hardee retreated, and the enemy met us at Stewart's Creek, five miles south of Lavergne, Crittenden was to attack him. Thomas was to come in on his left flank, and McCook, after detaching a division to pursue or observe Hardee, if retreating south, was to move with the remainder of his force on their rear.

"The movement began on the morning of December 26.

"McCook advanced on Nolinsville pike, skirmishing his way all day, meeting with stiff resistance from cavalry and artillery, and closing the day by a brisk fight, which gave him possession of Nolinsville and the hills one and a half miles in front, capturing one gun by the One Hundred and First Ohio and Fifteenth Wisconsin regiments, his loss this day being about seventy-five killed and wounded.

"Thomas followed, on the right, and closed Negley's division on Nolinsville, leaving the other (Rousseau's) division on the right flank.

"Crittenden advanced to Lavergne, skirmishing heavily on his front over a rough country, intersected by forests and cedar brakes, with but slight loss.

"On the 26th, General McCook advanced on Triune, but his movement was retarded by a dense fog.

"Crittenden had orders to delay his movement until McCook had reached Triune and developed the intentions of the enemy at that point, so that it could be determined which Thomas was to support.

"McCook arrived at Triune, and reported that Hardee had retreated, and that he had sent a division in pursuit.

"Crittenden began his advance about eleven o'clock A.M., driving before him a brigade of cavalry, supported by Maury's brigade of rebel infantry, and reached Stewart's Creek, the Third Kentucky gallantly charging the rear-guard of the enemy and saving the bridge, on which had been placed a pile of rails that had been set on fire. This was Saturday night.

"McCook having settled the fact of Hardee's retreat, Thomas moved Negley's division on to join Crittenden at Stewart's Creek, and moved Rousseau's to Nolinsville.

"On Sunday the troops rested, except

Rousseau's division, which was ordered to move on to Stewardston, and Willich's brigade, which had pursued Hardee as far as Riggs' cross-roads, and had determined the fact that Hardee had gone to Murfreesboro, when they returned to Triune.

"On Monday morning McCook was ordered to move from Triune to Wilkinson's cross-roads, six miles from Murfreesboro, leaving a brigade at Triune.

"Crittenden crossed Stewart's Creek by the Smyrna bridge, on the main Murfreesboro pike, and Negley by the ford two miles above, their whole force to advance on Murfreesboro, distant about eleven miles.

"Rousseau was to remain at Stewart's Creek until his train came up, and prepare himself to follow.

"McCook reached Wilkinson's cross-roads by evening, with an advance brigade at Overall's Creek, saving and holding the bridge, meeting with but little resistance.

"Crittenden's corps advanced, Palmer leading, on the Murfreesboro pike, followed by Negley, of Thomas' corps, to within three miles of Murfreesboro, having had several brisk skirmishes, driving the enemy rapidly, saving two bridges on the route, and forcing the enemy back to his intrenchments.

"About three P.M., a signal message coming from the front, from General Palmer, that he was in sight of Murfreesboro, and the enemy were running, an order was sent to General Crittenden to send a division to occupy Murfreesboro.

"This led General Crittenden, on reaching the enemy's front, to order Harker's brigade to cross the river at a ford on his left, where he surprised a regiment of Breckinridge's division, and drove it back on its main lines, not more than 500 yards distant, in considerable confusion; and he held this position until General Crittenden was advised, by prisoners captured by Harker's brigade, that Breckinridge was in force on his front, when, it being dark, he ordered the brigade back across the river, and reported the circumstances to the Commanding-General on his arrival, to whom he apologized for not having carried out the order to occupy Murfreesboro. The General approved of his action, of course, the order to occupy Murfreesboro having been based on the information received from General Crittenden's advance division, that the enemy were retreating from Murfreesboro.

"Crittenden's corps, with Negley's division, bivouacked in order of battle, distant 700 yards from the enemy's intrenchments, our left extending down the river some 500 yards.

"The pioneer brigade, bivouacking still lower down, prepared three fords, and covered one of them, while Wood's division covered the other two, Van Cleve's division being in reserve. On the morning of the 30th, Rousseau, with two brigades, was ordered down early from Stewart's Creek, leaving one brigade there, and sending another to Smyrna to cover our left and rear, and took his place in reserve, in rear of Palmer's right, while General

Negley moved on through the cedar brakes, until his right rested on the Wilkinson pike. The pioneer corps cut roads through the cedars for his ambulances and ammunition wagons.

"The Commanding-General remained with the left and centre, examining the ground, while General McCook moved forward from Wilkinson's cross-roads slowly and steadily, meeting with heavy resistance, fighting his way from Overall's Creek until he got into position, with a loss of some 135 killed and wounded.

"Our small division of cavalry—say 3,000 men—had been divided into three parts, of which General Stanley took two, and accompanied General McCook, fighting his way across from the Wilkinson to the Franklin pike and below it, Colonel Zahn's brigade leading gallantly, and meeting with such heavy resistance that McCook sent two brigades from Johnson's division, which succeeded in fighting their way into position, while the third brigade, which had been left at Triune, moved forward from that place, and arrived at nightfall near General McCook's headquarters. * * *

"At four o'clock in the afternoon, General McCook had reported his arrival on the Wilkinson pike, joining Thomas—the result of the combat in the afternoon near Greison's home—and the fact that Sheridan was in position there, that his right was advancing to support the cavalry; also that Hardee's corps, with two divisions of Polk's, was on his front, extending down toward the Salem pike.

"Without any map of the ground, which was to us *terra incognita*, when General McCook informed the General-Commanding that his corps was facing strongly toward the east, the General-Commanding told him that such a direction to his line did not appear to him a proper one, but that it ought, with the exception of his left, to face much more nearly south, with Johnson's division in reserve; but that this matter must be confided to him who knew the ground over which he had fought.

"At nine P.M. the corps commanders met at the headquarters of the General-Commanding, who explained to them the following plan of the battle:

"McCook was to occupy the most advantageous position, refusing his right as much as practicable and necessary to secure it, to receive the attack of the enemy; or if that did not come, to attack himself sufficient to hold all the force on his front.

"Thomas and Palmer to open with skirmishing, and gain the enemy's centre and left, as far as the river.

"Crittenden to cross Van Cleve's division at the lower ford, covered and supported by the sappers and miners, and to advance on Breckinridge.

"Wood's division to follow by brigades, crossing at the upper ford and moving on Van Cleve's right, to carry everything before them into Murfreesboro. This would have given us two divisions against one; and as soon as Breckinridge had been dislodged from his position, the batteries of Wood's division, taking position on the heights

east of Stone River, in advance, would see the enemy's work in reverse, would dislodge them, and enable Palmer's division to press them back and drive them westward across the river or through the woods; while Thomas, sustaining the movement on the centre, would advance on the right of Palmer, crushing their right; and Crittenden's corps advancing, would take Murfreesboro; and then moving westward on the Franklin road, get in their flank and rear, and drive them into the country toward Salem, with the prospect of cutting off their retreat, and probably destroying their army.

"It was explained to them that this combination, insuring us a vast superiority on our left, required for its success that General McCook should be able to hold his position for three hours; that if necessary to recede at all, he should recede as he advanced on the preceding day, slowly and steadily, refusing his right, thereby rendering our success certain.

"Having thus explained the plan, the General-Commanding addressed General McCook as follows: 'You know the ground; you have fought over its difficulties. Can you hold your present position for three hours?' To which General McCook replied, 'Yes, I think I can.' The General-Commanding then said: 'I don't like the facing so much to the east, but must confide that to you, who know the ground. If you don't think your present the best position, change it;' and the officers then retired to their commands.

"At daylight on the morning of the 31st, the troops breakfasted and stood to their arms, and by seven o'clock were preparing for the battle.

"The movement was begun on the left by General Van Cleve, who crossed at the lower fords; Wood prepared to sustain and follow him. The enemy meanwhile had prepared to attack General McCook, and by half-past six o'clock advanced in heavy columns—regimental front—his left attacking Willich's and Kirk's brigades of Johnson's division, which being thin and light, without support, were, after a sharp but fruitless contest, crumbled to pieces and driven back, leaving Edgarton's and part of Goodspeed's battery in the hands of the enemy.

"The enemy following up, attacked Davis' division, and speedily dislodged Post's brigade; Carlin's brigade was compelled to follow, as Woodruff's brigade, from the weight of testimony, had previously left its position on his left. Johnson's brigade, on retiring, inclined too far to the west, and were too much scattered to make a combined resistance, though they fought bravely at one or two points before reaching Wilkinson's pike. The reserve brigade of Johnson's division, advancing from its bivouac near Wilkinson's pike, toward the right, took a good position, and made a gallant but an ineffectual stand, as the whole rebel left was moving up on the ground abandoned by our troops.

"Within an hour from the time of the opening of the battle, a staff officer from General McCook arrived, announc-

ing to me that the right wing was heavily pressed, and needed assistance; but I was not advised of the rout of Willich's and Kirby's brigades, nor of the rapid withdrawal of Davis' division, necessitated thereby; moreover, having supposed his wing posted more compactly and his right more refused than it really was, the direction of the noise of battle did not indicate to me the true state of affairs. I consequently directed him to return, and direct General McCook to dispose his troops to the best advantage, and to hold his ground obstinately. Soon after a second officer from General McCook arrived, and stated that the right wing was being driven—a fact that was but too manifest, by the rapid movement of the noise of battle toward the north.

"General Thomas was immediately dispatched to order Rousseau—there in reserve—into the cedar brakes to the right and rear of Sheridan. General Crittenden was ordered to suspend Van Cleve's movement across the river, on the left, and to cover the crossing with one brigade, and move the other two brigades westward across the fields toward the railroad, for a reserve. Wood was also directed to suspend his preparations for crossing, and to hold Hascall in reserve.

"At this moment fugitives and stragglers from McCook's corps began to make their appearance through the cedar brakes, in such numbers that I became satisfied that McCook's corps was routed. I therefore directed General Crittenden to send Van Cleve in to the right of Rousseau, Wood to send Colonel Harker's brigade farther down the Murfreesboro pike, to go in and attack the enemy on the right of Van Cleve, the pioneer brigade meanwhile occupying the knoll of ground west of Murfreesboro pike, and about 400 or 500 yards in rear of Palmer's centre, supporting Stokes' battery. Sheridan, after sustaining four successive attacks, gradually swung his right from a southeasterly to a northwesterly direction, repulsing the enemy four times, losing the gallant General Sill of his right, and Colonel Roberts of his left brigade, when having exhausted his ammunition—Negley's division being in the same predicament, and heavily pressed—after desperate fighting, they fell back from the position held at the commencement, through the cedar woods, in which Rousseau's division, with a portion of Negley's and Sheridan's, met the advancing enemy and checked his movements.

"The ammunition train of the right wing, endangered by its sudden discomfiture, was taken charge of by Captain Thurston, of the First Ohio, regular ordnance officer, who by his energy and gallantry, aided by a charge of cavalry and such troops as he could pick up, carried it through the woods to the Murfreesboro pike, around to the rear of the left wing, thus enabling the troops of Sheridan's division to replenish their empty cartridge-boxes. During all this time Palmer's front had likewise been in action, the enemy having made several attempts to advance upon it. At

this stage it became necessary to re-adjust the line of battle to the new state of affairs. Rousseau and Van Cleve's advance having relieved Sheridan's division from the pressure, Negley's division and Cruft's brigade from Palmer's division withdrew from their original position in front of the cedars, and crossed the open field to the east of the Murfreesboro pike, about 400 yards in rear of our front line, where Negley was ordered to replenish his ammunition, and form in close column in reserve.

"The right and centre of our line now extended from Hazen to the Murfreesboro pike, in a northwesterly direction—Hascall supporting Hazen, Rousseau filling the interval to the pioneer brigade.

"Negley in reserve, Van Cleve west of the pioneer brigade, McCook's corps refused on his right and slightly to the rear on Murfreesboro pike, the cavalry being still farther to the rear on Murfreesboro pike and beyond Overall's Creek.

"The enemy's infantry and cavalry attack on our extreme right was repulsed by Van Cleve's division, with Harker's brigade and the cavalry. After several attempts of the enemy to advance on this new line, which were thoroughly repulsed, as also their attempts on the left, the day closed leaving us masters of the original ground on our left, and our new line advantageously posted, with open ground in front swept at all points by our artillery.

"We had lost heavily in killed and wounded, and a considerable number in stragglers and prisoners; also twenty-eight pieces of artillery, the horses having been slain, and our troops being unable to withdraw them by hand over the rough ground; but the enemy had been thoroughly handled and badly damaged at all points, having had no success where we had open ground and our troops were properly posted; none, which did not depend on the original crushing of our right, and the superior masses which were, in consequence, brought to bear upon the narrow front of Sheridan's and Negley's divisions, and a part of Palmer's coupled with the scarcity of ammunition, caused by the circuitous road which the train had taken, and the inconvenience of getting it from a remote distance through the cedars. Orders were given for the issue of all the spare ammunition, and we found that we had enough for another battle, the only question being where the battle was to be fought.

"It was decided, in order to complete our present lines, that the left should be retired some 250 yards to a more advantageous ground, the extreme left resting on Stone River above the lower ford and extending to Stokes' battery. Starkweather's and Walker's brigades arriving near the close of the evening, the former bivouacked in close column in reserve in rear of McCook's left, and the latter was posted on the left of Sherman, near the Murfreesboro pike, and next morning relieved Van Cleve, who returned to his position in the left wing.

"After careful examination and free consultation with corps commanders, followed by a personal examination of the ground in rear as far as Overall's Creek, it was determined to await the enemy's attack in that station, to send for the provision train and order up fresh supplies of ammunition, on the arrival of which, should the enemy not attack, offensive operations should be resumed.

"No demonstration on the morning of the 1st of January. Crittenden was ordered to occupy the points opposite the ford on his left with a brigade.

"About two o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, who had shown signs of movement and massing on our right, appeared at the extremity of the field, a mile and a half from the Murfreesboro pike, but the presence of Gibson's brigade with a battery occupying the woods near Overall' Creek, and Negley's division and a portion of Rousseau's on the Murfreesboro pike opposite the field, put an end to this demonstration, and the day closed with another demonstration by the enemy on Walker's brigade, which ended in the same manner.

"On Friday morning the enemy opened four heavy batteries on our centre, and a strong demonstration of attack a little farther to the right, but a well-directed fire of artillery soon silenced his batteries, while the guns of Walker and Sheridan put an end to his effort there.

"About three o'clock P.M., while the Commanding-General was examining the position of Crittenden's left across the river, which was now held by Van Cleve's division, supported by a brigade from Palmer's, a double line of skirmishers was seen to emerge from the woods in a southeasterly direction, advancing across the fields, and they were soon followed by heavy columns of infantry—battalion front, with three batteries of artillery.

"Our only battery on that side of the river had been withdrawn from an eligible point; but the most available spot was pointed out, and it soon opened fire upon the enemy. The line, however, advanced steadily to within 100 yards of the front of Van Cleve's division, when a short and fierce contest ensued. Van Cleve's division, giving way, retired in considerable confusion across the river, followed closely by the enemy.

"General Crittenden immediately directed his chief of artillery to dispose the batteries on the hill on the west side of the river, so as to open on them, while two brigades of Negley's division, from the reserve, and the pioneer brigade, were ordered up to meet the onset.

"The firing was terrific, and the havoc terrible. The enemy retreated more rapidly than they had advanced. In forty minutes they lost 2,000 men.

"General Davis seeing some stragglers from Van Cleve's division, took one of his brigades and crossed at a ford below, to attack the enemy on his left flank, and by General McCook's order the rest of his division was permitted to follow; but when he arrived, two brigades of Negley's division and Hazen's brigade

of Palmer's division had pursued the flying enemy well across the field, capturing four pieces of artillery and a stand of colors.

"It was now after dark, and raining, or we should have pursued the enemy into Murfreesboro. As it was, Crittenden's corps passed over, and, with Davis, occupied the crests, which were intrenched in a few hours.

"Deeming it possible that the enemy might again attack the right and centre thus weakened, I thought it advisable to make a demonstration on our right, by a heavy division of camp fires, and by laying out a line of battle with torches, which answered the purpose.

"On Saturday, January 3, it rained heavily from three o'clock in the morning; the plowed ground over which our left would be obliged to advance was impassable for artillery; the ammunition train did not arrive until ten o'clock, it was therefore deemed unadvisable to advance, but batteries were put in position on the left by which the ground could be swept, and even Murfreesboro reached by the Parrott guns.

"A heavy and constant picket firing had been kept up on our right and centre, and extending to our left, which at last became so annoying, that in the afternoon I directed the corps commanders to clear their fronts.

"Occupying the woods to the left of Murfreesboro pike with sharp-shooters, the enemy had annoyed Rousseau all day, and General Thomas and himself requested permission to dislodge them and their supports which covered a ford. This was granted, and a sharp fire from four batteries was opened for ten or fifteen minutes, when Rousseau sent two of his regiments, which, with Speer's Tennesseeans and the Eighty-fifth Illinois Volunteers, that had come out with the wagon-train, charged upon the enemy, and, after a sharp contest, cleared the woods and drove the enemy from his trenches, capturing from seventy to eighty prisoners.

"Sunday morning, the 4th of January, it was not deemed advisable to commence offensive movements, and news soon reached us that the enemy had fled from Murfreesboro."

The enemy, after meeting with a repulse on each of the two days succeeding their partial success on the 31st of December, retreated on the 3d of January (1863.) Their retreat, however, was not discovered by General Rosecrans until the following morning, when he advanced his centre with the view of a pursuit. This was not long persisted in, and the enemy succeeded in reaching Tullahoma, Chattanooga, and Winchester, boasting that they had retired to a much stronger position, without molestation, from a superior force. The enemy claimed to have had greatly the advantage. General Bragg declared exultingly to his soldiers: "In a campaign of less than one month, in the face of winter, your achievements have been unparalleled. You have captured more than 10,000 prisoners, taken and preserved thirty pieces of artillery and 7,000 small-arms, in addition to many thousands destroyed. You have, be-

sides, captured 800 wagons, loaded chiefly with supplies, which have been destroyed or brought safely to your lines, and, in pitched battle, you have driven the enemy before you, inflicting a loss at least three to one greater than you have sustained."

The accounts of the gains and losses on both sides were, as usual, very conflicting. The enemy boasted that they had captured in the battle of Murfreesboro 4,000 prisoners, 5,000 stand of small-arms, and twenty-four pieces of cannon, and that while they had lost but 5,000 men in all, they had inflicted a loss of three times that number upon their antagonists.*

A successful expedition into East Tennessee was supposed to have facilitated Rosecrans in repulsing the enemy, by depriving them of a ready means of communication with Virginia, and thus preventing them from obtaining timely reinforcements from that quarter. Maj.-General G. Granger dis-
Dec. 21. patched a force of about 1,000 cavalry, under the command of General H. Carter, a loyal Tennesseean, to East Tennessee, to interrupt the railroad communications with Virginia. This energetic officer succeeded in entirely destroying the Union and Watauga bridges, with ten miles of the railway. Five hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and a large quantity of arms and stores captured, while the Union loss was but ten men. The expedition, "one of the most hazardous and daring of the war, was attended with great hardships and privations, owing to the almost impracticable nature of the country, the length of the route—nearly 200 miles each way—and the inclement season." The success of General Carter and his men in their adventurous and important enterprise, was greatly applauded. "The daring operations and brilliant achievements of Gen. Carter and his command," said Gen. Halleck, "are without a parallel in the history of the war, and deserve the thanks of the country."

The recapture, by a Union force, of Clarksville, in West Tennessee, on the Memphis and Louisville Railroad, a few days subsequently, was another success which also contributed toward facilitating the operations of Rosecrans.

The enemy, however, still persisted in their bold raids in the rear and on the flanks of the Union army. As the Cumberland had filled with the rains, and become navigable, Forrest, Wheeler, Morgan, and other daring cavalry chiefs, hovered about the banks of the river with their troops of horsemen and batteries of light artillery, and watching their opportunity, attacked the boats on their passage with supplies to Nashville. Though often repulsed by the gun-boats, these marauders were not seldom suc-

* General Rosecrans stated in his report:

"We moved on the enemy with the following forces: Infantry, 41,421; artillery, 2,223; cavalry, 3,296; total, 46,940. We fought the battle with the following forces: Infantry, 37,977; artillery, 2,223; cavalry, 3,200; total, 43,400. We lost in killed: Officers, 92; enlisted men, 1,441; total, 1,533. We lost in wounded: Officers, 384; enlisted men, 6,861; total 7,245. Total, killed and wounded, 8,778—being 20.03 per cent. of the entire force in action."

The loss of Rosecrans in prisoners was estimated at less than 2,800.

cessful, and greatly obstructed the Union communications by the river as well as by the railroads.

An attack on Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, in Tennessee, by a large force of the enemy's cavalry, consisting of 4,000 men and eight pieces of artillery, under Wheeler, Forrest, Wharton, and Woodward, was repulsed by the small Union garrison of 800, under Colonel Harding, and a fleet of gun-boats commanded by Lieutenant Fitch. The enemy lost in killed, "over 100, and in prisoners 300." The loss of the Unionists was only "twelve killed and thirty wounded."*

Feb. 3, 1863.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Advantage of Texas to the Enemy.—Galveston taken Possession of by the Union Fleet.—Capture of Sabine Pass.—Anxiety about holding Galveston.—General Magruder in Texas.—Successful Attack upon the Federal Fleet off Galveston.—Capture of the Harriet Lane.—The Blockade of Galveston declared Raised.—The Blockade Resumed.—Recapture by the Enemy of Sabine Pass.—Attack of the Enemy's Rams upon the Union Fleet blockading Charleston.—Exaggerations of the Enemy.—The Blockade of Charleston declared to be Raised.—The truth told.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strong attachment to the Union which was supposed to exist among a large portion of the people of Texas, principally among those of German origin, that State since its secession had contributed freely of its resources to sustain the rebellion. Its bold riders had largely recruited the cavalry forces of the enemy, and exhibited their characteristic dash and valor upon numerous battle-fields, from New Mexico to Virginia. Its extensive pastures supplied numerous herds of cattle for the subsistence of the Confederate armies; its borders, contiguous to neutral Mexico, facilitated the exchange of cotton with foreign traders for munitions of war and other supplies, and its harbors on the Gulf offered such conveniences for commerce as to defy the obstructions of the most rigid blockade.

1862.

To check this advantageous foreign trade of Texas, and to establish a basis for future military operations, the Union fleet, under Commander Renshaw, took possession of Galveston. This was accomplished with but little difficulty. Having notified the inhabitants of his intention, and given them four days to remove, Commander Renshaw, notwithstanding a brisk fire, ran the Harriet Lane past Fort Point, and laid her to off the central wharf of Galveston. The enemy now destroyed and deserted the fort, and concentrated at Virginia Point. In the mean time, the rest of the Union fleet, consisting of four vessels, sailed in and took their position opposite the city. A conference with the municipal authorities followed, arrangements in regard to the police

Oct. 4.

* Rosecrans' dispatch, February 6.

of the town were agreed to, and Commander Renshaw hoisted the Union flag on the custom-house and took formal possession. The fleet now anchored in the bay, and held guard over the captured city.

The capture of Sabine Pass was made with hardly more trouble. The United States steamer Kensington, Acting Master Crocker commanding, aided by a schooner and a bomb vessel, assailed the fort commanding the pass, and driving away the garrison, captured two twenty-four-pounders, spiked and destroyed two other guns, and anchored opposite the town. Fifty men with a single howitzer now landed, and marching five miles into the country, came upon some of the enemy's cavalry and dispersed them. A few days subsequently (October 5th), Crocker moved up the river with twenty-five men, in a steamer of light draught, which he had captured and armed, and dispersing the force which guarded it, destroyed Taylor's Bayou River Bridge. Several small vessels were captured, and extensive barracks and store-houses, with supplies, were burned, and the place, like Galveston, guarded by a naval force.

Oct. 1.

The capture of Sabine Pass was a serious blow to the enemy, as it was of great utility to them in exporting cotton and importing munitions of war, and other supplies. The Sabine River, which the pass commands, is the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas, and is thus conveniently situated for the foreign trade through Mexico and the West Indies, which has been so extensively carried on by the Confederate States.

Though Commander Renshaw continued to hold the harbor of Galveston with his small naval force for several months, he was not without inquietude lest the enemy, who remained in considerable numbers outside of the city, should make a successful attack. The event anticipated by Commander Renshaw came. General Magruder, who had been transferred from Virginia to the command of the enemy in Texas, organized an enterprise by which he succeeded in recapturing Galveston. An authentic account of the event is given in the following official report of a court of inquiry instituted by Admiral Farragut:

Jan. 1, 1863.

"The naval force in possession consisted of the Westfield, Clifton, Harriet Lane, Owasco, Sachem, and Corypheus. The two latter had joined only two days previous to the attack, having come up from below, the Sachem (steamer) in a broken-down condition, and the Corypheus as her escort. The United States troops on shore consisted of 260 rank rank and file, commanded by Colonel Burrel, of the Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteers, occupying, by advice of the commanding naval officer, a wharf in the town.

"It seems that the night previous to the attack, information had been received by the commanding officers of both land and naval forces that such an attempt might be made.

"At 1:30 A.M., on the 1st of January, it being bright moonlight, some

two or three rebel steamers were discovered in the bay above by the Clifton. The Westfield, from the other channel, likewise made the same discovery. The naval forces, therefore, were not taken by surprise.

"Very soon after, our troops on shore learned, through their pickets, that the artillery of the enemy was in possession of the market-place, about one quarter of a mile distant.

"The attack commenced on shore about three A.M., by the enemy upon our troops, which were defended by the Sachem and Corypheus with great energy; our troops only replying with musketry, having no artillery. About dawn the Harriet Lane was attacked, or rather attacked two rebel steamers, one of which, the Bayou City, was armed with a sixty-eight-pounder rifle gun, had 200 troops, and was barricaded with cotton bales some twenty feet from the water line. The other, the Neptune, was similarly barricaded, and was armed with two small brass pieces and 160 men (both were common river steamers). The Harriet Lane was under way in time and went up to the attack firing her bow gun, which was answered by the rebels, but their sixty-eight-pounder burst at the third fire.

"The Harriet Lane ran into the Bayou City, carrying away her wheel-guard, which did her little or no damage. The other rebel steamer then ran into the Harriet Lane, but was so disabled by the collision that she was soon afterward obliged to back in the flats, where she sank in about eight feet of water, near to the scene of action. The Bayou City turned, and ran into the Harriet Lane, and she remained secured to her by catching under her guard, pouring in incessant volleys of musketry, as did also the other steamer, which was returned by the Harriet Lane with musketry. This drove the Harriet Lane's men from her guns, and probably wounded Commander Wainwright and Lieutenant-Commander Lee, the latter mortally. She was then carried by boarding by the Bayou City, her commander summoned to surrender, which he refused, gallantly defending himself with his revolver until killed.

"But five of the Harriet Lane's men were killed and five wounded—110, exclusive of officers and wounded, were landed on shore, prisoners. Her commander and first lieutenant were buried on the following day on shore, in the cemetery, with the honors of war, and her other officers parolled. The Owasco, which had been anchored below the town, coaling the night before, got under way, moved up at the commencement of the attack, and engaged the enemy's artillery on shore. When it was light enough for her to observe that there were two rebel steamers alongside the Harriet Lane, she moved up to her assistance, grounding several times in so doing, owing to the narrowness of the channel. She could only occasionally bring her eleven-inch gun to bear. She was soon driven back by the incessant fire of the enemy's musketry, and when the howitzers of the Harriet Lane opened on her, she concluded she had

been captured, and backed down below the Sachem and Corypheus, continuing her engagement with the enemy on shore. She had all her rifle-gun crew wounded when above, and lost in all one man killed and fifteen wounded.

"The Clifton, before the action commenced, went around into Bolivar channel, to render assistance to the Westfield —which had got under way when the rebel steamers were first discovered, soon afterward got hard and fast ashore, at high water, and then made a signal for assistance. While the Clifton was in the act of rendering this assistance, the flashes of the enemy's guns were first seen in the town. Commander Renshaw then directed Lieutenant-Commander Law to leave him and return to the town.

"The moon had now gone down, and it became quite dark, yet the Clifton with some difficulty got around into the other channel, opening the batteries upon Fort Point, which the rebels now had possession of, shelling them out and driving them up the beach as she neared the town. Here she anchored and continued the engagement, but did not proceed up to the rescue of the Harriet Lane, owing to the failure of the Owasco, the intricacy of the channel, and the apprehension of killing the crew of the Harriet Lane, who were then exposed by the rebels on her upper deck.

"It was now about 7:30 A.M. A white flag was hoisted on the Harriet Lane. A boat bearing a flag of truce, with a rebel officer and an acting master of the Harriet Lane, came down to the Clifton, informing her commander of the capture of the Harriet Lane, the death of her commander and first lieutenant, and the killing and wounding of two-thirds of her crew, all of which was corroborated by the acting master.

"Major Smith, their commander, now proposed that our vessels should all surrender, and that one should be allowed, with the crews of all, to leave the harbor; otherwise they would proceed down with the Harriet Lane and all their steamers (three more of which had appeared in sight after daylight, but were neither armed nor barricaded), and proceed to capture the gun-boats in line.

"Lieutenant-Commander Law replied that he was not the commanding officer, and he could not imagine that such terms could be accepted; but that he would take the acting master of the Harriet Lane, and proceed over to the Westfield, and tender his proposal to Commander Renshaw. This he did, and went in his own boat. Flags of truce were at this time flying on our vessels, and by the parties on shore. During the absence of Lieutenant-Commander Law, and under these flags of truce, the rebels coolly made prisoners of our troops on shore, got more of their artillery into position, and towed the Harriet Lane alongside the wharf, though it had been understood that everything should remain in *statu quo* until an answer should have been received. Commander Renshaw refused to accede to the proposition, directed Lieutenant-

Commander Law to return and get all the vessels out of port as soon as possible, and as he found he could not get the Westfield afloat, he should blow her up and go on board the army transports Saxon and M. A. Boardman, which were lying near him, with his officers and crew.

"Upon Lieutenant-Commander Law's return to his vessel, he proceeded to carry out these directions. The flags of truce were hauled down, the enemy firing upon the vessels as we then left the harbor.

"When the Clifton was half way toward the bar, her commander was informed, by a boat from the Westfield, that in the explosion of that vessel, which they observed some half hour before, Commander Renshaw, Lieutenant Zimmerman, Engineer Green, and some ten or fifteen of the crew had perished —the explosion being premature. Lieutenant-Commander Law now being commanding officer, proceeded to cross his vessel over the bar, and finally concluded to abandon the blockade altogether, considering the Owasco as his only efficient vessel, and regarding her as not equal to resist an attack from the Harriet Lane, should she come out for that purpose.

"By eight P.M. they had all left the blockade, although the commander of the Clifton had been notified by an officer on board the M. A. Boardman that another transport would be down within forty-eight hours, and requested that he would warn her off.

"The vessels which were left in possession of the enemy were the Harriet Lane and two coal barks, the Cavallo and Elias Pike. The only injury sustained by the Harriet Lane appears to have been from an eleven-inch shell under her counter, fired by the Owasco, and the damage to her guard from the collision."

General Magruder, taking advantage of the fact, as admitted by the Federal official statements, that the Union men-of-war "had all left the blockade," proclaimed, in the following document, the opening of the port of Galveston to trade:

"GALVESTON, *January* 4, 1863.

"Whereas the undersigned has succeeded in capturing and destroying a part of the enemy's fleet, and in driving the remainder out of the harbor of Galveston and beyond the neighboring waters, and the blockade having been thus effectually raised, he therefore proclaims to all concerned, that the harbor of Galveston is open for trade to all friendly nations, and their merchants are invited to resume their usual commercial intercourse with this port.

"Done at Galveston, this the 4th day of January, 1863.

"J. B. MAGRUDER,

"Major-General Commanding."

Though the Federal fleet hastened to resume the blockade of Galveston, and the Commodore issued, on the 20th of January, a proclamation, declaring "the whole coast of Texas to be under an actual blockade," and warning all vessels from trading under penalty of capture, there can be no doubt that the blockade

was temporarily suspended, and that neutrals, if disposed, could thus have availed themselves of the opportunity of commerce without risk of condemnation.

The success of the enemy at Galveston encouraged them to make a similar attempt at Sabine Pass, which is thus described by a correspondent:

Jan. 21.

"Four vessels were fitted out, protected by cotton bales, after the manner of the vessels which were employed in the capture of the Harriet Lane. The largest of the rebel fleet, a steamer, carried two eighteen-pounders, another a long thirty-two-pounder, and the others one gun each.

"On our side, the Morning Light carried a formidable battery of nine guns —one of them a thirty-pound pivot rifled gun, and the other eight thirty-two pounders. The Velocity carried one small howitzer. The four rebel vessels had in all 600 men, and on our side the Morning Light had 100 and the Velocity twenty-five men. The former was commanded by Captain Dillingham, and the latter by Lieutenant Hammond.

"On the morning of the 21st there was almost a complete calm, and this was the favorable time for the rebels to come down with the fleet of steamers, when they knew it would be impossible for our vessels to escape them.

"The Velocity was inside the bar, and the rebel fleet first fell in with her. As at Galveston, the rebel steamers swarmed with sharp-shooters, who were protected by cotton walls. The calm was so complete that the Velocity was entirely unable to escape, and two of the rebel steamers, coming to close quarters, soon had her at their mercy. Becalmed, and with a boat on each side, she was utterly unable to defend herself with her single howitzer, and her twenty-five men were powerless against the hundreds of rebel soldiers that soon swarmed her decks, and she surrendered.

"Meantime the Morning Light got under weigh, and put to sea. Two of the rebel steamers, however, gave chase—one of them with two eighteen-pounders, and the other with a thirty-two-pounder, and both vessels carrying 300 men.

"The Morning Light did her utmost to escape; but the vessels were too fast for her, and they both fired at her as she retreated. At last they overtook her about fifteen miles out at sea, and here it was that the principal engagement took place. The Morning Light, finding it impossible to escape, rounded to and delivered her fire; but the rebels were soon alongside, and but a few minutes elapsed before the Union vessel was in their power. On the Morning Light one man was killed and eight were wounded.

* * * * * *

"On the very day of these occurrences, the gun-boat Tennessee, Commander Childs, sailed from New Orleans for Galveston, with orders to stop off the Sabine Pass and deliver important dispatches from Admiral Farragut to Captain Dillingham.

"About seven o'clock next evening, January 22, the Tennessee arrived off the pass, and fell in with the Morning

Light, and came up to her close astern. Captain Childs hailed her, and told them to send a boat alongside.

"'We have none,' was the reply.

"'I know better,' shouted Captain Childs; 'for I see one now hanging at the stern davits.'

"'Yes,' was the answer, 'but we have no crew.'

"'Where is Captain Dillingham?' asked Captain Childs.

"'Ashore and a prisoner,' was the reply, 'and the Morning Light is a Confederate prize.'

"The Tennessee immediately made off, and the rebel boats did the same, the former heading for Galveston, and the latter for the harbor. Their interview seems to have been quite amicable. The Tennessee asked certain civil questions, and the Morning Light answered them civilly and truly, and the two parted company without firing a gun on either side. The armament of the Tennessee consists of one twenty-pounder rifled gun, two twenty-four-pounder howitzers, and one twelve-pounder howitzer.

"The Tennessee put on to Galveston, where she arrived on the 23d, and reported the facts to Commodore Bell, of the Brooklyn.

"No steps were taken until the next morning, when the Commodore dispatched two gun-boats to the scene of the disaster—the Cayuga and the New London.

"These vessels came up with the Morning Light, which had not yet crossed the bar, and they also espied the Velocity inside. The rebels, seeing there was no hope of saving the Morning Light from our fleet, immediately set fire to her and deserted her, and about one o'clock the next morning she exploded."

The officer in command of the enemy's expedition to Sabine Pass, Major Oscar M. Watkins, boasted in his official dispatch that he had "captured thirteen guns, about $1,000,000 worth of property, and 109 prisoners." General Magruder, in summing up the result of his success at Galveston, said: "I have taken 600 prisoners and a large quantity of valuable stores, arms, etc."

The enemy at Charleston, emulous of the exploits of their confederates at Galveston and Sabine Pass, attacked in their turn the United States naval force blockading the harbor. Early in the morning, under the cover of a thick haze, two iron-clad rams, the Palmetto State, Captain Rutledge, with the commander of the expedition, Commodore Ingraham, on board, and the Chicora, Captain Tucker, accompanied by three small steamers, sailed out of Charleston by the main ship channel, and making an attack upon the blockading fleet, severely damaged two vessels, forcing one to surrender, though she finally escaped, and disabling the other so far as to oblige her to put into Port Royal to refit. **Jan. 31.**

The Mercedita, a light steamer, formerly a merchant vessel, was the first attacked. Her commander, Stellwagen, in his official report, January 31, 1863, to the admiral of the station, says:

"At half-past four this morning, two iron-clad rams from Charleston, in the obscurity of a thick haze, and the moon having just set, succeeded in passing the bar near the ship channel, unperceived by the squadron, and made an attack upon it, this ship being the first encountered.

"Particular vigilance was exhibited by the officers and crew, in the expectation of a vessel to run the blockade.

"At three o'clock in the morning we had slipped our cable and overhauled a troop steamer running for the channel. At four o'clock I lay down. Lieutenant-Commander Abbott was on deck, giving an order to Acting Master Dwyer about recovering the anchor, when they saw a smoke and the faint appearance of a vessel close at hand.

"I heard them exclaim, 'She has black smoke,' 'Watch, man the guns,' 'Spring the rattle,' 'Call all hands to quarters.'

"Mr. Dwyer came to the cabin door, telling me 'a steamboat was close aboard.'

"I was then in the act of getting my peajacket, and slipped it on as I followed him out. I jumped to the poop ladder, saw the smoke and a low boat, apparently a tug, although I thought it might be a little propeller for the squadron.

"I sang out, 'Train your guns right on him—be ready to fire as soon as I order.'

"I hailed the steamer, 'Ahoy! stand clear of us and heave to. What steamer is that?' I then ordered my men to fire on him, and told him, 'You will be into us. What steamer is that?'

"His answer to the first and second hail was 'Hallo!' The other replies were indistinct, either by intention or from having spoken inside of his mail armor, until in the act of striking us with his prow, when he said, 'This is the Confederates States steam ram.'

"I repeated the order, 'Fire! fire! fire!' but no gun could be trained on him, as he approached us on the quarter and struck us just abaft our aftermast with a thirty-two pounder, and fired a heavy rifle through us diagonally, penetrating the starboard side through our Normanby condenser, the steam drum of our port boiler, and exploding against the port side of the ship, blowing a hole in its exit some four or five feet square.

"The vessel was instantly filled and enveloped with steam. Reports were brought to me 'that we were shot through both boilers; that the fires were put out by the steam and smoke; that a gunner and one man were killed; that a number of men were badly scalded; that the water was over the fire-room floor, and that the vessel was sinking fast.'

"The ram had cut us through at and below the water-line on one side, and the shell had burst on the other side almost at the water's edge.

"After the ram struck, she swung around under our starboard counter, her prow touching us, and hailed, 'Surrender, or I'll sink you. Do you surrender?'

"After receiving the reports, I answered, 'I can make no resistance. My boiler is destroyed.'

"The rebel then cried out, 'Do you surrender?'

"I said 'Yes,' having found my moving power destroyed, and that I could bring nothing to bear but muskets against his shot-proof coating.

"He hailed several times 'to send a boat,' and threatened to fire again. After some delay a boat was lowered, and Lieutenant-Commander Abbott asked if he should go in her, and asked for orders what to say.

"I told him to see what they demanded, and to tell him the condition we were in. He proceeded aboard, and, according to their demand, gave his parole on behalf of himself and all the officers and crew.

"The ram, having been detained a half hour or more, now ran out for the steamer Keystone State, which vessel and three others we had tried to alarm by lights.

"We saw a shell explode as it struck the ram without injuring her; saw the Keystone State struck several times, and saw the steam and smoke blowing from her.

"The firing then receded to the northward and eastward, and was pretty brisk at the head of the line. I set everybody at work taking care of our wounded, pumping the ship, stopping leaks, examining the engines, etc.

"About six A.M. got things in order to start a little steam and hove up anchor. The Stettin and Flag seeing our condition, I told them they might be wanted to the southward to pick up men, the fighting now being over."

Subsequently to the attack on the Mercedita, an assault was made upon the Keystone State, another light steamer, also formerly a trading vessel. Commander Leroy, in reporting the result, says:

"About five o'clock on this day, January 31, while at anchor off the main entrance of the harbor of Charleston, the ship was approached by what was supposed to be a steamer; but, regarding her appearance as suspicious, I ordered the cable slipped and fired a gun, which was responded to by a shell, when I ordered the guns to be fired as they could be brought to bear upon the object. On putting my head to the eastward, it was discovered that there was one on either quarter, and we made them out, from their peculiar construction, to be iron-clads, after the model of the Merrimac. Owing to a fire in the hold, we stood to the northward about ten minutes, and shoaling water, kept southeast about ten minutes to enable us to subdue the fire, and then I turned around, and under full steam proposed attempting to run down the ram; but about six A.M. a shell from one of them entered on the port side, under the forward wheel-house guard, passing through the port steam chimney, and landing in the starboard, depriving us of our motive power. Ten rifle shells struck the ship, and two burst on the quarter-deck, most of them striking the hull, being near and below the water-line.

"Our steam chimneys being destroyed, our motive power was lost, and our situation became critical. There were

two feet of water in the ship and leaking badly, the water rising rapidly, and the fire-hold on fire. Others of the squadron coming along, the ram that had injured us so much altered her course, and before our wheels entirely stopped we were enabled to get a hawser from the Memphis, and were taken in tow.

"I regret to report our casualties very large; some twenty were killed and twenty wounded."

Three other vessels were struck by shots from the enemy's gun-boats; the Augusta and Quaker City in their hulls, and the Memphis in her rigging.

The enemy, bewildered by excitement and the fog, magnified the extent of their victory. They boasted* that they had sunk two vessels, set on fire four, and driven away the rest of the blockading fleet. Presuming upon this exaggerated success, General Beauregard and Commodore Ingraham united in proclaiming by the following document the raising of the blockade:

"HEADQUARTERS LAND AND NAVAL FORCES,
CHARLESTON, S. C., *January* 31, 1863.

"At about five o'clock this morning the Confederate States naval force on this station attacked the United States blockading fleet off the harbor of the city of Charleston, and sunk, dispersed, or drove off and out of sight for the time the entire hostile fleet.

"Therefore we, the undersigned, commanders respectively of the Confederate States naval and land forces in this quarter, do hereby formally declare the blockade by the United States of the said city of Charleston, S. C., to be raised by a superior force of the Confederate States from and after the 31st day of January, A. D. 1863.

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,
"General-Commanding.
"D. N. INGRAHAM,
"Flag-Officer commanding Naval Forces in South Carolina.
"Official:—THOMAS JOURDAN, Chief of Staff."

This document was succeeded by another, in the form of a circular, addressed by the Confederate Government to the foreign consuls. It was as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, RICHMOND,
Jan. 31, 1863.

"SIR: I am instructed by the President of the Confederate States of America to inform you that this government has received an official dispatch from Flag-Officer Ingraham, commanding the naval forces of the Confederacy on the coast of South Carolina, stating that the blockade of the harbor of Charleston has been broken by the complete dispersion and disappearance of the blockading squadron, in consequence of a successful attack made on it by the

* The following dispatch of Commodore Ingraham shows him to have been more modest in the estimate of his victory:

"ON BOARD THE GUN-BOAT PALMETTO STATE.

"I went out last night. This vessel struck the Mercedita, when she sent a boat on board and surrendered. The officers and crew were paroled. Captain Tucker thinks he sunk one vessel and set another on fire, when she struck her flag. The blockading fleet had gone to southward and eastward out of sight.

"D. N. INGRAHAM,
"Flag-Officer Commanding."

The subsequent official reports of the enemy confirmed the statements of the Union officers.

iron-clad steamers commanded by Flag-Officer Ingraham. During this attack one or more of the blockading vessels were sunk or burned.

"As you are doubtless aware that, by the law of nations, a blockade, when thus broken by superior force, ceases to exist, and cannot be subsequently enforced unless established *de novo*, with adequate forces, and after due notice to neutral powers, it has been deemed proper to give you the information herein contained for the guidance of such vessels of your nation as may choose to carry on commerce with the now open port of Charleston. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. P. BENJAMIN,
"Secretary of State."

Although the injured vessels, the Mercedita and the Keystone State, as well as the Augusta and Memphis, sailed to Port Royal, and thus diminished the naval force off Charleston, that harbor was not left even temporarily without some blockaders—the number of which was immediately increased by the return of the two latter vessels, and the addition of several others, among which was the formidable iron-clad frigate Ironsides. There seemed thus but little ground for the boast of the Confederates, that the blockade off Charleston had been temporarily raised, or for the fear of the Unionists that foreign nations, however eager to avail themselves of such a fact, would presume upon its being accomplished.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Origin of the Florida and Alabama.—The Florida enters the Harbor of Mobile.—Her Exit.—The suspicious Inaction of the British Government.—The Escape from Great Britain of the Alabama.—Her Equipment at Madeira.—Her Work of Destruction.—Capture of Steamer Ariel.—Fight with the Gun-boat Hatteras.—The Steamer Nashville in the Ogeechee River.—Union Attack by Iron-clads upon Fort McAlister.—The unsuccessful Result.—Capture of a Gun-boat by the Enemy.

THE Confederate Government, finding
1862. that its attempts to harass the commerce of the United States by privateering were of little avail, in consequence of the scarcity of sea-going vessels, and from the insignificance of the commercial marine of the Southern States, made great efforts to supply the deficiency in foreign countries. Notwithstanding the professed neutrality of Great Britain, many of its capitalists were so sympathetic with the cause of the insurgents, and so eager to benefit it, that, succeeding in eluding the vigilance of their government, they supplied the Confederates with what they so much needed. It was thus that the steamers formerly known as the "Oreto" and "290," but since more famous as the Florida and Alabama, were obtained in

Great Britain, subsequently armed and equipped, and finally let loose to prey upon Northern commerce.

The "Oreto" or "Florida" was constructed in England, nominally for the Italian Government, but left a British port in command of a Confederate officer, Captain Maffitt, formerly a lieutenant in the United States navy. Succeeding, in spite of the blockade, in entering the harbor of Mobile, the Oreto remained there for several months, apparently kept in by the vigilance of the Federal armed cruisers. Her audacious commander, however, having in the mean time fully armed and equipped his ves-
Jan. 15, 1863. sel, now sailed out to sea, in despite of the whole blockading squadron. Though fired at and chased, the Florida succeeded in making her escape and reached Havana in safety, whence she departed on the 22d of January, and began a series of destructive raids upon United States vessels.

The "290" or "Alabama" was also built in an English dock-yard;* and though, during her construction, sworn evidence was laid before the British Government in proof that the vessel was destined for the naval service of the American insurgents, the authorities of Great Britain were so dilatory in action, that she was enabled to make her escape from the harbor of Liverpool before the attempt was made to arrest her.

Having thus, by the confessed dilatoriness of the British Government, and suspected connivance of some of its subordinates, escaped through the meshes of English law, the Alabama sailed for the Azores. Here, on her arrival, she was armed and equipped, in defiance of the Portuguese authorities, from a British sailing vessel, which had been sent there expressly to meet her. The famous Captain Semmes, formerly of the Sumter, now assumed command and put to sea, to lay waste and destroy. Making for the usual track of commercial vessels plying between Europe and the United States, the Alabama captured and burned in the course of a few weeks nearly a score of merchantmen and whalers, of the aggregate value of a million of dollars. Her next move was to the neighborhood of the West India Islands, where, off the coast of Cuba, on **Dec. 7, 1862.** the 7th of December, she fell in with the steamer Ariel, bound from New York to Aspinwall. Having captured her, Captain Semmes held her for three days, when he released her on her captain giving a bond for a large amount, to be paid after the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States.

The next manifestation of this formidable scourge of the seas was as the destroyer of the United States **Jan. 13.** steamer Hatteras, off Galveston.

"Upon the afternoon of the 11th instant, at half-past three o'clock, while at anchor, in company with the fleet under Commodore Bell, off Galveston, Texas,"

* The construction in England, and the sailing from an English port, of the Alabama, led to a diplomatic correspondence between the British and United States governments. Lord John Russell, the representative of the former, could only allege, in extenuation of this abuse of neutrality, the proverbial delay of the law, in the course of which the Alabama had made her escape.

says Captain Blake, of the Hatteras, "I was ordered by signal from the United States flag-ship Brooklyn to chase a sail to the southward and eastward. I got under way immediately and steamed with all speed in the direction indicated. After some time the strange sail could be seen from the Hatteras, and was ascertained to be a steamer, which fact I communicated to the flag-ship by signal. I continued the chase and rapidly gained upon the suspicious vessel.

"Knowing the low rate of speed of the Hatteras, I at once suspected that deception was being practised, and hence ordered the ship to be cleared for action, with everything in readiness for a determined attack and vigorous defence. When within about four miles of the vessel I observed that she had ceased to steam, and was lying broadside to and awaiting us. It was nearly seven o'clock, and quite dark; but notwithstanding the obscurity of the night, I felt assured, from the general character of the vessel and her manœuvres, that I should soon encounter the rebel steamer Alabama. Being able to work but four guns on the side of the Hatteras—two short thirty-two pounders, one thirty-pounder rifled Parrott gun, and one twenty-pounder rifled gun—I concluded to close with her, that my guns might be effective if necessary. I came within easy speaking range, about seventy-five yards, and upon asking 'What steamer is that?' received the answer, 'Her Britannic Majesty's ship Vixen.' I replied that I would send a boat aboard, and immediately gave the order.

"In the mean time, both vessels were changing their positions, the stranger endeavoring to gain a desirable position for a raking fire. Almost simultaneously with the piping away of the boat, the strange craft again replied, 'We are the Confederate steamer Alabama,' which was accompanied with a broadside. I at the same moment returned the fire.

"Being well aware of the many vulnerable points of the Hatteras, I hoped, by closing with the Alabama, to be able to board her, and thus rid the seas of this piratical craft. I steamed directly for the Alabama, but she was enabled by her great speed and the foulness of the bottom of the Hatteras, and consequently her diminished speed, to thwart my attempt, when I had gained a distance of but thirty yards from her. At this range, musket and pistol shots were exchanged. The firing continued with great vigor on both sides. At length a shell entered amidships in the hold, setting fire to it, and, at the same instant—as I can hardly divide the time—a shell passed through the sick bay, exploding in an adjoining compartment, also producing fire. Another entered the cylinder, filling the engine room and deck with steam, and depriving me of any power to manœuvre the vessel, or to work the pumps upon which the reduction of the fire depended. With the vessel on fire in two places, and beyond human power a hopeless wreck upon the water, with her walking beam shot away, and her engine rendered useless, I still maintained an active fire,

with a double hope of disabling the Alabama, and attracting the attention of the fleet off Galveston, which was only twenty-eight miles distant.

"It was soon reported to me that the shells had entered the Hatteras at the water line, tearing off entire sheets of iron, that the water was rushing in, utterly defying every attempt to remedy the evil, and that she was rapidly sinking. Learning this melancholy truth, and observing that the Alabama was on my port bow, entirely beyond range of my guns, doubtless preparing for a raking fire of the decks, I felt I had no right to sacrifice uselessly, and without any desirable result, the lives of all under my command. To prevent the blowing up of the Hatteras from the fire, which was making much progress, I ordered the magazine to be flooded, and afterward a lee gun to be fired. The Alabama then asked if assistance was desired, to which an affirmative answer was given.

"The Hatteras was now going down, and in order to save the lives of my officers and men, I caused the armament on the port side to be thrown overboard. Had I not done so, I am confident that the vessel would have gone down with many brave hearts and valuable lives. After considerable delay, caused by the report that a steamer was seen coming from Galveston, the Alabama sent us assistance, and I have the pleasure of informing the Department that every living being was conveyed safely from the Hatteras to the Alabama. Ten minutes after leaving the Hatteras she went down, bow first, with her pennant at her mast-head, with all her muskets and stores of every character, the enemy not being able, owing to her rapid sinking, to obtain a single weapon.

"The battery upon the Alabama, brought into action against the Hatteras, numbered seven guns, consisting of four long thirty-two pounders, one one-hundred pounder, one sixty-eight pounder, and one twenty-four pounder rifled gun. The great superiority of the Alabama, with her powerful battery, and machinery under the water line, must be at once recognized by the Department, who are familiar with the construction of the Hatteras, and her total unfitness for a contest with a regularly built vessel of war. The distance between the Hatteras and the Alabama during the action varied from twenty-five to one hundred yards. Nearly fifty shots were fired from the Hatteras, and I presume a greater number from the Alabama.

"I desire to refer to the efficient and active manner in which Acting Master Henry Porter, executive officer, performed his duty. The conduct of Assistant Surgeon Edward S. Matthews, both during the action and afterward, in attending to the wounded, demands my unqualified commendation. I would also bring to the favorable notice of the Department, Acting Master's Mate T. J. McGrath, temporarily performing duty as gunner.

"Owing to the darkness of the night, and the peculiar construction of the Hatteras, I am able only to refer to the

conduct of those officers who came under my special attention; but from the character of the contest and the amount of damage done to the Alabama, I have personally no reason to believe that any officer failed in his duty. To the men of the Hatteras I cannot give too much praise. Their enthusiasm and bravery were of the highest order."

Two were killed and five wounded on board the Hatteras. Her boat, in charge of the sailing master, with five seamen, succeeded in reaching the blockading fleet off Galveston. On a search being made for the lost steamer, all that was found of her were her masts sticking out of the water where she had sunk in nine fathoms, and some of her boats adrift, containing arms and bloody clothes. The Alabama had none killed, and only two men wounded. She was, however, considerably damaged.

The Hatteras was a small side-wheel steamer, formerly in the merchant service, and was armed with three small rifled cannon and four short thirty-twos. Her antagonist had greatly the advantage in size, speed, and armament. One hundred and sixty-five of the officers and crew of the Hatteras were taken prisoners and carried to Jamaica, where the Alabama put in to refit.

Both the Florida and Alabama were first-class English screw steamers, of great speed and powerful armaments. The former was described as being a fine propeller of 1,100 tons burden, having a low-shaped hull, and two smoke-pipes issuing out of her deck. She was armed with two sixty-four pounders, two pivot guns, two eleven-inch guns, and two thirty-two pounders rifled.

The Nashville, another Confederate steam vessel of war, whose adventurous voyage to Europe and back has been already narrated, finally took refuge, while chased by a Federal cruiser, in the Ogeechee River, which empties into Ossabaw Sound, on the coast of Georgia. Here she had been already blockaded for many months, when an attempt was made by the Unionists to capture or destroy her. In order to reach the Nashville, it was necessary first to overcome a strong work called Fort McAlister, built on the banks of the Ogeechee, and clear away numerous artificial obstructions in the river. An attack on the fort having been determined upon, the duty was assigned to the iron-clad Montauk, built on the model of the Monitor, and commanded by Captain Worden, who had so gallantly fought the latter vessel in the famous battle with the Merrimac.

The Montauk, at break of day on the 27th of January, moved up the river Ogeechee, followed by the gun-boats Seneca, Wissahickon, and Dawn, and the mortar schooner C. P. Williams. The Montauk having advanced to within range of Fort McAlister, anchored about two thousand yards from the battery; the other vessels kept three or four hundred yards below. The Seneca opened the engagement, with a shell from a Parrott rifled gun, which was succeeded by a general fire from the Montauk and the rest of the squadron. The enemy responded, aim-

Jan. 27.

ing their shots, and with great accuracy, almost exclusively at the Montauk. Thus began an artillery duel, which continued for five hours, between the iron-clad and the fort. At the close, neither was seriously injured. The Montauk was fairly struck thirteen times, chiefly by ten-inch and rifled solid shot.

On February the 1st, the Montauk returned to the attack, aided by her consorts as before. On this occasion the vessels approached nearer to the fort, and the Montauk was so exposed that she was struck sixty-one times, but without "material damage."

The fort, according to the enemy's report, was but slightly injured. A portion of the parapet in front of the ten-inch columbiad was destroyed. The gunners never flinched, but fought their guns with spirit, even when thus exposed to the enemy's continued fire. A trunnion of one of the thirty-two pounders was destroyed by a shell which disabled the gun. The enemy lost their commander, Major Gallie, who was struck by a fragment from this broken cannon.*

Their capture of the United States gun-boat John P. Smith was a source of great exultation to the people of Charleston. This vessel was cruising in the Stono, when the enemy, posting their artillery on both sides of the river, forced her to surrender after a severe fire which lasted about an hour. The very first shot carrying away the steering apparatus, disabled her, and soon after a ball penetrating her steam chest, caused an escape of steam, which scalded to death the chief engineer and several of the crew. The commander of the John P. Smith, finding his vessel thus at the mercy of the enemy, surrendered her to avoid a further sacrifice of life.

Jan. 30.

* The steamer Nashville was subsequently (Feb. 27, 1863) destroyed by a Union iron-clad gun-boat. The former having got aground while moving up the Ogeechee River, was cannonaded by the latter, and struck by an "incendiary shell," which set her on fire and burned her to a wreck.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Increased Sufferings of European Operatives.—Enormous Rise in Price of Cotton.—The Causes.—Impatience of England and France.—Their Desire to end the American Conflict.—Partiality of the Ruling Classes of England for the South.—Continued Professions of Neutrality.—Earl Russell's unfavorable Opinion of the Prospects of the North.—Remarkable Declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Milner Gibson's Tribute to the North.—The Queen's Speech.—Mr. Bright and other Champions of the North.—The Sentiment of the English Masses favorable to the North.—Suspicion of British Neutrality.—Suspicion of French Neutrality.—Visit of M. Mercier to Richmond.—Was Mr. Seward responsible?—M. Mercier's Account of his Interview with Mr. Seward.—Mr. Seward's Account of it.—The Result of M. Mercier's Visit.—Proposal of Louis Napoleon to Great Britain and Russia in regard to an Armistice.—Proposal Declined.—The Disposition of Louis Napoleon to interfere explained.—Napoleon's Letter to Gen. Forey.—Proposition of Napoleon to the United States.—Proposition Declined.

1862. With the continuance of the civil war in America, the sufferings of the European operatives dependent upon cotton manufactures for their subsistence proportionately increased. The unavoidable waste, the intentional destruction, the hindrances to culture, and the obstructions to transportation, had rendered cotton so scarce that its price* rose to seven or eight times that at which it sold previous to the war. The governments of Europe, and especially those of England and France, became impatient of the duration of a conflict so ruinous to the interests of their own subjects, and did not conceal the eagerness of their desire for its termination.

Though the British Government seemed sincere in its professions of neutrality, there were such free expressions, on the part of many in the ruling classes of England, of distrust of the Northern and sympathy with the Southern cause, that a constant uneasiness prevailed in the United States lest these manifestations of partiality might lead to correspondent action. Lord John Russell, the British foreign secretary, though he persistently declared that Her Majesty's Government had pursued a friendly, open, and consistent course, and had been neutral between the two parties to a civil war, showed, in spite of his diplomatic disguise, the foregone conclusion of his mind, that the United States was engaged in a hopeless struggle. The various members of the British Government, though agreeing in the policy of neutrality, seemed divided in opinion in regard to the motives and issue of the struggle in the United States. The chancellor of the exchequer, the Right Hon. Mr. Gladstone, availing himself to the utmost of the latitude of speech permitted in Great Britain to members of the Government, said, at a public banquet given in his honor at Newcastle, October 8th:

"We may have our own opinions

* Cotton sold at New York on the 17th February, 1863, at 90 cents per lb.

about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation."

This eulogy of the Southern insurgents by Mr. Gladstone was counterbalanced by a generous tribute of praise to the North by the Right Hon. Milner Gibson, president of the board of trade.

"The South," said Mr. Gibson, in a speech at Ashton, on the 20th of January, 1863, "seceded in consequence of believing that slavery would not be safe under Mr. Lincoln's executive, and that the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Law was not likely to be permitted. If Mr. Breckinridge had been elected, there would have been no secession, as he was the candidate of the South, in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of opinion that Congress had no right to prohibit the extension of slavery. Secession had taken place, and the consequent war for the purpose of perpetuating, cherishing, and extending slavery. I don't believe that an empire having slavery as its basis can be a prosperous, happy, and enduring empire, and therefore cannot desire to see one established in any part of the world. The bishops of the Episcopal Church of the Confederate States have said that the abolition of slavery is hateful, infidel, and pestilent. I, on the contrary, believe that slavery is hateful, infidel, and pestilent. I will not predict the course which the events of this war may take; but looking at the map, which I did to-day, it appears to me that the geographical position of the North, so far as territory is concerned, is stronger than it was twelve months ago. They have suffered great defeats, and they have had some successes; but I find that the North are now possessed of larger territory than they were twelve months ago. Missouri, which was then debatable ground, they now possess; also Kentucky and West Virginia, and a portion of Louisiana. It therefore appears that the territory which the North possessed at the beginning of last year has not been lessened but increased in extent. These are facts which all may ascertain for themselves."

The British Government seemed, notwithstanding the private opinions of some of its members, disposed to persevere in the policy of neutrality. The Queen, in her speech on the prorogation of Parliament, on the 7th August, thus reiterated her determination to remain neutral:

"The civil war," Her Majesty declared, "which has for some time been raging among the North American Union States, has, unfortunately, continued unabated in intensity, and the evils with which it has been attended have not been confined to the American continent; but Her Majesty, having from the first continued to take no part in that contest, has seen no reason to depart from the neutrality to which she has steadily adhered."

Among the other statesmen of En-

gland, there prevailed the same diversity of opinion as among the members of Government. Mr. Bright, the champion of freedom everywhere, closed his speech to his constituents at Birmingham with this eloquent expression of hope for the Union:

"In America there are no six millions of grown men excluded by the constitution from political rights. There is a free church, a free school, a free hand, a free vote, a free career for the child of the humblest. No! countrymen who work for your living, remember that there will be one wild shriek of freedom to startle all mankind if that republic is overthrown * * * The leaders of this revolt propose by their constitution this simple thing—that over a territory some forty times as large as England, the blight and bondage of slavery shall be forever perpetuated. I cannot myself believe in such a fate befalling that fair land, stricken though it now be by the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilization in its journey with the sun will sink into endless night, to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek 'to wade through slaughter to a throne, and shut the gates of mercy on mankind.'. (Cheers.) I have another and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision; but I will still cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race."

Mr. Scholefield, though professing to belong to the same liberal school of politics as his colleague, Mr. Bright, differed widely from him on the American question.

He considered the secession of the Southern States an act of folly, but argued that the Southerners had a moral if not a legal right to judge for themselves in the matter. Amid much uproar and confusion he contended that the North was not sincere in its efforts against slavery, and would sacrifice slavery in order to maintain the Union, which was a slave power. He said the duty of England was for the Government to recognize the Southern States. Intervention meant war; mediation meant failure. He was for neither; but for recognition, as a question of policy and prudence, on the ground that the South had shown ability to maintain its independence, and that the North could not subdue it. The North could not be more hostile in feeling to England than it was now.

The fact that the speech of Mr. Scholefield was cut short by the uproar of the audience, proved how distasteful his opinions were to his constituents. The people of Birmingham, and even those of Lancashire, the latter of whom. being engaged in the cotton manufacture, have suffered greatly from the war, sympathized with the North, whose cause they believed to be that of freedom.

Though probably the majority of the common people of Great Britain favored the efforts of the Government of the United States to preserve the Union, and trusted in their efficacy, the higher and ruling classes generally neither hoped for nor believed in their success. It was naturally suspected that the latter, accordingly, would avail themselves of every occasion to thwart the purposes of the American Government and further the designs of the insurgents against its authority. Such a suspicion was confirmed, not only by the free expression of opinion in favor of the Southern confederacy, but by the readiness with which it obtained an abundance of material aid in Great Britain.

The construction of the steamers Alabama and Florida in the dockyards, and their escape from the harbors of Great Britain, owing to the dilatory action of the legal authorities, exposed even the English Government to a suspicion of connivance.

In France, from the nature of its imperial government, there was more reserve in the expression of opinion than in England, and consequently less said calculated to offend the sensibility of the American people. From this cause, as well as from the traditional friendliness between France and the United States, there was for a long time but little inquietude in regard to any unfavorable action of the French Government in our national quarrel. Events, however, finally occurred which indicated an intrusive disposition on the part of the Emperor of France, and disclosures were made which led to a suspicion that he would not long hesitate to interfere.

The visit of M. Mercier, the French minister at Washington, to Rich- Aug. mond, first aroused the public anx- 1862. iety. This visit was made with the connivance of the Secretary of State, and, as it were, at his suggestion. "As we were talking," says the artful diplomatist in his report of his conversation with Mr. Seward, "the remark escaped me, as if by chance, that I regretted much not being able to assure myself of the condition of things at Richmond. Mr. Seward replied to me at once, that I could very easily go thither; that all I had to do was to send for one of our ships, that it might carry me to Norfolk, and that he was entirely willing to give me a pass for this visit. Having had no intention of calling out this response, and not having foreseen it, I said to him that I would reflect, and soon bring him back my answer."

M. Mercier did not long hesitate to take the voyage, "with the acquiesence," as he said, "so thorough of the Secretary of State—almost, as it seemed, in compliance with his desire." At his parting interview, "it was understood," adds the French minister, "besides, that I should report to Mr. Seward only what I was authorized to report to him. Mr. Seward said to me, that I might add, if I found an opportune occasion, that in his opinion the North was animated by no sentiment of vengeance, and that for himself he should with pleasure find himself again in the Senate

in the presence of all those whom the South thought it fit to send thither."

Mr. Seward, upon being called upon by the Senate to make known the character of the suggestions made to the French ambassador as reported by the latter, declared, emphatically:

"That no suggestions were made to M. Mercier by the Secretary of State that induced, or were designed or calculated to induce, him to undertake a mission to Richmond in April last, or at any other time. He was not then, nor has he or any other person ever been, authorized by this Government or by the Secretary of State, to make any representations of any kind or on any subject to the insurrectionary agents or so-called authorities at Richmond, or to hold any communication with them on behalf of this Government."

This declaration of Mr. Seward can be only reconciled with the apparently counter-statement of the French minister, if both are true, on the supposition that the Secretary of State in his communication to the Senate refers to his official action, as the representative of the Government, and that in his conversation with M. Mercier as reported by that gentleman, he spoke only as a private citizen.

The result of this notable visit was reported by M. Mercier to be that, in Richmond, "nobody hesitated to declare that the re-establishment of the Union was impossible." The French minister seeming now to be thoroughly impressed with the impracticability of the purpose of the North, encouraged the French Emperor in his not reluctant disposition to interfere in the quarrel.

The first public action of Louis Napoleon was a proposition to Great Britain and Russia to join him in proposing an armistice of six months between the belligerents of the North and South. **Oct. 30, 1862.**

The following was the dispatch of the Foreign Secretary of France, addressed to the British and Russian governments:

"PARIS, *October* 30, 1862.

"Europe watches with painful interest the struggle which has been raging more than a year upon the American continent. The hostilities have provoked sacrifices and efforts certainly of a nature to inspire the highest idea of the perseverance and energy of the two populations. But this spectacle, which does so much honor to their courage, is only given at the price of numberless calamities and a prodigious effusion of blood. To these results of civil war, which from the very first assumed vast proportions, there is still to be added the apprehension of servile war, which would be the culminating point of so many irreparable disasters. The suffering of a nation toward which we have always professed a sincere friendship would have sufficed to excite the sincere solicitude of the Emperor, even had we ourselves not suffered by the counter blow of these events.

"Under the influence of intimate relations which extensive intercourse has multiplied between the various regions of the globe, Europe itself has suffered

from the consequences of the crisis which has dried up one of the most fruitful sources of public wealth, and which has become, for the great centres of labor, a cause of most sad trials.

"As you are aware, when the conflict commenced, we held it our duty to observe the most strict neutrality in concert with other maritime powers, and the Washington Cabinet has repeatedly acknowledged the honorable manner with which we adhered to that line of conduct. The sentiments dictated to us have undergone no change but of a benevolent character. That neutrality, instead of imposing upon the powers the attitude which might resemble indifference, ought rather to make them of service to the two parties by helping them out of a position which seems to have no issue. From the commencement of the war an armed force was set on foot by the belligerents which, since then, has been almost constantly kept up. After so much bloodshed they are now, in that respect, nearly in the same position, nothing authorizing the presumption that more decisive military operations will shortly occur, according to the last news received in Europe. The two armies, on the contrary, were in a condition that would not allow either party to hope within a brief delay for any decided advantage to turn the balance and accelerate the conclusion of a peace. All these circumstances, taken together, point to the opportunity of an armistice, to which, moreover, under the present circumstances, no strategical objection can be made. The favorable dispositions toward peace which are beginning to manifest themselves in the North as well as the South might, on the other hand, second steps that might be made to recommend the idea of truce. The Emperor has, therefore, thought that the occasion has presented itself of offering to the belligerents the support of the good offices of the maritime powers, and His Majesty has charged me to make the proposition of this Government to Her Britannic Majesty, as well as to the Court of Russia. The three cabinets would exert their influence at Washington, as well as with the Confederates, to obtain an armistice for six months, during which every act of war, direct or indirect, should provisionally cease, on sea as well as on land, and it might be, if necessary, ulteriorally prolonged.

"The overtures, I need not say, sir, would not imply, on our part, any judgment on the origin or issue of the struggle, nor any pressure upon the negotiations which might, it is to be hoped, ensue in favor of an armistice. Our task would consist solely in smoothing down obstacles, and in interfering only in a measure determined upon by the two parties. We should not, in fact, believe ourselves called upon to decide, but to prepare the solution of difficulties which hitherto have opposed reconciliation between the belligerent parties. Would not, moreover, an agreement between the three courts respond sufficiently to their intentions? Would it not give to their step the character of evident impartiality? Acting in con-

cert, they would combine the conditions best suited to inspire confidence—the Government of the Emperor, by the constant tradition of French policy toward the United States—England, by the community of race—Russia, by the marks of friendship she has never ceased to show to the Washington Cabinet. Should the event not justify the hope of the three powers, and should the ardor of the struggle over-rule the wisdom of their councils, this attempt would not be the less honorable for them. They would have fulfilled a duty of humanity, more especially indicated in a war which has excited passions which render all direct attempts at negotiation more difficult. It is the mission which international law assigns neutrals, at the same time that it prescribes to them a strict impartiality, and they could never make a nobler use of their influence by endeavoring to put an end to a struggle which causes so much suffering, and compromises such great interests throughout the whole world.

"Finally, even without immediate results, these overtures would not be entirely useless; for they might encourage public opinion to views of conciliation, and thus contribute to hasten the moment when the return of peace might become possible.

"I request you, sir, in the name of His Majesty, to submit these considerations to Lord Russell, or to Prince Gortschakoff, begging him to state the views of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty or the Court of Russia.

"DROUYN DE L'HUYS."

The proposition of the French Emperor was declined both by England and Russia. Lord John Russell, in behalf of the British Government, said in his answer:

"Her Majesty is desirous of acting in concurrence with France upon the great questions now agitating the world, and upon none more than on the contingencies connected with the great struggle now going on in North America. Neither Her Majesty the Queen nor the British nation will ever forget the noble and emphatic manner in which the Emperor of the French vindicated the laws of nations and assisted the cause of peace in the instance of the seizure of the Confederate commissioners on board the Trent. Her Majesty's Government recognizes with pleasure the design of arresting the progress of war by friendly measures, the benevolent views and humane intentions of the Emperor. They are also of the opinion that if the steps proposed were to be taken, the concurrence of Russia would be extremely desirable. Her Majesty's Government have, however, not been informed up to the present time that the Russian Government have agreed to co-operate with England and France on this occasion, although that Government may support the endeavors of England and France to attain the end proposed. But is the end proposed attainable at the present moment by the course suggested by the Government of France? Such is the question which has been anxiously and carefully examined by Her Majesty's Government. After weighing

all the information which has been received from America, Her Majesty's Government are led to the conclusion that there is no ground at the present moment to hope that the Federal Government would accept the proposal suggested, and a refusal from Washington at the present time would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer. Her Majesty's Government think, therefore, that it would be better to watch carefully the progress of opinion in America, and if, as there appears reason to hope, it may be found to have undergone, or may undergo hereafter, any change, the three courts might then avail themselves of such change to offer their friendly counsel with a greater prospect than now exists of its being accepted by the two contending parties.

"Her Majesty's Government will communicate to that of France any intelligence they may receive from Washington or Richmond bearing on this important subject." *

Prince Gortschakoff said in his answer that it was requisite above all things to avoid the appearance of any pressure whatever capable of chilling public opinion in America or of exercising the susceptibility of that nation, and expressed the belief that a combined measure of the three powers, as proposed by France, however conciliatory, if presented in an official or officious character, would be the cause of arriving at a result opposed to pacification. He, however, added, that if France should persist in her intention of mediation, and England should acquiesce in her course, instructions should be sent to Baron Stoeckl at Washington to lend to both his colleagues there (the French and English ministers), if not official aid, at least moral support.*

France, in common with England and other nations of Europe, was suffering greatly from the war. Her opera-

* The Queen, in her speech on the opening of Parliament, February 5, 1863, reiterated the motives of the Government in not acceding to the proposition of Louis Napoleon:

"Her Majesty has abstained from taking any step with a view to induce a cessation of the conflict between the contending parties of the North American States, because it has not yet seemed to her that any such overtures could be attended with a probability of success. Her Majesty has viewed with the deepest concern the desolating warfare which still rages in those regions, and she has witnessed with hearfelt grief the severe distress and suffering which that war inflicted upon a large class of Her Majesty's subjects, but which have been borne by them with great fortitude and exemplary resignation. It is some consolation to Her Majesty to be led to hope that this suffering and this distress are rather diminishing than increasing, and that some renewal of employment is beginning to take place in the manufacturing districts."

* The Emperor of France, in his speech to the French Legislature on the 13th of January, thus spoke of American affairs, and expressed his disappointment at the result of his scheme of mediation:

"To reduce our expenses, the army and navy estimates have been considerably diminished. The floating debt has been reduced, and by the success achieved by the conversion of the rentes a great step has been taken toward the settlement [unification] of that debt. The indirect revenues show a continual increase, from the simple fact of the general increase of prosperity; and the condition of the empire would be flourishing if the war in America had not dried up one of the most fruitful sources of our industry. The forced stagnation of labor has caused in many districts an amount of destitution which deserves all our solicitude, and a grant will be asked from you for the support of those who with resignation submit to the effects of a misfortune which it is not in our power to put a stop to. Nevertheless, I have made the attempt to send beyond the Atlantic advices inspired by a sincere sympathy; but the great maritime powers not having thought it advisable as yet to act in concert with me, I have been obliged to postpone to a more suitable opportunity the offer of mediation, the object of which was to stop the effusion of blood, and to prevent the exhaustion of a country the future of which cannot be looked upon with indifference."

tives had been reduced to want from the need of cotton, and were becoming clamorous for aid. By the system of administrative centralization, the French people had been so habituated to depend upon the Government, that they looked only to it for support in adversity as for guidance in prosperity. The sense of mutual obligation being thus greatly weakened, there was little assistance to be expected by the poor from the rich. The suffering operatives of France accordingly appealed for relief to their Government as the main source of benevolence. The French Emperor, thus brought into direct sympathy with his destitute subjects, was impelled to act officially in their behalf. This may account for his disposition to interpose his efforts with the view of arresting the progress of the war, which was proving so fatal to a large portion of his people. In England, on the other hand, with a different system of administration, there was less habitual dependence upon Government, and a consequent stronger sense of mutual obligation. The English operatives, though greater sufferers than those of France, looked for the aid required, not to official, but private sources, which proved equal to the emergency. The British Government, thus relieved by the benevolence of the rich from responsibility for the sufferings of the poor, was enabled to await with more patience the development of events, and avoid international difficulties likely to result from hasty interference with the war. The French Emperor would have been fully credited with all the motives of humanity he professed, and the necessity for action his position seemed to require, if it had not been for the disclosures of the *livre jaune* or Yellow Book. In this official publication appeared a letter of Louis Napoleon to General Forey, the commander of the French forces in Mexico, instructing him as to his conduct. In this extraordinary document the Emperor wrote :

"There will not be wanting people who will ask you why we go to lavish men and money for the establishment of a regular government in Mexico. In the present state of the civilization of the world the prosperity of America is not a matter of indifference to Europe ; for it is she who feeds our manufactories and gives life to our commerce. We have an interest in this—that the republic of the United States be powerful and prosperous, but we have none in this—that she should seize possession of all the Mexican Gulf, dominate from thence the Antilles, as well as South America, and be the sole dispenser of the products of the New World. We see now, by sad experience, how precarious is the fate of an industry which is reduced to seeking its chief raw material in one market alone, to all the vicissitudes of which it has to submit. If, on the other hand, Mexico preserves its influence and maintains the integrity of its territory ; if a stable government is constituted with the assistance of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race on the other side of the ocean its strength and prestige ; we shall have established our beneficent influence in

the centre of America, and this influence, by presenting immense openings for our commerce, will procure us the materials indispensable to our industry. Mexico thus regenerated will always be favorable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because her interests will be in harmony with ours, and she will find a powerful support in her good relations with the European powers. To-day, then, our pledged military honor, the exigency of our policy, the interest of our industry and of our commerce, all make it a duty to march upon Mexico, and boldly plant there our flag, to establish either a monarchy, if it is not incompatible with the national sentiments of the country, or at all events a government which promises some stability."

Such a revelation naturally induced the suspicion* of ambitious designs in the eager desire of the Emperor of France to interpose in the American quarrel. Accordingly his next official action on the subject was received with increased inquietude. This took the form of a direct proposition to the United States Government, as stated in the following dispatch to M. Mercier:

"DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, POLITICAL DIVISION, PARIS, *Jan.* 9, 1863.

"SIR—In forming the purpose of assisting, by the proffer of our good offices, to shorten the period of those hostilities which are desolating the American continent, we have to be guided beyond all by the friendship which actuates the Government of the Emperor in regard to the United States. The little success of our overtures might chill the interest with which we follow the fluctuations of this contest; but the sentiment to which we have yielded is too sincere for indifference to find a place in our thoughts, that we should cease to be painfully affected while the war continues to rage. We cannot regard without profound regret this war worse than civil, comparable to the most terrible distractions of the ancient republics, and whose disasters multiply in proportion to the resources and the valor which each of the belligerent parties develop. The Government of His Majesty have, therefore, seriously examined the objections which have been made to us when we have suggested the idea of a friendly mediation, and we have asked ourselves whether they are truly of a nature to set aside as premature every tentative to reconciliation. On one part has been opposed to us the repugnance of the United States to admit the intervention of foreign influence in the dispute; on the other, the hope which the Federal Government has not abandoned, of attaining its solution by force of arms. Assuredly, sir, recourse to the good offices of one or several neutral powers contains nothing incompatible with the pride so legitimate amidst a great nation, and means purely international are not those alone which furnish examples of the useful character of mediation. We flat-

* This suspicion was strengthened by the disclosure, through the interception of some dispatches of the Confederate Government, of an intrigue on the part of the French consular agents at New Orleans and Galveston to obtain control of Texas. The French Government, however, disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of these agents.

ter ourselves, besides, that in proffering to place ourselves at the disposal of the belligerent parties to facilitate between their negotiations, the basis of which we abstain from prejudging, we have manifested to the patriotism of the United States all the considerations to which it is entitled—now, perhaps, still more than ever, after such new proof of moral force and energy. We are none the less ready, amid the wishes which we form in favor of peace, to take into account all the susceptibilities of national feeling; and we do not at all question the right of the Federal Government to decline the co-operation (*concours*) of the great maritime powers of Europe. But this co-operation, is it not the only means which offers itself to the Cabinet of Washington to hasten the close of the war? And if it believes that it ought to repel any foreign intervention, could it not honorably accept the idea of direct (*pourparlers*) informal conferences with the authority which may represent the States of the South? The Federal Government does not despair, we know, of giving a more active impulse to hostilities. Its sacrifices have not exhausted its resources, still less its perseverance and its steadfastness. The protraction of the struggle, in a word, has not shaken its confidence in the definitive success of its efforts.

"But the opening of informal conferences between the belligerent parties does not necessarily imply the immediate cessation of hostilities. Negotiations about peace are not always the consequence of a suspension of warfare. They precede, on the contrary, more often the establishment of a truce. How many times have we not seen plenipotentiaries meet, exchange communications, agree upon all the essential provisions of treaties—resolve, in fine, the question even of peace or war—while the leaders of armies continued the strife, and endeavored, even to the latest moment, to modify by force of arms the conditions of peace. To recall only one memory drawn from the history of the United States—the negotiations which consecrated their independence were commenced long before hostilities had ceased in the New World, and the armistice was not established until the act of the 30th November, 1782, which, under the name of provisional articles, embraced in advance the principal clauses of the definitive treaty of 1783. Nothing, therefore, would hinder the Government of the United States, without renouncing the advantage which it believes it can attain by the continuation of the war, from entering upon informal conferences with the Confederates of the South, in case they should show themselves disposed thereto. Representatives or commissioners of the two parties could assemble at such point as it should be deemed proper to designate, and which could for this purpose be declared neutral. Reciprocal complaints would be examined into at this meeting. In place of the accusations which North and South mutually cast upon each other at this time, would be substituted an argumentative discussion of the interests which divide them. They would seek

out, by means of well ordered and profound deliberations, whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable; whether separation is an extreme which can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of common existence, whether the ties of any kind which have made of the North and of the South one sole and whole federative state, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations. A negotiation, the object of which would be thus determinative, would not involve any of the objections raised against the diplomatic intervention of Europe, and, without giving birth to the same hopes as the immediate conclusion of an armistice, would exercise a happy influence on the march of events. Why, therefore, should not a combination, which respects all the relations of the United States, obtain the approbation of the Federal Government? Persuaded on our part that it is in conformity with their true interests, we do not hesitate to recommend it to their attention, and, not having sought in the project of a mediation of the maritime powers of Europe any vain display of influence, we would applaud, with entire freedom from all susceptibilities of self-esteem, the opening of a negotiation which would invite the two populations to discuss, without the co-operation of Europe, the solution of their differences.

"I request you, sir, to give this assurance to the Cabinet at Washington, while commending to its wisdom counsels dictated by most sincere interest in the prosperity of the United States. You are, moreover, authorized, if Mr. Seward expresses the wish, to leave with him a copy of this dispatch.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

"DROUYN DE L'HUYS."

The proposition of the French Emperor was thus declined in the dispatch of Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, the American minister to France:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 6, 1863.

"WM. L. DAYTON, ESQ., ETC., ETC.,

"SIR—The intimation given in your dispatch of January 15 (No. 255), that I might expect a special visit from M. Mercier, has been realized. He called on the 3d instant, and gave me a copy of a dispatch he had just received from M. Drouyn de L'Huys, under the date of the 9th of January. I have taken the President's instructions, and I now proceed to give you his ideas upon the subject in question. It has been considered with seriousness, resulting from the reflection that the people of France are known to be faultless sharers with the American nation in the misfortunes and calamities of our unhappy civil war. Nor do we on this, any more than on other occasions, forget the traditional friendship of the two countries, which we unhesitatingly believe has inspired the counsels that M. Drouyn de L'Huys has imparted. He says: 'The Federal Government does not despair, we know, of giving more active impulse to hostilities;' and again he remarks: 'The

protraction of the struggle, in a word, has not shaken the confidence of the Federal Government in the definitive success of its efforts.' These passages seem to me to do unintentional injustice to the language, whether confidential or public, in which this Government has constantly spoken on the subject of the war. It certainly has had and avowed only one purpose—a determination to preserve the integrity of the country. So far from admitting any laxity of effort, or betraying any despondency, the Government has, on the contrary, borne itself cheerfully in all vicissitudes with unvarying confidence in an early and complete triumph of the national cause. Now, when we are in a manner invited by a friendly power to review the twenty-one months' history of the conflict, we find no occasion to abate that confidence through which, in an alternation of victories and defeats, as is the appointed incident of war, the land and naval forces of the United States have steadily advanced, reclaiming from the insurgents the ports, forts, and posts which they had treacherously seized before the strife actually begun, and even before it was seriously apprehended. So many of the States and districts which the insurgents included in the field of their projected exclusive slave-holding dominion have already been re-established under the flag of the Union, that they now retain only the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Texas, with half of Virginia, half of North Carolina, two-thirds of South Carolina, half of Mississippi, and one-third respectively of Arkansas and Louisiana. The national forces hold even this small territory in close blockade and siege. This Government, if required, does not hesitate to submit its achievements to the test of comparison, and it maintains that in no part of the world, and in no times, ancient or modern, has a nation, when rendered all unready for combat by the enjoyment of eighty years of almost unbroken peace, so quickly awakened at the alarm of sedition, put forth energies so vigorous, and achieved successes so signal and effective as those which have marked the progress of this contest on the part of the Union.

"M. Drouyn de L'Huys, I fear, has taken other light than the correspondence of this Government for his guidance in ascertaining its temper and finances. He has probably read of divisions of sentiment among those who hold themselves forth as organs of public opinion here, and has given to them an undue importance. It is to be remembered that this nation of thirty millions is civilly divided into forty-one States and Territories, which cover an expanse hardly less than Europe; that the people are a pure democracy, exercising everywhere the utmost freedom of speech and suffrage; that a great crisis necessarily produces vehement as well as profound debate, with sharp collisions of individual, local, and sectional interests, sentiments, and convictions, and that this heat of controversy is increased by the intervention of speculations, interests, prejudices, and passions from every other part of the civilized world. It is, how-

ever, through such debates that the agreement of the nation upon any subject is habitually attained, its resolutions formed, and its policy established; while there has been much difference of popular opinion and favor concerning the agents who shall carry on the war, the principles on which it shall be waged, and the means with which it shall be prosecuted.

"M. Drouyn de L'Huys has only to refer to the statute books of Congress and the executive ordinances to learn that the national activity has hitherto been and yet is as efficient as that of any other nation, whatever its form of government, ever was under circumstances of equally grave import to its peace, safety, and welfare. Not one voice has been raised anywhere out of the immediate field of the insurrection in favor of foreign intervention, or mediation, or arbitration, or of compromise, with the relinquishment of one acre of the national domain or the surrender of even one constitutional franchise. At the same time it is manifest to the world that our resources are yet abundant and our credit adequate to the existing emergency.

"What M. Drouyn de L'Huys suggests is, that this Government shall appoint commissioners to meet on neutral ground commissioners of the insurgents. He supposes that in the conferences to be thus held, reciprocal complaints could be discussed, and, in place of the accusations which the North and the South now mutually cast upon each other, the conference would be engaged with discussions of the interests which divide them. He assumes, further, 'that the commissioners would seek, by means of well-ordered and profound deliberations, whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable; whether separation is an extreme that can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of a common existence, the ties of every kind which have made of the North and the South one whole federative state, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations.' The suggestion is not an extraordinary one, and it may well have been thought by the Emperor of the French, in the earnestness of his benevolent desire for the restoration of peace, a feasible one.

"But when M. Drouyn de L'Huys shall come to review it in the light in which it must necessarily be examined in this country, I think he can hardly fail to perceive that it amounts to nothing less than a proposition that, while this Government is engaged in suppressing an armed insurrection with the purpose of maintaining the constitutional national authority and preserving the integrity of the country, it shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgents upon the questions whether that authority shall not be renounced, and whether the country shall not be delivered over to disunion, to be quickly followed by ever increasing anarchy. If it were possible for the Government of the United States to compromise the national authority so far as to enter into such debates, it is not easy to perceive

what good results could be obtained by them. The commissioners must agree in recommending either that the Union shall stand or that it shall be voluntarily dissolved, or else they must leave the vital question unsettled, to abide at least the fortunes of the war.

"The Government has not shut out knowledge of the present temper, any more than of the past purposes, of the insurgents. There is not the least ground to suppose that the controlling actors would be persuaded, at this moment, by any arguments which a national commissioner could offer, to forego the ambition that has impelled them to the disloyal position they are occupying. Any commissioner who should be appointed by those actors, or through their dictation or influence, must enter the conference imbued with the spirit and pledged to the personal fortunes of the insurgent chiefs. The loyal people in the insurrectionary States would be unheard, and any offer of peace by this Government on the condition of the maintenance of the Union must necessarily be rejected.

"On the other hand, as I have already intimated, this Government has not the least thought of relinquishing the trust which has been confided to it by the nation under the most solemn of all political sanctions; and if it had any such thought, it would have still abundant reason to know that peace, proposed at the cost of dissolution, would be immediately, universally, and indignantly rejected by the American people. It is a great mistake that European statesmen make if they suppose this people are demoralized. Whatever, in case of an insurrection, the people of France, or Great Britain, or Switzerland, or of the Netherlands, would do to save their national existence, no matter how the strife might be regarded by or affect foreign nations, just so much, and certainly no less, the people of the United States will do, if necessary, to save for the common benefit the region which is bounded by the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and by the shores of the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, together with the free and common navigation of the Rio Grande, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, St. Lawrence, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and other national highways by which this land, which to them is at once a land of inheritance and a land of promise, is opened and watered.

"Even if the agents of the American people, thus exercising their power, should, through fear of faction, fall below this height of national virtue, they would be speedily, yet constitutionally, replaced by others of sterner character and patriotism.

"I must be allowed to say, also, that M. Drouyn de L'Huys errs in his description of the parties to the present conflict. We have here, in a political sense, no North, no South—no Northern, no Southern States. We have an insurrectionary party which is located upon, and is chiefly adjacent to, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and we have, on the other hand, a loyal people, who constitute not only Northern States, but Eastern, Middle, Western, and South-

ern States. I have on many occasions heretofore submitted to the French Government the President's views of the interests and ideas which lie at the bottom of the determination of the American Government and people to maintain the federal Union. The President has done the same thing in his messages and other public declarations. I refrain, therefore, from reviewing that argument in connection with the existing question. M. Drouyn de L'Huys draws to his aid the conferences which took place between the colonies and Great Britain in our Revolutionary War. He will allow me to answer that action, in the crisis of a nation, must accord with its necessities, and therefore can be seldom conformed to precedents. Great Britain, when entering on that negotiation, had manifestly come to entertain doubts of her ultimate success, and it is certain that the councils of the colonies could not have failed to take new courage, if not to gain other advantage, when the parent state compromised so far as to treat of peace on the terms of conceding their independence. It is true, indeed, that peace must come some time, and that conferences must attend if they are not allowed to precede the pacification. There is, however, a better form for such conferences than the one which M. Drouyn de L'Huys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because destitute of the sanction necessary to bind, either to the loyal or disloyal portions of the people.

"On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional forum for debates between the alienated parties. Senators and representatives from the loyal people are there already, fully empowered to confer. And seats are also vacant, and inviting the senators and representatives of the discontented party, who may be constitutionally sent there from the States involved in the insurrection. Moreover, the conferences which can thus be held in Congress have this great advantage over any that could be organized on the plan of M. Drouyn de L'Huys, viz., that Congress, if it thought wise, could call a national convention to adopt its recommendations, and give them all the solemnity and binding force of organic law. Such conferences between the alienated parties may be said to have already begun. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, States which are claimed by the insurgents, are already represented in Congress, and are submitting, with perfect freedom and in a proper spirit, their advice upon the course best calculated to bring about in the shortest time a firm, lasting, and honorable peace. Representatives have been sent, also, from Louisiana; and others are understood to be coming from Arkansas. There is a preponderating argument in favor of the Congressional form of conference over that which is suggested by M. Drouyn de L'Huys, viz., that, while accession to the latter would bring the Government into concurrences with the insurgents in disregarding and setting

aside an important part of the constitution of the United States, and so would be of pernicious example, the Congressional conference, on the contrary, preserves and gives new strength to that sacred instrument, which must continue through future ages the sheet-anchor of the republic.

"You will be at liberty to read this dispatch to M. Drouyn de L'Huys, and to give him a copy if he shall desire it. To the end, that you may be informed of the whole case, I transmit a copy of M. Drouyn de L'Huys' dispatch.

"I am sir, your obedient servant,

"WM. H. SEWARD."

CHAPTER XLV.

Second Session of Thirty-seventh Congress.—President Lincoln's Message.—Report of the Secretary of War.—Report of the Secretary of the Navy.—Secretary of the Treasury's Report.—Action of the Democrats in Congress.—Peace Advocates.—Action of the Republicans.—Their Voice for War.—Great Power given to the President.—Conscription Bill.—The $300 Clause.—Finance Bill.—Bank Act.—Act of Indemnity.—The Separation of Eastern Virginia.—Act Restricting the Trade in Precious Metals.—The Resolution responsive to the Proposal of the Emperor of France.—President authorized to issue Letters of Marque in Retaliation of the Action of Great Britain in regard to the Alabama, etc.—Adjournment of Congress.—Session of Confederate Congress.—Message of Jefferson Davis.—Memminger's Report.—Action of Confederate Congress.—Adjournment of Confederate Congress.

THE Thirty-seventh Congress met in second session on the 1st of December, 1862. On the same day President Lincoln sent in his message. In regard to the war little was said beyond what was contained in this devout paragraph: "While it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with the return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that in His own good time and wise way all will be well."

1862, and 1863.

Reiterating the opinion that slavery was the cause of the war, and that its extirpation would end it, the President proposed a plan of emancipation. To effect this he advised that, through an amendment of the constitution, compensation be offered to those States which should abolish slavery before the year 1900. This proposition, however, he declared was not intended to supersede the proclamation of the 22d of September, manumitting the slaves of the States in rebellion. The President thus seemed resolved, contrary to the sanguine expectations of many, to persist in his anti-slavery policy. Though Mr. Lincoln confessed that the difficulties in the expatriation of the freed negroes were very great, he was yet hopeful that it might be finally accomplished.

In regard to the financial condition of the country, the message was not very explicit, but the President expressed his desire for the earliest possible return to specie payments. He deprecated a too free issue of legal tender notes, and

seemed to favor a recourse to loans. He, moreover, gave his sanction to the plan supposed to have been suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, of raising money for the war by the establishment of banks of issue whose notes should be uniform, and their credit based upon a deposit of United States bonds with the Treasury Department.

The President, while regretting that our foreign relations were less gratifying than they had been, consoled himself with the reflection that they were more satisfactory than might have been expected by a nation involved in the necessary complications of such a war.

The reports of the various heads of departments were submitted in due course. The Secretary of War stated that the field of operations was embraced in ten military departments; that the forces operating in these amounted, by the latest official returns, to 775,336 officers and privates, fully armed and equipped; that subsequently this number had been increased to over 800,000, and that when the quotas should be filled up, there would be a million of men in all. The Secretary of War concluded his report with an acknowledgment of the valor of the troops, and the skill and gallantry of the officers, as manifested at Yorktown, Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Gaines' Mill, Malvern, Cross Keys, Cedar Mountain, Chantilly, and elsewhere.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy contained a lengthy narrative of the exploits of our fleet and gun-boats, to which was added a summary of the immense additions made to the naval force.

When he assumed charge of the Navy Department in March, 1861, reported the Secretary, there were but forty-two vessels in commission, and most of them abroad. There were only 7,600 seamen then in the pay of the Government, and on the 10th of March, only 207 in all the ports and receiving-ships of the Atlantic coast, to man our ships, protect the navy-yards and dépôts, and aid in suppressing the rising insurrection. At the time of the Secretary's report, the Government had afloat, or progressing to completion, a naval force of 427 vessels, carrying 3,268 guns. So suddenly increased and so vast a naval armament had not been witnessed in modern times. Of the 427 vessels in service, 104 only were sailing vessels, 323 were steam vessels, and 123 of these latter had been added by construction. These new vessels of war were of no mean capacity and calibre, as the following description of them will show:

Description.	No. of Vessels.	Guns.	Tons.
Second-class screw sloops of war....	13	16	16,396
Screw gun-boats.....	27	116	14,033
Side-wheel gun-boats	39	296	56,377
Armored wooden vessels.....	12	65	20,893
Armored iron vessels.....	32	74	32,631
Total.....	123	567	120,330

In his important fiscal report, the Secretary of the Treasury presented the following estimates:

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1862.

RECEIPTS.

From Balance in Treasury.....	$2,257,065 80
From Customs, Lands, and Miscellaneous Sources.....	50,140,389 03
From Direct Tax	1,795,331 73
From Loans. (The entire amount of Loans of all kinds was $529,692,460,	

50; from this should be deducted $96,096,922 09, devoted to the repayment of temporary loans, and the redemption of Treasury Notes, etc) This sum properly forming no part of Receipts or Expenditures, the total Receipts from Loans were 433,595,538 41

Total Receipts..... $487,788,324 97

EXPENDITURES.

For Civil List, etc.....	$21,408,491 16	
For Pensions and Indians.....	3,102,985 50	
For Interest on Public Debt..... ..	13,190,324 45	
For War Department.	394,368,407 36	
For Navy Department	42,674,569 69	
Total Expenditures.....		$474,744,778 16
Leaving Balance in Treasury July 1, 1862.....		$13,043,546 81

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1863, THE RECEIPTS FOR THE LAST THREE QUARTERS BEING ESTIMATED.

RECEIPTS.

From Balance in Treasury.....	$13,043,546 81
From Customs, Lands, etc..	70,374,777 07
From Direct Tax.....	11,620,717 99
From Internal Duties.....	85,456,303 73
Total Receipts.....	$180,495,345 60

EXPENDITURES.

For Civil List, etc....	$32,811,543 23	
For Interior Department	5,982,906 43	
For War Department.	747,359,828 98	
For Navy Department	82,177,510 77	
For Interest on Public Debt.....	25,014,532 07	
Total, besides Public Debt.....	$893,346,321 48	
Deduct sum estimated to be undrawn.....	200,000,000 00	
Total Expenses for Government and the War	$693,346,321 48	
Add payments of Public Debt which will become due.....	95,212,456 14	
Total Expenditures for the year.		$788,558,777 62
Excess of Expenditures over direct Income		$608,063,432 02
From Loans have been received up to Nov. 30, and applied to the expenses of the Year.	$200,129,717 01	
The estimated additional Receipts from sources under existing laws are.....	131,021,197 35	
Total estimated Receipts from all sources.....		$331,150,914 36
Showing a total Deficiency of...		$276,912,517 66

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1864 (ESTIMATED).

RECEIPTS.

From Customs	$70,000,000 00
From Lands	25,000 00
From Miscellaneous Sources.....	3,000,000 00
From Internal Duties.....	150,000,000 00
Aggregate.....	$223,025,000 00

EXPENDITURES.

Balance of former appropriations estimated to be unexpended July 1, 1863	$200,000,000 00
For Civil Service, etc.....	25,091,510 08
For Interior Department.....	10,346,577 01
For the War Department.....	738,829,146 80
For the Navy Department.....	68,257,255 01
For Interest on Public Debt	33,503,890 50
Principal on Public Debt.....	19,384,804 16
Total	$1,095,413,183 56
Of this amount of $1,095,413,183 56 it is estimated that there will remain undrawn on the 30th of June, 1864, the sum of	250,000,000 00
Aggregate for the year.....	$845,413,183 56
The estimated Receipts, as before stated, for that year are placed at.....	223,025,000 00
Leaving to be provided for by Loans, the sum of.....	$622,388,183 56

Mr. Chase recommended that the deficiency for the current year be raised by loans, and that no more legal tender notes be issued.

Though the minority in Congress, consisting of most of the members from the border States and many of the Democrats, made strenuous opposition, the majority, devoted to the Administration, succeeded in overcoming all resistance, and voting every measure of the Government. The triumph of the Democrats in various elections, in the Middle and Western States, had encouraged some of their representatives to oppose

vigorously the war policy of the party in power. Mistaking the popular vote for an indication of a desire on the part of the people for peace, a few Democratic leaders, who had early avowed their aversion to the war, ventured now in Congress to advocate a compromise and truce with the enemy. The Republicans, with a more shrewd appreciation of the popular sentiment, believed that the people were not yet discouraged, and would not only frown upon the hasty peace-makers, but favor the most belligerent. The elections, which had resulted unfavorably to the Republican party, were attributed by its leaders to a popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, rather than with the war itself. They thus hoped that by increased energy in carrying on hostilities for the future, they might again recover the favor of the people, which had been temporarily lost by the mistakes and delays of the past. They, accordingly, in spite of the opposition of a small but vigorous minority in Congress, the partial success of the Democratic party, and the unfavorable legislative action of some of the Border and Middle States, determined to bestow upon the Government the utmost power for the execution of its purposes. Thus resolved, they enacted a series of measures which gave the President almost despotic authority. The principal of these were the acts of conscription, finance, and indemnity, by which the Executive was endowed with the command of the sword, the purse, and the person.

By the Conscription Bill, all the males of the loyal States, not excepting negroes and Indians, between the ages of 20 and 45, were enrolled into a national militia, and the President empowered to call them into the service of the United States for three years, or the war. The militia thus enrolled was divided into two classes: 1st, persons between 20 and 35, whether married or single, and these between 35 and 45, if unmarried; and 2d, married men between 35 and 45. The only exemptions were the President and Vice-President, and one adult male in each family where there were aged parents or infant children dependent upon his labor for support. By the payment of the sum of $300, however, to the Government, an exemption could be obtained by any drafted person. By this provision it was supposed that clergymen, teachers, and others, belonging to the wealthier classes, might be relieved from a service which they were unable or disinclined to perform, while they were contributing a sum which would obtain a substitute among the needy or warlike.

The Finance Bill empowered the President to issue $550,000,000 of legal tender paper currency in addition to the $300,000,000 primarily authorized. Of this amount, $150,000,000 were to be of the kind already in circulation, and the $400,000,000 remaining, to be interest-bearing notes, which might be either a legal tender themselves, or exchangeable for such, on presentation. By this bill the President was moreover authorized to negotiate, on such terms as he should deem proper, United States

bonds redeemable in not less than ten, and not more than twenty years, to bear an interest not over six per cent., payable in gold.

The Bank Act proposed by Mr. Chase, and adopted by Congress, further increased the financial power of the Government, by giving it the control of the banks. By this act, any individual or corporation was empowered to establish a bank on the basis of Government securities, and to issue a uniform currency based on the deposit of such securities, and within ten per cent. of their market value.

The most extensive concession, however, of personal rights, was by the act which gave the President indemnity for all past arrests of citizens without form of law, and granted him the power of suspending the writ of Habeas Corpus in the future, whenever and wherever he might deem it necessary.

The separation of Western from Eastern Virginia, necessarily without the consent of the latter State, and its admission into the Federal Union as a new State, was another stretch of power which a Congress not overscrupulous in regard to its constitutional obligations did not hesitate to make. The President, though supposed to have hesitated in giving his sanction to a measure which was expressly forbidden by the letter of constitutional law, finally yielded his assent to the act admitting Western Virginia into the Union.

Financially embarrassed by the great depreciation of the national currency and the proportionate rise of gold, which had reached the price of $1 73 cents in paper, the Government prevailed upon Congress to pass an act restricting the trade in the precious metals. This arbitrary interference with the transactions of commerce was justified on the ground that the rise of gold was attributable to the avidity of speculators, and not to the exigency of the laws of trade.

The foreign relations of the country, always a subject of inquietude since the commencement of the war, became now a source of increased anxiety, from the acknowledged eagerness of the French Emperor to mediate, and the suspected inertness of the British Government in preventing its subjects from giving aid to the South, as in the case of the Alabama.

The proposition of mediation of the Emperor of France was met by a joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, repelling all foreign interference.

The national vexation in regard to the fitting out, in British ports, of the Florida, Alabama, and other vessels, for the service of the Southern Confederacy, was vented through Congress by an act passed by that body giving authority to the President to issue letters of marque.

On the 4th of March the Thirty-seventh Congress adjourned. Its acts, which we have recorded, will always be memorable in the history of the country as the most prodigal concessions of personal rights ever voluntarily made by a free people. Nothing could indicate more clearly the national devotion

to the Union than this profusion of sacrifice in its cause.

On the 12th of January, 1863, Jefferson Davis delivered his message to the Confederate Congress assembled at Richmond. Commencing with a review of past military operations, he said:

"The history of the two years of our national existence affords ample cause for congratulation, and demands the most fervent expression of our thankfulness to the Almighty Father who has blessed our cause. We are justified in asserting, with a pride surely not unbecoming, that these Confederate States have added another to the lessons taught by history for the instruction of man; that they have afforded another example of the impossibility of subjugating a people determined to be free, and have demonstrated that no superiority of numbers or available resources can overcome the resistance offered by such valor in combat, such constancy under suffering, and such cheerful endurance of privation as have been conspicuously displayed by this people in the defence of their rights and liberties. The anticipations with which we entered into the contest have now ripened into a conviction, which is not only shared with us by the common opinion of neutral nations, but is evidently forcing itself upon our enemies themselves. If we but mark the history of the present year by resolute perseverance in the path we have hitherto pursued, by vigorous effort in the development of all our resources for defence, and by the continued exhibition of the same unfaltering courage in our soldiers, and able conduct in their leaders, as have distinguished the past, we have every reason to expect that this will be the closing year of the war."

In regard to the policy of foreign governments relative to the war, Mr. Davis complained that, though "nominally impartial," it had been "practically most favorable to our enemies and most detrimental to us;" but he found consolation in the correspondence between France and England and Russia on the subject of mediation.

Though generally so subdued in tone and dignified in expression, Mr. Davis seemed to have lost all self-control when alluding to his enemies, whose conduct he passionately denounced.

In regard to finance, Mr. Davis recommended the adoption of some comprehensive system, as follows:

"The increasing public debt, the great augmentation in the volume of the currency, with its necessary concomitant of extravagant prices for all articles of consumption, the want of revenue from a taxation adequate to support the public credit, all unite in admonishing us that energetic and wise legislation alone can prevent serious embarrassment in our monetary affairs. It is my conviction that the people of the Confederacy will freely meet taxation on a scale adequate to the maintenance of the public credit and the support of their government. When each family is sending forth its most precious ones to meet exposure in camp and death in battle, what ground can there be to doubt the disposition to devote a tithe of its income, and more,

if more be necessary, to provide the government with means for insuring the comfort of its defenders? If our enemies submit to an excise on every commodity they produce, and to the daily presence of the tax-gatherer, with no higher motive than the hope of success in their wicked designs against us, the suggestion of an unwillingness on the part of this people to submit to the taxation necessary for the success of their defence is an imputation on their patriotism that few will be disposed to make, and that none can justify."

The message, after a general reference to the operations of the various departments of state, closed with this exulting account of the progress of the Southern Confederacy:

"Our armies," boasted Mr. Davis, "are larger, better disciplined, and more thoroughly armed and equipped than at any previous period of the war; the energies of a whole nation, devoted to the single object of success in this war, have accomplished marvels, and many of our trials have by a beneficent Providence been converted into blessings. The magnitude of the perils which we encountered have developed the true qualities and illustrated the heroic character of our people, thus gaining for the Confederacy from its birth a just appreciation from the other nations of the earth. The injuries resulting from the interruption of foreign commerce have received compensation by the developments of our internal resources. Cannon crown our fortresses that were cast from the proceeds of mines opened and furnaces built during the war. Our mountain caves yield much of the nitre for the manufacture of powder, and promise increase of product. From our own foundries and laboratories, from our own armories and workshops, we derive, in a great measure, the warlike material, the ordnance and ordnance stores, which are expended so profusely in the numerous and desperate engagements that rapidly succeed each other. Cotton and woollen fabrics, shoes and harness, wagons and gun carriages, are produced in daily increasing quantities by the factories springing into existence. Our fields, no longer whitened by cotton that cannot be exported, are devoted to the production of cereals and the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton. In the homes of our noble and devoted women—without whose sublime sacrifices our success would have been impossible—the noise of the loom and the spinning-wheel may be heard throughout the land."

The action of the Confederate Congress was chiefly confined to measures of domestic interest. The resolutions, however, offered in favor of proclaiming the free navigation of the Mississippi, with the view of conciliating the loyal people of the Northwest, opened a subject of wider import. This action was suggested by the aversion to a continuance of the war thought to be indicated by the result of the elections in some of the Western States, and was designed to encourage the supposed inclinations of their inhabitants to peace.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Emancipation Proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863.—How it was received.—Approval and Joy of the Republicans.—Objections of the Democrats.—State Resolutions.—Agitation of the People.—Sudden Reaction.—The Government Supported.—Action of certain Democratic Leaders.—Loyal Leagues.—Rage at the South.—Jefferson Davis excited.—Revengeful Counter-Proclamation.—General Butler Outlawed.—Effect in Europe of the Proclamation of Davis.—The Confederate Congress opposes the Retaliatory Propositions of Davis.—Effect of the Emancipation Proclamation in Europe.—Earl Russell's Condemnation.—The Imperial Press of France condemns.—The Workingmen of Great Britain approve.

ALTHOUGH great efforts had been made by the leaders of the Democratic party, and the representatives in Congress of the border slave States, to induce President Lincoln to swerve from his purpose, he persisted in giving full effect to his proclamation of September 22d, 1862. On the 1st of January, 1863, he accordingly issued this second proclamation, confirmatory of the first:

1863.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"'That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free, and the executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom.'

"'That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.'

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as com-

mander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

"Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued).

"And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

"Secretary of State."

At the North, this document was variously received, according to the political bias of party. The Republicans highly approved and sanguinely anticipated immediate advantage from a

measure which they had long demanded as necessary to suppress the rebellion. The Democrats strenuously objected, and denounced the "radical" policy of the President as fatal to the cause of the Union. For a time party spirit was so excited that it was feared the North itself might become the scene of civil strife. The policy of the President was denounced by legislative resolutions which were passed in some of the States, as in New Jersey and in Kentucky, and only defeated in others, as in Illinois and Indiana, by political management.

While this storm was at its height, threatening the safety of the state, there came a sudden lull, calming popular agitation and allaying factious discord. The Government, just before tottering under the tumult of contending parties, now suddenly resumed its firmness, sustained by the steady support of the people. This surprising change, as mysterious as the varying phenomena of nature, was accompanied by circumstances which excite curiosity but perplex inquiry. Popular leaders who, but a few days before, had denounced the Government and counselled opposition, now praised the one and deprecated the other. Attempts have been made to solve the mystery of this sudden change. Some have flattered themselves that they discovered the solution in the formidable attitude of a million of armed men under the control of the Government; some, in the scorn with which the enemy had treated those agitators, whose action was supposed to be conciliatory toward them; some, maliciously disposed, suggested that the solution was to be found in a discreet fear of an Executive endowed with almost absolute power, or a corrupt desire of currying favor with so mighty a potentate; while the charitably inclined attributed this unexpected political conversion to the patriotic motive of checking the rising anarchy by a sacrifice of personal opinion to the general harmony.

The Republicans now shrewdly strove to secure the permanent adhesion of their newly acquired Democratic coadjutors by the formation of "loyal leagues," the members of which were pledged to unconditional support of the Government during the war. By this means, those whose facility of conversion might create a doubt of the constancy of their convictions, were fixed in the faith. Struck in the heat, they were so firmly welded, that when cooled to their original temper and disposed to fly off, they would be unable to escape from the combination, however incongruous.

The insurgents of the South, while they affected to believe that President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation would prove of no effect in weakening their hold upon the slaves, could not conceal their rage at its issue. Jefferson Davis lost his usual mastery over his temper, and issued a revengeful counter-proclamation. In this document, anticipating the appearance of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, he not only threatened retaliation in case that should be carried into effect, but invoked retribution upon General Butler for his acts at New

Orleans, and other officers of the United States charged with outrage.

"I, Jefferson Davis," declared that official, "President of the Confederate States of America, and in their name, do pronounce and declare the said Benjamin F. Butler to be a felon, deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he shall no longer be considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that, in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging."

In regard to Butler's subordinates, Jefferson Davis ordered:

"That all the commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals deserving death; and that they and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution."

President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation was responded to by the vindictive order:

"That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

"That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy."

The ferocious spirit of this proclamation of Davis shocked his friends in Europe, who had hitherto professed such a tender regard for his interests and boasted so loudly of his moderation, tact, and good taste. Even the Congress of the Confederates doubted the policy of retaliation suggested by their President, and passed resolutions adverse to its exercise.

In Europe, the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln was met by the ruling classes with expressions of dissatisfaction. Denying all philanthropic motive in its issue, they denounced it as a vindictive war measure. Earl Russell, the foreign secretary of the British Government, a fair exponent probably of aristocratic opinion in England, thus emphatically gave in his verdict of condemnation:

"My Lord:" he wrote to Lord Lyons in a dispatch, Jan. 17th, 1863—"The proclamation of the President of the United States, inclosed in your lordship's dispatch of the 2d inst., appears to be of a very strange nature.

"It professes to emancipate all slaves in places where the United States authorities cannot exercise any jurisdiction nor make emancipation a reality; but it does not decree emancipation of slaves in any States or parts of States occupied by Federal troops, and subject to United States jurisdiction, and where, therefore, emancipation, if decreed, might have been carried into effect.

"It would seem to follow that in the border States, and also in New Orleans, a slave owner may recover his fugitive slave by the ordinary process of law,

but that in the ten States in which the proclamation decrees emancipation, a fugitive slave arrested by legal warrant may resist, and his resistance, if successful, is to be upheld and aided by the United States authorities and the United States armed forces.

"The proclamation, therefore, makes slavery at once legal and illegal, and makes slaves either punishable for running away from their masters, or entitled to be supported and encouraged in so doing, according to the locality of the plantation to which they belong, and the loyalty of the State in which they may happen to be.

"There seems to be no declaration of a principle adverse to slavery in this proclamation. It is a measure of war, and a measure of war of a very questionable kind.

"As President Lincoln has twice appealed to the judgment of mankind in his proclamation, I venture to say I do not think it can or ought to satisfy the friends of abolition, who look for total and impartial freedom for the slave, and not for vengeance on the slave owner."

The official journals of France, representing the views of the Emperor and his Government, gave expression to similar opinions. The people, however, both English and French, accepted the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln as a sincere effort in the cause of freedom, and although disappointed at the restrictions to the act of emancipation, generously attributed them to the force of circumstances beyond the control of the President. Such was the approval of Mr. Lincoln's action among many in England, that large assemblages of the people gathered in the manufacturing districts and voted resolutions and addresses of sympathy and admiration.

CHAPTER XLVII.

General Grant assumes the Command in Person, and appears before Vicksburg.—Grant's Report of his Operations.—General Sherman's Operations.—Sherman's Report.—Siege of Vicksburg.—Surrender of Vicksburg.

After the unsuccessful attempts by Generals Sherman and McClernand with the co-operation of the fleet under Admiral Porter, to flank and capture the enemy's great stronghold on the Mississippi, General Grant assumed the command in person. With a largely increased force, that amounted to about a hundred and fifty thousand men, and the continued aid of the navy, General Grant began that series of operations which resulted, after an unexampled exercise of skill, toil, and patience, in capturing Vicksburg. His own succinct and comprehensive narrative is the most authentic record of the great work.

1863.

"From the moment of taking com-

mand in person," says General Grant in his official report, July 6th, 1863, "I became satisfied that Vicksburg could only be turned from the south side, and, in accordance with this conviction, I prosecuted the work on the canal, which had been located by Brigadier-General Williams across the peninsula, on the Louisiana side of the river, with all vigor, hoping to make a channel which would pass transports for moving the army and carrying supplies to the new base of operations thus provided. The task was much more herculean than it at first appeared, and was made much more so by the almost continuous rains that fell during the whole of the time this work was prosecuted. The river, too, continued to rise and make a large expenditure of labor necessary to keep the water out of our camps and the canal.

"Finally, on the 8th of March, the rapid rise of the river, and the consequent great pressure upon the dam across the canal, near the upper end, at the main Mississippi levee, caused it to give way and let through the low lands back of our camps a torrent of water that separated the north and south shores of the peninsula as effectually as if the Mississippi flowed between them. This occurred when the enterprise promised success within a short time. There was some delay in trying to repair damages. It was found, however, that with the then stage of water some other plan would have to be adopted for getting below Vicksburg with transports.

"Captain F. E. Prime, chief engineer, and Colonel G. G. Pride, who was acting on my staff, prospected a route through the bayous which run from near Milliken's Bend on the north and New Carthage on the south through Roundaway Bayou into the Tensas River. Their report of the practicability of this route determined me to commence work upon it. Having three dredge boats at the time, the work of opening this route was executed with great rapidity. One small steamer and a number of barges were taken through the channel thus opened, but the river commencing about the middle of April to fall rapidly, and the roads becoming passable between Milliken's Bend and New Carthage, made it impracticable and unnecessary to open water communication between these points.

"Soon after commencing the first canal spoken of, I caused a channel to be cut from the Mississippi River into Lake Providence; also one from the Mississippi River into Coldwater, by way of Yazoo Pass.

"I had no great expectations of important results from the former of these, but having more troops than could be employed to advantage at Young's Point, and knowing that Lake Providence was connected by Bayou Baxter with Bayou Macon, a navigable stream through which transports might pass into the Mississippi below, through Tensas, Wachita, and Red rivers, I thought it possible that a route might be opened in that direction which would enable me to co-operate with General Banks at Port Hudson.

"By the Yazoo Pass route I only expected at first to get into the Yazoo by way of Coldwater and Tallahatchie with some lighter gun-boats and a few troops, and destroy the enemy's transports in that stream and some gun-boats which I knew he was building. The navigation, however, proved so much better than had been expected, that I thought for a time of the possibility of making this the route for obtaining the foothold on high land above Haines' Bluff, Mississippi, and small-class steamers were accordingly ordered for transporting an army that way. Major-General J. B. McPherson, commanding seventeenth army corps, was directed to hold his corps in readiness to move by this route; and one division from each the thirteenth and fifteenth corps were collected near the entrance of the pass, to be added to his command. It soon became evident that a sufficient number of boats of the right class could not be obtained for the movement of more than one division.

"While my forces were opening one end of the pass the enemy was diligently closing the other end, and in this way succeeded in gaining time to strongly fortify Greenwood, below the junction of the Tallahatchie and Yallobusha. The advance of the expedition, consisting of one division of McClernand's corps from Helena, commanded by Brigadier-General L. F. Ross, and the Twelfth and Seventeenth regiments Missouri infantry, from Sherman's corps, as sharp-shooters on the gun-boats, succeeded in reaching Coldwater on the 2d of March, after much difficulty, and the partial disabling of most of the boats. From the entrance into Coldwater to Fort Pemberton, at Greenwood, Mississippi, no great difficulty of navigation was experienced, nor any interruption of magnitude from the enemy. Fort Pemberton extends from the Tallahatchie to the Yazoo at Greenwood. Here the two rivers come within a few hundred yards of each other. The land around the fort is low, and at the time of the attack was entirely overflowed. Owing to this fact, no movement could be made by the army to reduce it, but all depended upon the ability of the gun-boats to silence the guns of the enemy and enable the transports to run down and land troops immediately on the fort itself. After an engagement of several hours the gun-boats drew off, being unable to silence the batteries. Brigadier-General J. F. Quimby, commanding a division of McPherson's corps, met the expedition under Ross with his division on its return near Fort Pemberton, on the 21st of March, and, being the senior, assumed command of the entire expedition, and returned to the position Ross had occupied.

"On the 23d day of March, I sent orders. for the withdrawal of all the forces operating in that direction, for the purpose of concentrating my army at Milliken's Bend.

"On the 14th day of March, Admiral D. D. Porter, commanding Mississippi squadron, informed me that he had made a reconnoissance up Steel's Bayou, and partially through Black Bayou toward Deer Creek, and so far as explored these

water-courses were reported navigable for the smaller iron-clads. Information given mostly, I believe, by the negroes of the country, was to the effect that Deer Creek could be navigated to Rolling Fork, and that from there, through the Sunflower to the Yazoo River, there was no question about the navigation. On the following morning I accompanied Admiral Porter in the ram Price—several iron-clads preceding us—up through Steel's Bayou to near Black Bayou.

"At this time our forces were at a dead-lock at Greenwood, and I looked upon the success of this enterprise as of vast importance. It would, if successful, leave Greenwood between two forces of ours, and would necessarily cause the immediate abandonment of that stronghold.

"About thirty steamers of the enemy would have been destroyed or fallen into our hands. Seeing that the great obstacle to navigation, so far as I had gone, was from overhanging trees, I left Admiral Porter near Black Bayou and pushed back to Young's Point for the purpose of sending forward a pioneer corps to remove these difficulties. Soon after my return to Young's Point, Admiral Porter sent back to me for a co-operating military force. Sherman was promptly sent with one division of his corps. The number of steamers suitable for the navigation of these bayous being limited, most of the force was sent up the Mississippi River to Eagle's Bend, a point where the river runs within one mile of Steel's Bayou, thus saving an important part of this difficult navigation. The expedition failed, probably more from want of knowledge as to what would be required to open this route, than from any impracticability in the navigation of the streams and bayous through which it was proposed to pass. Want of this knowledge led the expedition on until difficulties were encountered, and then it would become necessary to send back to Young's Point for the means of removing them. This gave the enemy time to move forces to effectually checkmate farther progress, and the expedition was withdrawn when within a few hundred yards of free and open navigation to the Yazoo.

"All this may have been providential in driving us ultimately to a line of operations which has proven eminently successful.

"As soon as I decided to open water communication from a point on the Mississippi near Milliken's Bend to New Carthage, I determined to occupy the latter place, it being the first point below Vicksburg that could be reached by land at the stage of water then existing, and the occupancy of which, while it secured to us a point on the Mississippi River, would also protect the main line of communication by water. Accordingly, the thirteenth army corps, Major-General J. A. McClernand commanding, was directed to take up its line of march on the 29th day of March, for New Carthage, the fifteenth and seventeenth corps to follow, moving no faster than supplies and ammunition could be transported to them.

"The roads though level were intolerably bad, and the movement was therefore necessarily slow. Arriving at Smith's plantation, two miles from New Carthage, it was found that the levee of Bayou Vidal was broken in several places, thus leaving New Carthage an island.

"All the boats that could be were collected from the different bayous in the vicinity, and others were built, but the transportation of an army in this way was found exceedingly tedious. Another route had to be found. This was done by making a further march around Vidal to Perkins' plantation, a distance of twelve miles more, making the whole distance to be marched from Milliken's Bend to reach water communication on the opposite side of the point thirty-five miles. Over this distance, with bad roads to contend against, supplies of ordnance stores and provisions had to be hauled by wagons, with which to commence the campaign on the opposite side of the river.

"At the same time that I ordered the occupation of New Carthage, preparations were made for running transports by the Vicksburg batteries with Admiral Porter's gun-boat fleet.

"On the night of the 16th of April, Admiral Porter's fleet and the transports Silver Wave, Forest Queen, and Henry Clay ran the Vicksburg batteries. The boilers of the transports were protected as well as possible with hay and cotton. More or less commissary stores were put on each. All three of these boats were struck more or less frequently while passing the enemy's batteries, and the Henry Clay, by the explosion of a shell, or by other means, was set on fire and entirely consumed. The other two boats were somewhat injured, but not seriously disabled. No one on board of either was hurt.

"As these boats succeeded in getting by so well, I ordered six more to be prepared in like manner for running the batteries. These latter, viz., Tigress, Anglo-Saxon, Cheeseman, Empire City, Horizonia, and Moderator, left Milliken's Bend on the night of the 22d of April, and five of them got by, but in a somewhat damaged condition. The Tigress received a shot in her hull below the water line, and sunk on the Louisiana shore soon after passing the last of the batteries. The crews of these steamers, with the exception of that of the Forest Queen, Captain D. Conway, and the Silver Wave, Captain McMillan, were composed of volunteers from the army. Upon the call for volunteers for this dangerous enterprise, officers and men presented themselves by hundreds, anxious to undertake the trip.

"It is a striking feature, so far as my observation goes, of the present volunteer army of the United States, that there is nothing which men are called upon to do, mechanical or professional, that accomplished adepts cannot be found for the duty required in almost every regiment.

"The transports injured in running the blockade were repaired by order of Admiral Porter, who was supplied with the material for such repairs as they

required, and who was and is ever ready to afford all the assistance in his power for the furtherance of the success of our arms. In a very short time five of the transports were in running order, and the remainder were in condition to be used as barges, in the moving of troops. Twelve barges loaded with forage and rations were sent in tow of the last six boats that run the blockade ; one-half of them got through in a condition to be used.

"Owing to the limited number of transports below Vicksburg it was found necessary to extend our line of land travel to Hard Times, Louisiana, which, by the circuitous route it was necessary to take, increased the distance to about seventy miles from Milliken's Bend, our starting-point.

"The thirteenth army corps being all through to the Mississippi, and the seventeenth army corps well on the way, so much of the thirteenth as could be got on board of the transports and barges were put aboard and moved to the front of Grand Gulf on the 29th of April. The plan here was that the navy should silence the guns of the enemy, and the troops land under cover of the gun-boats and carry the place by storm.

"At eight o'clock A.M. the navy made the attack, and kept it up for more than five hours in the most gallant manner. From a tug out in the stream I witnessed the whole engagement. Many times it seemed to me the gun-boats were within pistol-shot of the enemy's batteries. It soon became evident that the guns of the enemy were too elevated and their fortifications too strong to be taken from the water side. The whole range of hills on that side was known to be lined with rifle-pits ; besides, the field artillery could be moved to any position where it could be made useful in case of an attempt at landing. This determined me to run again the enemy's batteries, turn his position by effecting a landing at Rodney, or at Bruinsburg, between Grand Gulf and Rodney. Accordingly orders were immediately given for the troops to debark at Hard Times, Louisiana, and march across to the point immediately below Grand Gulf. At dark the gun-boats again engaged the batteries, and all the transports ran by, receiving but two or three shots in the passage, and these without injury. I had some time previously ordered a reconnoissance to a point opposite Bruinsburg, to ascertain if possible from persons in the neighborhood the character of the road leading to the highlands back of Bruinsburg. During the night I learned from a negro man that there was a good road from Bruinsburg to Port Gibson, which determined me to land there.

"The work of ferrying the troops to Bruinsburg was commenced at daylight in the morning, the gun-boats as well as transports being used for the purpose.

"As soon as the thirteenth army corps was landed, and could draw three days' rations to put in haversacks (no wagons were allowed to cross until the troops were all over), they were started on the road to Port Gibson. I deemed it a matter of vast importance that the

highlands should be reached without resistance.

"The seventeenth corps followed as rapidly as it could be put across the river.

"About two o'clock on the 1st of May, the advance of the enemy was met eight miles from Bruinsburg, on the road to Port Gibson. He was forced to fall back, but as it was dark, he was not pursued far until daylight. Early on the morning of the 1st I went out, accompanied by members of my staff, and found McClernand with his corps engaging the enemy about four miles from Port Gibson. At this point the roads branched in exactly opposite directions, both, however, leading to Port Gibson. The enemy had taken position on both branches, thus dividing as he fell back the pursuing forces. The nature of the ground in that part of the country is such that a very small force could retard the progress of a much larger one for many hours. The roads usually run on narrow, elevated ridges, with deep and impenetrable ravines on either side. On the right were the divisions of Hovey, Carr, and Smith, and on the left the division of Osterhaus, of McClernand's corps. The three former succeeded in driving the enemy from position to position back toward Port Gibson steadily all day.

"Osterhaus did not, however, move the enemy from the position occupied by him on our left, until Logan's division, of McPherson's corps, arrived.

"McClernand, who was with the right in person, sent repeated messages to me before the arrival of Logan, to send Logan's and Quimby's divisions, of McPherson's corps, to him.

"I had been on that as well as all other parts of the field, and could not see how they could be used there to advantage. However, as soon as the advance of McPherson's corps (Logan's division) arrived, I sent one brigade to McClernand on the right, and sent one brigade, Brigadier-General J. E. Smith commanding, to the left, to the assistance of Osterhaus.

"By the judicious disposition made of this brigade, under the immediate supervision of McPherson and Logan, a position was soon obtained giving us an advantage which soon drove the enemy from that part of the field, to make no further stand south of Bayou Pierre.

"The enemy was here repulsed with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The repulse of the enemy on our left took place late in the afternoon. He was pursued toward Port Gibson, but night closing in, and the enemy making the appearance of another stand, the troops slept upon their arms until daylight.

"In the morning it was found that the enemy had retreated across Bayou Pierre, on the Grand Gulf road, and a brigade of Logan's division was sent to divert his attention while a floating bridge was being built across Bayou Pierre immediately at Port Gibson. This bridge was completed, eight miles marched by McPherson's corps to the north fork of Bayou Pierre, that stream bridged, and the advance of this corps

commenced passing over it at five o'clock the following morning.

"On the 3d, the enemy was pursued to Hawkinson's Ferry, with slight skirmishing all day, during which we took quite a number of prisoners, mostly stragglers, from the enemy.

"Finding that Grand Gulf had been evacuated, and that the advance of my forces was already fifteen miles out from there, and on the road, too, they would have to take to reach either Vicksburg, Jackson, or any intermediate point on the railroad between the two places, I determined not to march them back, but taking a small escort of cavalry, some fifteen or twenty men, I went myself, and made the necessary arrangements for changing my base of supplies from Bruinsburg to Grand Gulf.

"In moving from Milliken's Bend, the fifteenth army corps, Major-General W. T. Sherman commanding, was left to be the last to start. To prevent heavy reinforcements going from Vicksburg to the assistance of the Grand Gulf forces, I directed Sherman to make a demonstration on Haines' Bluff, and to make all the show possible. From information since received from prisoners captured, this ruse succeeded admirably.

"It had been my intention, up to the time of crossing the Mississippi River, to collect all my forces at Grand Gulf, and get on hand a good supply of provisions and ordnance stores before moving, and in the mean time to detach an army corps to co-operate with General Banks on Port Hudson, and effect a junction of our forces.

"About this time I received a letter from General Banks, giving his position west of the Mississippi River, and stating that he could return to Baton Rouge by the 10th of May; that by the reduction of Port Hudson he could join me with 12,000 men.

"I learned about the same time that troops were expected at Jackson from the Southern cities, with General Beauregard in command. To delay until the 10th of May, and for the reduction of Port Hudson after that, the accession of 12,000 thousand men would not leave me relatively so strong as to move promptly with what I had. Information received from day to day of the movements of the enemy also impelled me to the course pursued. While lying at Hawkinson's Ferry, waiting for wagons, supplies, and Sherman's corps, which had come forward in the mean time, demonstrations were made, successfully, I believe, to induce the enemy to think that route and the one by Hall's Ferry above were objects of much solicitude to me. Reconnoissances were made to the west side of the Big Black to within six miles of Warrenton. On the 7th of May an advance was ordered, McPherson's corps keeping the road nearest Black River to Rocky Springs, McClernand's corps keeping the ridge road from Willow Springs, and Sherman following with his corps divided on the two roads. All the ferries were closely guarded until our troops were well advanced. It was my intention here to hug the Black River as closely as possible with McClernand's and Sherman's corps, and get them to

the railroad, at some place between Edward's Station and Bolton. McPherson was to move by way of Utica to Raymond, and from there into Jackson, destroying the railroad telegraph, public stores, etc., and push west to rejoin the main force. Orders were given to McPherson accordingly. Sherman was moved forward on the Edward's Station road, crossing Fourteen Mile Creek at Dillon's plantation; McClernand was moved across the same creek, farther west, sending one division of his corps by the Baldwin's Ferry road as far as the river. At the crossing of Fourteen Mile Creek, both McClernand and Sherman had considerable skirmishing with the enemy to get possession of the crossing. McPherson met the enemy near Raymond, two brigades strong, under Gregg and Walker, on the same day engaged him, and after several hours' hard fighting drove him, with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Many threw down their arms and deserted.

"My position at this time was with Sherman's corps, some seven miles west of Raymond, and about the centre of the army.

"On the night of the 12th of May, after orders had been given for the corps of McClernand and Sherman to march toward the railroad by parallel roads, the former in the direction of Edward's Station, and the latter to a point on the railroad between Edward's Station and Bolton, the order was changed, and both were directed to move toward Raymond.

"This was in consequence of the enemy having retreated toward Jackson after his defeat at Raymond, and of information that reinforcements were daily arriving at Jackson, and that General Joe Johnston was hourly expected there to take command in person. I therefore determined to make sure of that place and leave no enemy in my rear.

"McPherson moved on the 13th to Clinton, destroyed the railroad and telegraph, and captured some important dispatches from General Pemberton to General Gregg, who had commanded the day before in the battle of Raymond. Sherman moved to a parallel position on the Mississippi Springs and Jackson road; McClernand moved to a point near Raymond.

"The next day Sherman and McPherson moved their entire forces toward Jackson. The rain fell in torrents all the night before, and continued until about noon of that day, making the roads at first slippery and then miry. Notwithstanding, the troops marched in excellent order, without straggling, and in the best of spirits, about fourteen miles, and engaged the enemy about twelve o'clock, near Jackson. McClernand occupied Clinton with one division, Mississippi Springs with another, Raymond with a third, and had his fourth division and Blair's division of Sherman's corps, with a wagon train still in the rear, near New Auburn, while McArthur, with one brigade of his division of McPherson's corps, was moving toward Raymond on the Utica road. It was not the intention to move these forces any nearer Jackson, but to have

them in a position where they would be in supporting distance if the resistance at Jackson should prove more obstinate than there seemed reason to expect.

"The enemy marched out the bulk of his force on the Clinton road and engaged McPherson's corps about two and a half miles from the city. A small force of artillery and infantry took a strong position in front of Sherman about the same distance out. By a determined advance of our skirmishers, these latter were soon driven within their rifle-pits just outside the city. It was impossible to ascertain the strength of the enemy at this part of the line in time to justify an immediate assault. Consequently McPherson's two divisions engaged the main bulk of the rebel garrison at Jackson without further aid than the moral support given them by the knowledge the enemy had of a force to the south side of the city and a few infantry and artillery of the enemy posted there to impede Sherman's progress. Sherman soon discovered the weakness of the enemy by sending a reconnoitring party to his right, which also had the effect of causing the enemy to retreat from this part of his line. A few of the artillerists, however, remained in their places, firing upon Sherman's troops, until the last moment, evidently instructed to do so, with the expectation of being captured in the end. On entering the city, it was found that the main body of the enemy had retreated north, after a heavy engagement of more than two hours with McPherson's corps, in which he was badly beaten. He was pursued until near night, but without further damage to him.

"During that evening I learned that General Johnston, as soon as he had satisfied himself that Jackson was to be attacked, had ordered Pemberton peremptorily to march out from the direction of Vicksburg and attack our rear. Availing myself of this information, I immediately issued orders to McClernand and Blair, of Sherman's corps, to face their troops toward Bolton, with a view to reaching Edward's Station, marching on different roads converging near Bolton. These troops were admirably located for such a move. McPherson was ordered to retrace his steps early in the morning of the 15th on the Clinton road. Sherman was left in Jackson to destroy the railroads, bridges, factories, workshops, arsenals, and everything valuable for the support of the enemy. This was accomplished in the most effectual manner.

"On the afternoon of the 15th I proceeded as far west as Clinton, through which place McPherson's corps passed to within supporting distance of Hovey's division of McClernand's corps, which had moved that day on the same road to within one and a half miles of Bolton. On reaching Clinton at a quarter to five P.M., I ordered McClernand to move his command early the next morning toward Edward's dépôt, marching so as to feel the enemy if he encountered him; but not to bring on a general engagement unless he was confident he was able to defeat him; and also to order Blair to move with him.

"About five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, two men, employes on the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad, who had passed through Pemberton's army the night before, were brought to my headquarters. They stated Pemberton's force to consist of about eighty regiments, with ten batteries of artillery, and that the whole force was estimated by the enemy at about 25,000 men. From them I also learned the positions being taken up by the enemy, and his intention of attacking our rear. I had determined to leave one division of Sherman's corps one day longer in Jackson, but this information determined me to bring his entire command up at once, and I accordingly dispatched him at half-past five A.M. to move with all possible speed until he came up with the main force near Bolton. My dispatch reached him at soon after seven A.M., and his advance division was in motion in one hour from that time. A dispatch was sent to Blair at the same time, to push forward his division in the direction of Edward's Station with all possible dispatch. McClernand was directed to establish communication between Blair and Osterhaus, of his corps, and keep it up, moving the former to the support of the latter. McPherson was ordered forward at a quarter to six A.M. to join McClernand, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, of my staff, was sent forward to communicate the information received, and with verbal instructions to McClernand as to the disposition of his forces. At an early hour I left for the advance, and on arriving at the crossing of the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad with the road from Raymond to Bolton, I found McPherson's advance and his pioneer corps engaged in rebuilding a bridge on the former road that had been destroyed by the cavalry of Osterhaus' division that had gone into Bolton the night before. The train of Hovey's division was at a halt, and blocked up the road from farther advance on the Vicksburg road. I ordered all quarter-masters and wagon-masters to draw their teams to one side and make room for the passage of troops. McPherson was brought up by this road. Passing to the front, I found Hovey's division of the thirteenth army corps at a halt, with our skirmishers and the enemy's pickets near each other. Hovey was bringing his troops into line, ready for battle, and could have brought on an engagement at any moment. The enemy had taken up a very strong position on a narrow ridge, his left resting on a height where the road makes a sharp turn to the left approaching Vicksburg. The top of the ridge and the precipitous hillside to the left of the road are covered by a dense forest and undergrowth. To the right of the road the timber extends a short distance down the hill, and then opens into cultivated fields on a gentle slope and into a valley extending for a considerable distance. On the road and into the wooded ravine and hillside Hovey's division was disposed for the attack. McPherson's two divisions—all of his corps with him on the march from Milliken's Bend (until Ransom's brigade arrived that day after the battle)

—were thrown on the right of the road, properly speaking, to the enemy's rear. But I would not permit an attack to be commenced by our troops until I could hear from McClernand, who was advancing with four divisions, two of them on a road intersecting the Jackson road about one mile from where the troops above described were placed, and about the centre of the enemy's line; the other two divisions on a road still north and nearly the same distance off.

"I soon heard from McClernand through members of his staff and my own whom I had sent to him early in the morning, and found that by the nearest practicable route of communication he was two and a half miles distant. I sent several successive messages to him to push forward with all rapidity, There had been continuous firing between Hovey's skirmishers and the rebel advance, which by eleven o'clock grew into a battle. For some time this division bore the brunt of the conflict; but finding the enemy too strong for them, at the instance of Hovey I directed first one and then a second brigade from Crocker's division to reinforce him. All this time Logan's division was working upon the enemy's left and rear, and weakened his front attack most wonderfully. The troops here opposing us evidently far outnumbered ours. Expecting McClernand momentarily with four divisions, including Blair's, I never felt a doubt of the result. He did not arrive, however, until the enemy had been driven from the field, after a terrible contest of hours, with a heavy loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners, and a number of pieces of artillery. It was found afterwards that the Vicksburg road, after following the ridge in a southerly direction for about one mile, and to where it intersected one of the Raymond roads, turns almost to the west, down the hill and across the valley in which Logan was operating on the rear of the enemy. One brigade of Logan's division had, unconscious of this important fact, penetrated nearly to this road and compelled the enemy to retreat to prevent capture. As it was, much of his artillery and Loring's division of his army was cut off, besides the prisoners captured. On the call of Hovey for more reinforcements just before the rout of the enemy commenced, I ordered McPherson to move what troops he could by a left flank around to the enemy's front. Logan rode up at this time, and told me that if Hovey could make another dash at the enemy, he could come up from where he then was and capture the greater part of their force. I immediately rode forward, and found the troops that had been so gallantly engaged for so many hours, withdrawn from their advanced position and filling their cartridge-boxes. I directed them to use all dispatch and push forward as soon as possible, explaining to them the position of Logan's division. Proceeding still farther forward, expecting every moment to see the enemy, and reaching what had been his line, I found he was retreating. Arriving at the Raymond road, I saw to my left and on the next ridge a column of troops, which

proved to be Carr's division, and McClernand with it in person; and to the left of Carr, Osterhaus' division soon afterward appeared, with his skirmishers well in advance. I sent word to Osterhaus that the enemy was in full retreat, and to push up with all haste. The situation was soon explained, after which I ordered Carr to pursue with all speed to Black River and cross it if he could, and Osterhaus to follow. Some of McPherson's troops had already got into the road in advance; but having marched and engaged the enemy all day, they were fatigued, and gave the road to Carr, who continued the pursuit until after dark, capturing a train of cars loaded with commissary and ordnance stores and other property.

"The delay in the advance of the troops immediately with McClernand was caused, no doubt, by the enemy presenting a front of artillery and infantry where it was impossible, from the nature of the ground and the density of the forest, to discover his numbers. As it was, the battle of Champion's Hill, or Baker's Creek, was fought mainly by Hovey's division of McClernand's corps, and Logan's and Quimby's divisions (the latter commanded by Brigadier-General M. M. Crocker) of McPherson's corps.

"Ransom's brigade, of McPherson's corps, came on to the field where the main battle had been fought, immediately after the enemy had begun his retreat.

"Word was sent to Sherman, at Bolton, of the result of the day's engagement, with directions to turn his corps toward Bridgeport, and to Blair to join him at this latter place.

"At daylight on the 17th the pursuit was renewed, with McClernand's corps in the advance. The enemy was found strongly posted on both sides of the Black River. At this point on Black River the bluffs extend to the water's edge on the west bank. On the east side is an open cultivated bottom of near one mile in width, surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water, from two to three feet in depth, and from ten to twenty feet in width, from the river above the railroad to the river below. Following the inside line of this bayou the enemy had constructed rifle-pits, with the bayou to serve as a ditch on the outside and immediately in front of them. Carr's division occupied the right in investing this place, and Lawler's brigade the right of his division. After a few hours' skirmishing, Lawler discovered that by moving a portion of his brigade under cover of the river bank, he could get a position from which that place could be successfully assaulted, and ordered a charge accordingly. Notwithstanding the level ground over which a portion of his troops had to pass without cover, and the great obstacle of the ditch in front of the enemy's works, the charge was gallantly and successfully made, and in a few minutes the entire garrison, with seventeen pieces of artillery, were the trophies of this brilliant and daring movement. The enemy on the west bank of the river immediately set fire to the railroad bridge and retreated thus cutting off

all chance of escape for any portion of his forces remaining on the east bank.

"Sherman by this time had reached Bridgeport, on Black River, above. The only pontoon train with the expedition was with him. By the morning of the 18th he had crossed the river, and was ready to march on Walnut Hills. McClernand and McPherson built floating bridges during the night, and had them ready for crossing their commands by eight A.M. of the 18th.

"The march was commenced by Sherman at an early hour by the Bridgeport and Vicksburg road, turning to the right when within three and a half miles of Vicksburg, to get possession of Walnut Hills and the Yazoo River. This was successfully accomplished before the night of the 18th. McPherson crossed the Black River above the Jackson road, and came into the same road with Sherman, but to his rear. He arrived after night-fall with his advance to where Sherman turned to the right. McClernand moved by the Jackson and Vicksburg road to Mount Albans, and there turned to the left to get into Baldwin's Ferry road. By this disposition the three army corps covered all the ground their strength would admit of, and by the morning of the 19th the investment of Vicksburg was made as complete as could be by the forces at my command.

"During the day there was continuous skirmishing, and I was not without hope of carrying the enemy's works. Relying upon the demoralization of the enemy, in consequence of repeated defeats outside of Vicksburg, I ordered a general assault at two P.M. on this day.

"The fifteenth army corps, from having arrived in front of the enemy's works in time on the 18th to get a good position, were enabled to make a vigorous assault. The thirteenth and seventeenth corps succeeded no further than to gain advanced positions, covered from the fire of the enemy. The 20th and 21st were spent in perfecting communications with our supplies. Most of the troops had been marching and fighting battles for twenty days, on an average of about five days' rations, drawn from the commissary department. Though they had not suffered from short rations up to this time, the want of bread to accompany the other rations was beginning to be much felt. On the 21st my arrangements for drawing supplies of every description being complete, I determined to make another effort to carry Vicksburg by assault. There were many reasons to determine me to adopt this course. I believed an assault from the position gained by this time could be made successfully. It was known that Johnston was at Canton with the force taken by him from Jackson, reinforced by other troops from the east, and that more were daily reaching him. With the force I had, a short time must have enabled him to attack me in the rear, and possibly to succeed in raising the siege. Possession of Vicksburg at that time would have enabled me to turn upon Johnston and drive him from the State, and possess myself of all the railroads and practical military high-

ways, thus effectually securing to ourselves all territory west of the Tombigbee, and this before the season was too far advanced for campaigning in this latitude. It would have saved Government sending large reinforcements, much needed elsewhere, and, finally, the troops themselves were impatient to possess Vicksburg, and would not have worked in the trenches with the same zeal—believing it unnecessary — as they did after their failure to carry the enemy's works. Accordingly, on the 21st, orders were issued for a general assault on the whole line, to commence at ten A.M. on the 22d. All the corps commanders set their time by mine, that there should be no difference between them in movement of assault. Promptly at the hour designated, the three army corps then in front of the enemy's works commenced the assault. I had taken a commanding position near McPherson's front, from which I could see all the advancing columns from his corps, and a part of each of Sherman's and McClernand's. A portion of the commands of each succeeded in planting their flags on the outer slopes of the enemy's bastions, and maintained them there until night. Each corps had many more men than could possibly be used in the assault, over such ground as intervened between them and the enemy. More men could only avail in case of breaking through the enemy's line or in repelling a sortie. The assault was gallant in the extreme on the part of all the troops; but the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificially, to be taken in that way. At every point assaulted, and at all of them at the same time, the enemy was able to show all the force his works could cover. The assault failed, I regret to say, with much loss on our side in killed and wounded; but without weakening the confidence of the troops in their ability to ultimately succeed.

"No troops succeeded in entering any of the enemy's works, with the exception of Sergeant Griffith, of the Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteers, and some eleven privates of the same regiment. Of these, none returned except the sergeant and possibly one man. The work entered by him, from its position, could give us no practical advantage, unless others to the right and left of it were carried and held at the same time.

"About twelve M. I received a dispatch from McClernand, that he was hard pressed at several points, in reply to which I directed him to reinforce the points hard pressed from such troops as he had that were not engaged. I then rode round to Sherman, and had just reached there when I received a second dispatch from McClernand, stating positively and unequivocally that he was in possession of and still held two of the enemy's forts, that the American flag then waved over them, and asking me to have Sherman and McPherson make a diversion in his favor. This dispatch I showed to Sherman, who immediately ordered a renewal of the assault on his front. I also sent an answer to McClernand directing him to order up McArthur to his assistance, and started

immediately to the position I had just left on McPherson's line to convey to him the information from McClernand by this last dispatch, that he might make the diversion requested. Before reaching McPherson, I met a messenger with a third dispatch from McClernand, of which the following is a copy :

"'HEADQUARTERS, THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS. IN THE FIELD, NEAR VICKSBURG, MISS., *May* 22, 1863.

"'GENERAL : We have gained the enemy's intrenchments at several points, but are brought to a stand. I have sent word to McArthur to reinforce me if he can. Would it not be best to concentrate the whole or a part of his command on this point? JOHN A. McCLERNAND,

"'Major-General Commanding.

"'Major-General U. S. GRANT.

"'P. S.—I have received your dispatch. My troops are all engaged, and I cannot withdraw any to reinforce others. McC.'

"The position occupied by me during most of the time of the assault gave me a better opportunity of seeing what was going on in front of the thirteenth army corps than I believed it possible for the commander of it to have. I could not see his possession of forts, nor necessity for reinforcements, as represented in his dispatches, up to the time I left it, which was between twelve M. and one P.M., and I expressed doubts of their correctness, which doubts the facts subsequently, but too late, confirmed. At the time I could not disregard his reiterated statements, for they might possibly be true ; and that no possible opportunity of carrying the enemy's stronghold should be allowed to escape through fault of mine, I ordered Quimby's division, which was all of McPherson's corps then present but four brigades, to report to McClernand, and notified him of the order. I showed his dispatches to McPherson, as I had to Sherman, to satisfy him of the necessity of an active diversion on their part to hold as much force in their fronts as possible. The diversion was promptly and vigorously made, and resulted in the increase of our mortality list full fifty per cent., without advancing our position or giving us other advantages.

"About half-past three P.M. I received McClernand's fourth dispatch, as follows :

"'HEADQUARTERS, THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, *May* 22, 1863.

"'GENERAL : I have received your dispatch in regard to General Quimby's division and General McArthur's division. As soon as they arrive I will press the enemy with all possible speed, and doubt not I will force my way through. I have lost no ground. My men are in two of the enemy's forts, but they are commanded by rifle-pits in the rear. Several prisoners have been taken, who intimate that the rear is strong. At this moment I am hard pressed.

"'JOHN A. McCLERNAND,

"'Major-General Commanding.

"'Major-General U. S. GRANT, Department of the Tennessee.'

"The assault of this day proved the quality of the soldiers of this army. Without entire success, and with a heavy

loss, there was no murmuring or complaining, no falling back, nor other evidence of demoralization.

"After the failure of the 22d, I determined upon a regular siege. The troops, now being fully awake to the necessity of this, worked diligently and cheerfully. The work progressed rapidly and satisfactorily until the 3d of July, when all was about ready for a final assault.

"There was a great scarcity of engineer officers in the beginning, but under the skilful superintendence of Captain F. E. Prime, of the Engineer Corps; Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, of my staff, and Captain C. B. Comstock, of the Engineer Corps, who joined this command during the siege, such practical experience was gained as would enable any division of this army hereafter to conduct a siege with considerable skill, even in the absence of regular engineer officers.

"On the afternoon of the 3d of July a letter was received from Lieutenant-General Pemberton, commanding the Confederate forces at Vicksburg, proposing an armistice and the appointment of commissioners to arrange terms for the capitulation of the place. The correspondence resulted in the surrender of the city and garrison of Vicksburg at ten o'clock A.M., July 4, 1863, on the following terms: The entire garrison, officers and men, were to be paroled, not to take up arms against the United States until exchanged by the proper authorities; officers and men each to be furnished with a parole, signed by himself; officers to be allowed their side-arms and private baggage, and the field, staff, and cavalry officers one horse each; the rank and file to be allowed all their clothing, but no other property; rations from their own stores sufficient to last them beyond our lines; the necessary cooking utensils for preparing their food, and thirty wagons to transport such articles as could not well be carried. These terms I regarded more favorable to the Government than an unconditional surrender. It saved us the transportation of them North, which at that time would have been very difficult, owing to the limited amount of river transportation on hand, and the expense of subsisting them. It left our army free to operate against Johnston, who was threatening us from the direction of Jackson, and our river transportation to be used for the movement of troops to any point the exigency of the service might require. * * * * *

"I brought forward during the siege, in addition to Lauman's division and four regiments previously ordered from Memphis, Smith's and Kimball's divisions, of the sixteenth army corps, and assigned Major-General C. C. Washburne to command of same. On the 11th of June, Major-General F. J. Herron's division, from the Department of the Missouri, arrived, and on the 14th two divisions of the ninth army corps, Major-General J. G. Parke commanding, arrived. This increase in my force enabled me to make the investment most complete, and at the same time left me a large reserve to watch the movements

of Johnston. Herron's division was put into position on the extreme left, south of the city, and Lauman's division was placed between Herron and McClernand. Smith's and Kimball's divisions and Parke's corps were sent to Haines' Bluff. This place I had fortified to the land side, and every preparation made to resist a heavy force. Johnston crossed Big Black River with a portion of his force, and everything indicated that he would make an attack about the 25th of June. Our position in front of Vicksburg having been made as strong against a sortie from the enemy as his works were against an assault, I placed Major-General Sherman in command of all the troops designated to look after Johnston. The force intended to operate against Johnston, in addition to that at Haines' Bluff, was one division from each of the thirteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth army corps, and Lauman's division. Johnston, however, not attacking, I determined to attack him the moment Vicksburg was in our possession, and accordingly notified Sherman that I should again make an assault on Vicksburg at daylight on the 6th, and for him to have up supplies of all descriptions ready to move upon receipt of orders if the assault should prove a success. His preparations were immediately made, and when the place surrendered on the 4th, two days earlier than I had fixed for the attack, Sherman was found ready, and moved at once, with a force increased by the remainder of both the thirteenth and fifteenth army corps, and is at present investing Jackson, where Johnston has made a stand.

"In the march from Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, covering a period of twenty days, before supplies could be obtained from government stores, only five days' rations were issued, and three days' of these were taken in haversacks at the start, and were soon exhausted. All other subsistence was obtained from the country through which we passed. The march was commenced without wagons, except such as could be picked up through the country; the country was abundantly supplied with corn, bacon, beef, and mutton. The troops enjoyed excellent health, and no army ever appeared in better spirits or felt more confident of success.

"In accordance with previous instructions, Major-General S. A. Hurlbut started Colonel (now Brigadier-General) B. H. Grierson with a cavalry force from La Grange, Tennessee, to make a raid through the central portion of the State of Mississippi, to destroy railroads and other public property, for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of the army moving to the attack on Vicksburg. On the 17th of April this expedition started, and arrived at Baton Rouge on the 2d of May, having successfully traversed the whole State of Mississippi. This expedition was skilfully conducted, and reflects great credit on Colonel Grierson and all of his command. The notice given this raid by the Southern press confirms our estimate of its importance. It has been one of the most brilliant cavalry exploits of the

war, and will be handed down in history as an example to be imitated. * * *

"I cannot close this report without an expression of thankfulness for my good fortune in being placed in co-operation with an officer of the navy who accords to every move that seems for the interest and success of our arms his hearty and energetic support. Admiral Porter and the very efficient officers under him have ever shown the greatest readiness in their co-operation, no matter what was to be done or what risk to be taken, either by their men or their vessels. Without this prompt and cordial support my movements would have been much embarrassed, if not wholly defeated.

"Captain J. U. Shirk, commanding the Tuscumbia, was especially active, and deserving of the highest commendation for his personal attention to the repairing of the damage done our transports by the Vicksburg batteries.

"The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and among the killed, Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green, and hundreds and perhaps thousands of stragglers who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, etc., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it.

"Our loss in the series of battles may be summed up as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Port Gibson	130	718	5
Fourteen Mile Creek (skirmish)	4	24	—
Raymond	69	341	32
Jackson	40	240	6
Champion's Hill	426	1,842	189
Big Black Railroad Bridge	29	242	2
Vicksburg	545	3,688	303

"Of the wounded, many were but slightly wounded, and continued on duty; many more required but a few days or weeks for their recovery. Not more than one-half of the wounded were permanently disabled."

CHAPTER XLVII.

Grierson's Expedition into Mississippi.—One of the most brilliant Exploits of the War.—Grierson's Report.—Life of General Grierson.

THE narrative of the capture of Vicksburg would be incomplete without a full record of the famous exploit of Colonel, now Brigadier-General, Grierson. This officer was sent out with a cavalry force from La Grange, in Tennessee, to make a raid through the central portion of the State of Mississippi, for the purpose of destroying railroads and other public property of the enemy, and creating a diversion in favor of the army of General Grant while moving to the attack of Vicksburg. The expedition was so spiritedly and successfully accomplished, that General Grant pronounced it one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, that would be handed down in history as an example to be imitated. General Grierson, in his official report,* has written an interesting and memorable chapter in the narrative of the great movement against Vicksburg. He says:

1863.

"In accordance with instructions from Major-General S. A. Hurlbut, received through Brigadier-General W. S. Smith, at La Grange, Tennessee, I left that place at daylight on the morning of the 17th of April, with the effective force of my command, 1,700 strong. We moved southward without material interruption, crossing the Tallahatchie River on the afternoon of the 18th at three different points. One battalion of the Seventh Illinois, under Major Graham, crossing at New Albany, found the bridge partially torn up, and an attempt was made to fire it. As they approached the bridge they were fired upon, but drove the enemy from their position, repaired the bridge, and crossed. The balance of the Seventh Illinois and the whole of the Sixth crossed at a ford two miles above, and the Second Iowa crossed about four miles still farther up. After crossing, the Sixth and Seventh Illinois moved south on the Pontotoc road, and encamped for the night on the plantation of Mr. Sloan; the Second Iowa also moved south from their point of crossing, and encamped about four miles south of the river. The rain fell in torrents all night. The next morning, April 19, I sent a detachment eastward to communicate with Colonel Hatch, and make a demonstration toward Chesterville, where a regiment of cavalry was organizing. I also sent an expedition to New Albany, and another northwest toward King's Bridge, to attack and destroy a portion of a regiment of cavalry organizing there, under Major Chalmers. I thus sought to

* Report of May 5, 1863, dated from Baton Rouge, La.

create the impression that the object of our advance was to break up these parties. The expedition eastward communicated with Colonel Hatch, who was still moving south parallel to us. The one to New Albany came upon 200 rebels near the town and engaged them, killing and wounding several. The one northwest found that Major Chalmers' command, hearing of our close proximity, had suddenly left in the night, going west. After the return of these expeditions, I moved with the whole force to Pontotoc. Colonel Hatch joined us about noon, reporting having skirmished with about 200 rebels the afternoon before and that morning, killing, wounding, and capturing a number. We reached Pontotoc about five o'clock P.M. The advance dashed into the town, came upon some guerrillas, killed one and wounded and captured several more. Here we also captured a large mail, about 400 bushels of salt, and the camp equipage, books, papers, etc., of Captain Weatherall's command, all of which were destroyed. After slight delay, we moved out and encamped for the night on the plantation of Mr. Daggett, five miles south of Pontotoc, on the road toward Houston.

"At three o'clock the next morning, April 30, I detached 175 of the least effective portion of the command, with one gun of the battery, and all the prisoners, led horses, and captured property, under the command of Major Love, of the Second Iowa, to proceed back to La Grange, marching in column of fours, before daylight, through Pontotoc, and thus leaving the impression that the whole command had returned. Major Love had orders also to send off a single scout to cut the telegraph wires south of Oxford. At five o'clock A.M. I proceeded southward with the main force, on the Houston road, passing around Houston about four o'clock P.M., and halting at dark on the plantation of Benjamin Kilgore, eleven and a half miles southeast of the latter place, on the road toward Starkville. The following morning, at six o'clock, I resumed the march southward, and about eight o'clock came to the road leading southeast to Columbus, Miss. Here I detached Colonel Hatch with the Second Iowa Cavalry and one gun of the battery, with orders to proceed to the Ohio and Mobile Railroad in the vicinity of West Point, destroy the road and wires, thence move south, destroying the railroad and all public property as far south, if possible, as Macon; thence cross the railroad, making a circuit northward, if practicable take Columbus and destroy all government works in that place, and again strike Okalona, and destroying it, return to La Grange by the most practicable route. Of this expedition and the one previously sent back I have since heard nothing except vague and uncertain rumors through secession sources. These detachments were intended as diversions, and even should the commanders not have been able to carry out their instructions, yet, by attracting the attention of the enemy in other directions, they assisted us much in the accomplishment of our main object.

"After having started Colonel Hatch on his way, with the remaining portion of the command, consisting of the Sixth and Seventh Illinois Cavalry, about 950 strong, I continued on my journey southward, still keeping the Starkville road, arriving at Starkville about four o'clock P.M.; we captured a mail and a quantity of government property, which was destroyed. From this point we took the direct road to Louisville. We moved out on this road about four miles, through a dismal swamp near belly deep in mud, and sometimes swimming our horses to cross streams, when we encamped for the night in the midst of a violent rain storm. From this point I detached a battalion of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, to proceed about four miles, and destroy an extensive tannery and shoe manufactory in the service of the rebels. They returned safely, having accomplished the work most effectually. They destroyed a large number of boots and shoes, and a large quantity of leather and machinery, in all amounting probably to $50,000, and captured a rebel quartermaster from Port Hudson, who was there laying in a supply for his command. We now immediately resumed the march toward Louisville—a distance of twenty-eight miles—mostly through a dense swamp—the Noxubee River bottom. This was for miles belly deep in water, so that no road was discernible. The inhabitants through this part of the country, generally, did not know of our coming, and would not believe us to be anything but Confederates. We arrived at Louisville soon after dark. I sent a battalion of the Sixth Illinois, under Major Starr, in advance, to picket the town and remain until the column had passed, when they were relieved by a battalion of the Seventh Illinois, under Major Graham, who was ordered to remain until we should have been gone an hour, to prevent persons leaving with information of the course we were taking, to drive out stragglers, preserve order, and quiet the fears of the people. They had heard of our coming a short time before we arrived, and many had left, taking only what they could hurriedly move. The column moved quietly through the town without halting, and not a thing was disturbed. Those who remained at home acknowledged that they were surprised. They had expected to be robbed, outraged, and have their houses burned. On the contrary, they were protected in their persons and property. After leaving the town we struck another swamp, in which, crossing it, as we were obliged to, in the dark, we lost several animals drowned, and the men narrowly escaped the same fate. Marching until midnight, we halted until daylight at the plantation of Mr. Estus, about ten miles south of Louisville.

"The next morning, April 23, at daylight, we took the road for Philadelphia, crossing Pearl River at a bridge about six miles north of the town. This bridge we were fearful would be destroyed by the citizens to prevent our crossing, and upon arriving at Philadelphia, we found that they had met and organized for that purpose; but

hearing of our near approach, their hearts failed, and they fled to the woods. We moved through Philadelphia about three P.M., without interruption, and halted to feed about five miles southeast on the Enterprise road. Here we rested until ten o'clock at night, when I sent two battalions of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn, to proceed immediately to Decatur, thence to the railroad at Newton Station. With the main force I followed about an hour later. The advance passed through Decatur about daylight, and struck the railroad about six o'clock A.M. I arrived about an hour afterward with the column. Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn dashed into the town, took possession of the railroad and telegraph, and succeeded in capturing two trains in less than half an hour after his arrival. One of these, twenty-five cars, was loaded with ties and machinery, and the other thirteen cars were loaded with commissary stores and ammunition, among the latter several thousand loaded shells. These, together with a large quantity of commissary and quartermaster's stores, and about 500 stand of arms stored in the town, were destroyed. Seventy-five prisoners captured at this point were parolled. The locomotives were exploded and otherwise rendered completely unserviceable. Here the track was torn up, and a bridge half a mile west of the station destroyed. I detached a battalion of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry, under Major Starr, to proceed eastward, and destroy such bridges, etc., as he might find over Chunkey River. Having damaged as much as possible the railroad and telegraph, and destroyed all government property in the vicinity of Newton, I moved about four miles south of the road and fed men and horses. The forced marches which I was compelled to make in order to reach this point successfully, necessarily very much fatigued and exhausted my command, and rest and food were absolutely necessary for its safety.

"From captured mails and information obtained by my scouts, I knew that large forces had been out to intercept our return, and having instructions from Major-General Hurlbut and Brigadier-General Smith to move in any direction from this point which, in my judgment, would be best for the safety of my command and the success of the expedition, I at once decided to move south, in order to secure the necessary rest and food for men and horses, and then return to La Grange through Alabama or make for Baton Rouge, as I might hereafter deem best. Major Starr in the mean time rejoined us, having destroyed most effectually three bridges and several hundred feet of trestle-work, and the telegraph from eight to ten miles east of Newton Station. After resting about three hours, we moved south to Garlandsville. At this point we found the citizens, many of them venerable with age, armed with shot-guns, and organized to resist our approach. As the advance entered the town, these citizens fired upon them and wounded one of our men. We charged upon

them and captured several. After disarming them, we showed them the folly of their actions, and released them. Without an exception, they acknowledged their mistake, and declared that they had been grossly deceived as to our real character. One volunteered his services as guide, and upon leaving us declared that hereafter his prayers should be for the Union army. I mention this as a sample of the feeling which exists, and of the good effect which our presence produced among the people in the country through which we passed. Hundreds who are skulking and hiding out to avoid conscription, only await the presence of our arms to sustain them, when they will rise up and declare their principles; and thousands who have been deceived, upon the vindication of our cause would immediately return to loyalty. After slight delay at Garlandsville, we moved southwest about ten miles, and camped at night on the plantation of Mr. Bender, two miles west of Montrose. Our men and horses having become gradually exhausted, I determined on making a very easy march the next day, and looking more to the recruiting of my weary little command than to the accomplishment of any important object; consequently I marched at eight o'clock the next morning, taking a west and varying slightly to a northwest course. We marched about five miles, and halted to feed on the plantation of Mr. Nichols.

"After resting until about two o'clock P.M., during which time I sent detachments north to threaten the line of the railroad at Lake Station and other points, we moved southwest toward Raleigh, making about twelve miles during the afternoon, and halting at dark on the plantation of Dr. Mackadoro. From this point I sent a single scout, disguised as a citizen, to proceed northward to the line of the Southern Railroad, cut the telegraph, and, if possible, fire a bridge of trestle-work. He started on his journey about midnight, and when within seven miles of the railroad he came upon a regiment of Southern cavalry from Brandon, Miss., in search of us. He succeeded in misdirecting them as to the place where he had last seen us, and having seen them well on the wrong road, he immediately retraced his steps to the camp with the news. When he first met them, they were on the direct road to our camp, and had they not been turned from their course, would have come up with us before daylight. From information received through my scouts and other sources, I found that Jackson and the stations east, as far as Lake Station, had been reinforced by infantry and artillery, and hearing that a fight was momentarily expected at Grand Gulf, I decided to make a rapid march, cross Pearl River, and strike the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad at Hazlehurst, and after destroying as much of the road as possible, endeavor to get upon the flank of the enemy and cooperate with our forces, should they be successful in the attack upon Grand Gulf and Port Gibson. Having obtained during this day plenty of forage and

provisions, and having had one good night's rest, we now again felt ready for any emergency. Accordingly, at six o'clock on the morning of the 26th we crossed Leaf River, burning the bridge behind us to prevent any enemy who might be in pursuit from following; thence through Raleigh, capturing the sheriff of that county with about $3,000 in government funds; thence to Westville, reaching this place soon after dark. Passing on about two miles we halted to feed, in the midst of a heavy rain, on the plantation of Mr. Williams. After feeding, Colonel Prince, of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, with two battalions, was sent immediately forward to Pearl River to secure the ferry and landing. He arrived in time to capture a courier, who had come to bring intelligence of the approach of the Yankees, and orders for the destruction of the ferry. With the main column I followed in about two hours. We ferried and swam our horses, and succeeded in crossing the whole command by two o'clock P.M. As soon as Colonel Prince had crossed his two battalions, he was ordered to proceed immediately to the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad, striking it at Hazlehurst. Here he found a number of cars, containing about 600 loaded shells and a large quantity of commissary and quartermaster's stores, intended for Grand Gulf and Port Gibson. These were destroyed, and as much of the railroad and telegraph as possible. Here, again, we found the citizens armed to resist us, but they fled precipitately upon our approach.

"From this point we took a northwest course to Gallatin four miles, thence southwest three and a half miles to the plantation of Mr. Thompson, where we halted until the next morning. Directly after leaving Gallatin we captured a sixty-four-pound gun and a heavy wagon-load of ammunition, and machinery for mounting the gun, on the road to Port Gibson. The gun was spiked and the carriages and ammunition destroyed. During the afternoon it rained in torrents, and the men were completely drenched. At six o'clock the next morning, April 28, we moved westward; after proceeding a short distance I detached a battalion of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, under Captain Trafton, to proceed back to the railroad at Bahala and destroy the road, telegraph, and all government property he might find. With the rest of the command, I moved southwest toward Union Church. We halted to feed at two o'clock P.M., on the plantation of Mr. Snyder, about two miles northeast of the church. While feeding, our pickets were fired upon by a considerable force. I immediately moved out upon them, skirmished with and drove them through the town, wounding and capturing a number. It proved to be a part of Wirt Adams' Alabama Cavalry. After driving them off we held the town, and bivouacked for the night. After accomplishing the object of his expedition, Captain Trafton returned to us about three o'clock in the morning of the 29th, having come upon the rear of the main body of Adams' command. The enemy

having a battery of artillery, it was his intention to attack us in front and rear at Union Church about daylight in the morning, but the appearance of Captain Trafton with a force in his rear changed his purpose, and turning to the right he took the direct road toward Port Gibson. From this point I made a strong demonstration toward Fayette, with a view of creating the impression that we were going toward Port Gibson or Natchez, while I quietly took the opposite direction, taking the road leading southeast to Brookhaven on the railroad. Before arriving at this place we ascertained that about five hundred citizens and conscripts were organized to resist us. We charged into the town, when they fled, making but little resistance. We captured over 200 prisoners, a large and beautiful camp of instruction, comprising several hundred tents and a large quantity of quartermaster's and commissary stores, arms, ammunition, etc. After parolling the prisoners and destroying the railroad, telegraph, and all government property, about dark we moved southward, and encamped at Mr. Gill's plantation, about eight miles south of Brookhaven.

"The following morning we moved directly south along the railroad, destroying all bridges and trestle-work to Bogue Chitto Station, where we burned the dépôt and fifteen freight cars, and captured a very large secession flag. From thence we still moved along the railroad, destroying every bridge, water-tank, etc., as we passed, to Summit, which place we reached soon after noon. Here we destroyed twenty-five freight cars and a large quantity of government sugar. We found much Union sentiment in this town, and were kindly welcomed and fed by many of the citizens. Hearing nothing more of our forces at Grand Gulf, I concluded to make for Baton Rouge, to recruit my command, after which I could return to La Grange through southern Mississippi and west Alabama, or, crossing the Mississippi River, move through Louisiana and Arkansas. Accordingly, after resting about two hours, we started southwest on the Liberty road, marched about fifteen miles, and halted until daylight on the plantation of Dr. Spurlark. The next morning we left the road and threatened Magnolia and Osyka, where large forces were concentrated to meet us, but instead of attacking those points, took a course due south, marching through woods, lanes, and by-roads, and striking the road leading from Clinton to Osyka. Scarcely had we touched this road when we came upon the Ninth Tennessee Cavalry, posted in a strong defile, guarding the bridges over Tickfaw River. We captured their pickets, and, attacking, drove them before us, killing, wounding, and capturing a number. Our loss in this engagement was one man killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel William D. Blackburn and four men wounded. I cannot speak too highly of the bravery of the men upon this occasion, and particularly of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn, who, at the head of his men, charged upon the bridge, dashed over, and by undaunted courage

dislodged the enemy from his strong position. After disposing of the dead and wounded, we immediately moved south on the Greensburgh road, recrossing the Tickfaw River at Edwards' bridge. At this point we met Garland's rebel cavalry, and with one battalion of the Sixth Illinois and two guns of the battery, engaged and drove them off without halting the column.

"The enemy were now on our track in earnest. We were in the vicinity of their strongholds, and from couriers and dispatches which we captured, it was evident they were sending forces in all directions to intercept us. The Amite River—a wide and rapid stream—was to be crossed, and there was but one bridge by which it could be crossed, and this was in exceeding close proximity to Port Hudson. This I determined upon securing before I halted. We crossed it at midnight, about two hours in advance of a heavy column of infantry and artillery which had been sent there to intercept us. I moved on to Sandy Creek, where Hughes' cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilburn, were encamped, and where there was another main road leading to Port Hudson.

"We reached this point at first dawn of day, completely surprised and captured the camp with a number of prisoners. Having destroyed the camp, consisting of about one hundred and fifty tents, a large quantity of ammunition, guns, public and private stores, books, papers, and public documents, I immediately took the road from Baton Rouge. Arriving at the Comite River, we utterly surprised Stuart's cavalry, who were picketing at this point, capturing forty of them, with their horses, arms, and entire camp. Fording the river, we halted to feed within four miles of the town. Major-General Augur, in command at Baton Rouge, having now, for the first, heard of our approach, sent two companies of cavalry, under Captain Godfrey, to meet us. We marched into the town about three o'clock P.M., and were most heartily welcomed by the United States forces at this point.

"Before our arrival in Louisville, Company B, of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, under Captain Forbes, was detached to proceed to Macon, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, if possible to take the town, destroy the railroad and telegraph, and rejoin us. Upon approaching the place he found it had been reinforced and the bridge over the Oka Noxubee River destroyed, so that the railroad and telegraph could not be reached. He came back to our trail, crossed the Southern Railroad at Newton, took a southeast course to Enterprise, where, although his force numbered only thirty-five men, he entered with a flag of truce, and demanded a surrender of the place. The commanding officer at that point asked an hour to consider the matter, which Captain Forbes (having ascertained that a large force occupied the place) granted, and improved in getting away. He immediately followed us, and succeeded in joining the column while it was crossing Pearl River at Georgetown. In order

to catch us, he was obliged to march sixty miles per day for several consecutive days. Much honor is due to Captain Forbes for the manner in which he conducted this expedition.

"At Louisville I sent Captain Lynch, of Company E, Sixth Illinois Cavalry, and one man of his company, disguised as citizens, who had gallantly volunteered to proceed to the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, and cut the wires, which it was necessary should be done to prevent the information of our presence from flying along the railroad from Jackson and other points. Captain Lynch and his comrade proceeded toward Macon, but meeting with the same barrier which had stopped Captain Forbes, could not reach the road. He went to the pickets at the edge of the town, ascertained the whole disposition of their forces and much other valuable information, and returning joined us above Decatur, having ridden without interruption for two days and nights without a moment's rest. All honor to the gallant Captain, whose intrepid coolness and daring characterized him on every occasion.

"During the expedition we killed and wounded about 100 of the enemy, captured and paroled over 500 prisoners, many of them officers, destroyed between fifty and sixty miles of railroad and telegraph, captured and destroyed over 3,000 stand of arms, and other army stores and government property to an immense amount; we also captured 1,000 horses and mules.

"Our loss during the entire journey was three killed, seven wounded, five left on the route sick, the sergeant-major and surgeon of the Seventh Illinois, left with Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn, and nine men missing, supposed to have straggled. We marched over 600 miles in less than sixteen days. The last twenty-eight hours we marched seventy-six miles, had four engagements with the enemy, and forded the Comite River, which was deep enough to swim many of the horses. During this time the men and horses were without food or rest.

"Much of the country through which we passed was almost entirely destitute of forage and provisions, and it was but seldom that we obtained over one meal per day. Many of the inhabitants must undoubtedly suffer for want of the necessaries of life, which have reached most fabulous prices.

"Two thousand cavalry and mounted infantry were sent from the vicinity of Greenwood and Grenada northeast to intercept us; 1,300 cavalry and several regiments of infantry with artillery were sent from Mobile to Macon, Meridian, and other points on the Mobile and Ohio road. A force was sent from Canton northeast to prevent our crossing Pearl River, and another force of infantry and cavalry was sent from Brookhaven to Monticello, thinking we would cross Pearl River at that point instead of Georgetown. Expeditions were also sent from Vicksburg, Port Gibson, and Port Hudson, to intercept us. Many detachments were sent out from my command at various places to mislead the enemy, all of which rejoined

us in safety. Colton's pocket map of the Mississippi, which, though small, is very correct, was all I had to guide me, but by the capture of their couriers, dispatches, and mails, and the invaluable aid of my scouts, we were always able by rapid marches to evade the enemy when they were too strong, and whip them when not too large.

"Colonel Prince, commanding the Seventh Illinois, and Lieutenant-Colonel Loomis, commanding the Sixth Illinois, were untiring in their efforts to further the success of the expedition, and I cannot speak too highly of the coolness, bravery, and above all, of the untiring perseverance of the officers and men of the command during the entire journey. Without their hearty co-operation, which was freely given under the most trying circumstances, we could not have accomplished so much with such signal success."

This brilliant raid of Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson made him a notable person, though previously but little known to fame. He was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1827, but removed to Ohio while still a youth, where he resided for fifteen years. He subsequently repaired to Jacksonville, Illinois, in which place he was engaged in trade as a dealer in produce. When the civil war broke out, he joined a company of volunteers formed of his fellow-townsmen, but on arriving at Cairo was attached as aid-de-camp to General Prentiss, and remained in this position though chosen major of the Sixth Illinois Regiment. On the 28th of March he was raised, by the unanimous vote of his comrades, to the colonelcy, vacated by the resignation of Colonel Cavanagh. In December of the same year he was placed in command of the first brigade of cavalry, composed of the Sixth and Seventh Illinois and Second Iowa regiments. He had already given proof of skill and enterprise in various detached expeditions in west Tennessee and northern Mississippi, when he was ordered to execute that raid through the centre of the latter State which has won for him so much popular applause. In reward for this service he was promoted to a brigadier-generalship. Grierson is one of the many civilians who in the inglorious times of peace would have remained unnoticed in the obscurity of decent citizenship, but whom the present war, with its patriotic inducements to nobleness of effort, has stirred to the achievement of deeds worthy of the recognition of history.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Operations of the Fleet before Vicksburg.—Good Conduct of Naval Commanders and Sailors.—Gallant Deeds.—Attack of the Queen of the West upon the steamer City of Vicksburg.—The Results.—The Queen of the West below Vicksburg.—Supplies, how obtained.—Cruise and Fate of the Queen of the West.—Porter sends relief to Ellet.—The Indianola.—Her Cruise and Fate.—Running Rams and Transports past the Batteries.—"A Magnificent Success."—Attack upon Grand Gulf.—Its Failure.—Renewal of Attack.—The Works abandoned by the Enemy.—A Landing secured for Grant's Troops.—Cruise up the Red River.—Fort at Warrenton taken.—Porter co-operating with Sherman in an Attack upon Haines' Bluff.—Expedition to Yazoo City.—Porter co-operating with Grant in his Assault upon Vicksburg.—Loss of the Cincinnati.—Porter announces the Surrender of Vicksburg.—The Services of the Navy.—The *coup-de-grâce* given to Yazoo City.—Various Expeditions.—Naval Police of the Mississippi.

THROUGHOUT the protracted operations against Vicksburg, the naval force under the command of Admiral Porter was busily engaged in co-operating with the army of General Grant. Though the earlier plans of attack, in which the use of the fleet was more obviously practicable, failed, and the last and triumphant movement against the stronghold upon the Mississippi was chiefly effected by land, the successful result was due in a measure to the efficient service of Admiral Porter, who, by securing the passage of the transports and the landing of the troops, and by constantly occupying the attention of the formidable batteries, and destroying the enemy's means of offence on the river, gave such aid as was indispensable to the execution of Grant's designs.

1863.

During the long and repeatedly baffled effort to penetrate the formidable defences of the enemy, and while the patience of the country was tried almost to despair, our naval commanders and sailors were displaying an activity of daring and a constancy of perseverance sufficient to stimulate the most languid hope. Many deeds were thus accomplished which will be always memorable in the history of the war. One of the most remarkable was the passage of the batteries, and the attack on the enemy's steamer Vicksburg, lying before the city under its most formidable guns.

"In compliance with your instructions," wrote Colonel Ellet, the hero of the occasion, in his official report to Admiral Porter, dated "Below Vicksburg, February 2, 1863," "I started on the Queen of the West at half-past four o'clock this morning, to pass the rebel batteries at Vicksburg and sink the rebel steamer lying before that city. I discovered immediately on starting that the change of the wheel from its former position to the narrow space behind the Queen's bulwarks did not permit the boat to be handled with sufficient accuracy. An hour or more was spent at rearranging the apparatus,

and when we finally rounded the point, the sun had risen, and any advantage which would have resulted from the darkness was lost to us.

"The rebels opened a heavy fire upon us as we reached the city, but we were only struck three times before reaching the steamer. She was lying in nearly the same position that the Arkansas occupied when General Ellet ran the Queen into her on a former occasion. The same causes which prevented the destruction of the Arkansas then saved the City of Vicksburg this morning. Her position was such, that if we had run obliquely into her as we came down, the bow of the Queen would inevitably have glanced. We were compelled to partially round to in order to strike. The consequence was, that at the very moment of collision, the current—very rapid and strong at this point—caught the stern of my boat, and, acting on her bow as a pivot, swung her round so rapidly that nearly all her momentum was lost. I had anticipated this, and therefore caused the starboard bow gun to be shotted with three of the incendiary projectiles recommended in your orders. As we swung around, Sergeant J. H. Campbell, detailed for the purpose, fired this gun. A sixty-four-pound shell crushed through the barricade just before he reached the spot, but he did not hesitate. The discharge took place at exactly the right moment, and set the rebel steamer in flames, which they subsequently succeeded in extinguishing.

"At this moment one of the enemy's shells set the cotton near the starboard wheel on fire, while the discharge of our own gun ignited that portion which was on the bow. The flames spread rapidly, and the dense smoke rolling into the engine room suffocated the engineers. I saw that if I attempted to run into the City of Vicksburg again, my boat would certainly be burned. I ordered her to be headed down stream, and ordered every man to extinguish the flames. After much exertion we finally put the fire out by cutting the burning bales loose.

"The enemy of course were not idle. We were struck twelve times, and though the cabin door was knocked to pieces, no material injury to the boat or to any of those on board was inflicted. About two regiments of rebel sharpshooters, in rifle-pits, kept up a continual fire, but did no damage. The Queen was struck twice in the hull, but above the water-line. One of our guns was dismounted and ruined.

"I can only speak in the highest terms of the conduct of every man on board. All behaved with cool, determined courage."

Admiral Porter, deriving his information from some deserters, reported:

"The steamer Vicksburg was so badly injured by the Queen of the West, that she has to be kept afloat with large coal barges fastened to her side. Her machinery has been taken out, and she will likely be destroyed. This is the fifth steamer we have deprived the rebels of. The Vicksburg was the largest and strongest steamer on the river, and

I think they were preparing to use her against our transports, being very fleet. Her wheels and guards were all smashed in, and a large hole knocked in her side."

As the Queen of the West was now below the batteries, and consequently out of immediate reach of supplies, it became necessary to send them to her. Accordingly a barge, containing 20,000 bushels of coal, was started during the night. It arrived in safety, notwithstanding a hazardous passage of ten miles in length. Thus provided, the Queen of the West was enabled to pursue her destructive purpose. After a career of considerable success, she was finally captured. The work she accomplished, and her subsequent fate, are best narrated in Colonel Ellet's own words. He says, in his report to Admiral Porter, dated "Below Vicksburg, February 25, 1863:"

"ADMIRAL: I have the honor to report to you that I left the landing below Vicksburg, in obedience to your written instructions, on the night of the 10th instant, taking with me the De Soto and coal barge, and proceeded down the river. We passed Warrenton without interruption, and reached Red River on the following evening. I destroyed, as you directed, the skiffs and flat-boats along either shore. I ascended Red River on the morning of the 12th, as far as the mouth of the Atchafalaya. Leaving the De Soto and coal barge in a secure position, I proceeded down the stream. Six miles from its mouth I met a train of army wagons returning from Simmsport. I landed and destroyed them. On reaching Simmsport I found that two rebel steamboats had just left, taking with them the troops and artillery stationed at that point. They had left on the bank seventy barrels of government beef, which I broke up and rolled into the river. I pursued another train of wagons into the swamps, where they escaped. One of their wagons, loaded with ammunition and stores, fell into our hands and was destroyed.

"On her return, a party of overseers and other civilians fired into the Queen from behind a levee, and immediately fled under cover of the darkness. First Master James D. Thompson, a gallant and efficient officer, was shot through the knee. Anchoring at the mouth of the Atchafalaya I waited until morning, and then returned to the spot from which we had been attacked. All the buildings on the three large adjoining plantations were burned by my order.

"I started up the Red River the same day, and reached Black River by night. On the morning of the 14th, when about fifteen miles above the mouth of Black River, a steamboat came suddenly round a sharp bend in the river, and was captured before she could escape. She proved to be the Era, No. 5, loaded with forty-five hundred bushels of corn. She had on board two rebel lieutenants and fourteen privates. The latter I at once paroled and set ashore. I left the Era and coal barge in charge of a guard. We reached the bend just below Gordon's Landing before dusk; the dense smoke of several boats rapidly

firing up could be seen over the tops of the trees as we approached. I ordered the pilot to proceed very slowly, and merely show the bow of the Queen around the point. From the sharp bend which the river makes at this point, there was no apparent difficulty in withdrawing out of range of the enemy's guns whenever it might be desired. The rebels opened upon us with four thirty-two pounders the moment we came in sight. Their guns were in a fine position, and at the third shot I ordered Mr. Garvey, the pilot, to back the Queen out. Instead of doing so, he ran her aground on the right-hand shore.

"The position at once became a very hot one. Sixty yards below we would have been in no danger. As it was, the enemy's shot struck us nearly every time. The chief engineer had hardly reported to me that the escape-pipe was shot away, when an explosion below and a rush of steam around the boat told me that the steam-pipe had been cut in two. Nothing further, of course, could be done. I gave orders to lower the yawl at the stern of the Queen to carry off Captain Thompson, who lay wounded in my state-room. Some persons had already taken the yawl, however, and the other yawl was on the De Soto, a short distance below. Fortunately the cotton bales with which the Queen was protected afforded an avenue of escape, and a majority of the men and officers succeeded in reaching the De Soto. I ordered this boat to be brought up as far as it was practicable without being struck, and sent her yawl to the Queen. Lieutenant Tuthill and Third Master Duncan bravely volunteered for this purpose. I remained with the De Soto over an hour, picking up men on cotton bales. Lieutenant Tuthill barely succeeded in escaping from the Queen, the rebels boarding her in skiffs as he escaped. The Queen could easily have been burned, but this could not be done while Captain Thompson was on board, and it was impossible to remove him. All the passages had been blocked up with cotton, the interior of the boat was intensely dark, filled with steam, and strewed with shattered furniture. The display of a light enabled the batteries to strike her with unerring certainty. To have brought the De Soto alongside would have insured her destruction, as the light from the latter's furnaces rendered her a conspicuous mark.

"A dense fog sprung up as we started down in the De Soto, and she lost her rudder by running into the bank. Drifting down fifteen miles I took possession of the Era, and scuttled and burnt the De Soto and barge. Knowing the rebels would lose no time in pursuing, I pushed on down through the fog, throwing off corn to lighten her. We reached the Mississippi at dawn. Opposite Ellis' Cliffs, Mr. Garvey ran the Era, a boat drawing less than two feet of water, hard aground, actually permitting her wheels to make several revolutions after she had struck, and it was with the utmost difficulty that she could be gotten off. The disloyal sentiments openly expressed by Mr. Garvey a few hours before this occurrence ren-

dered it necessary for me to place him under arrest and fix upon him the unwilling conviction that the loss of the Queen was due to the deliberate treachery of her pilot. It is to be regretted that the illness of Mr. Scott Long, who piloted the Queen past the Vicksburg batteries, rendered it necessary to intrust the Queen to the management of Mr. Garvey.

"The next morning, a short distance below Natchez, I met the Indianola. Captain Brown thought that he might be able to ascend the Red River and destroy the battery at Gordon's Landing, and I accompanied him down in the Era, leading the way. I had not gone three miles, when a break in the dense fog disclosed a steamer rapidly moving up stream, about a mile ahead. I at once rounded to, and caused the whistle to blow, to warn Captain Brown of her presence. As soon as the rebel steamer, which was undoubtedly the Webb, perceived the Indianola, she immediately turned and fled. The latter fired two shots at her, but without effect. I learned afterward that three armed boats had been sent in pursuit of the Era, and had been turned back by the Webb on her retreat.

"On reaching this stream, Captain Brown decided not to ascend it, and I thought it best to return at once. Thinking we might be attacked on the way up, I seized 170 bales of cotton, and protected the Era's machinery as far as practicable. At St. Joseph's I landed and seized the mails, and learned from them that Colonel Adams was waiting for us at Grand Gulf, with two pieces of artillery. Thirty-six shots were fired at the Era while passing that point, none of which took effect.

"On reaching Island No. 107, a body of riflemen opened a heavy fire upon the Era from the Mississippi shore. Suspecting it to be a ruse to draw us to the other side of the river, I decided on keeping the right of the island. The furnaces of the Era became so clogged at this point, that I found it necessary to stop and have them cleaned out, a delay of twenty minutes being caused by this. The Era had passed the island, when a battery of three guns opened upon us from the Louisiana shore. Forty-six shots were fired, but did no injury. At Warrenton the rebels opened fire upon the Era with two rifled twenty-pounders. They fired twenty-four shots, but did not succeed in striking her, extraordinary as it may appear. There is every reason to believe that no one was killed on the Queen. It is probably attributable to the fact, that those below got into the hold through the numerous hatches, and thus escaped the effects of the steam. Mr. Taylor, the engineer, is reported to be badly scalded, by a deserter from the Webb. Twenty-four men were taken prisoners, ten of whom were civilians employed on the boat. Assistant-Surgeon Booth was the only commissioned officer captured."

Admiral Porter, always on the alert, now hastened to send relief to Colonel Ellet, who was floating about on the Mississippi with the "Era No. 5," a small and unarmed boat which he had

captured, in immediate want of supplies, and surrounded by an enterprising enemy. The armed steamer Indianola, with two coal barges in tow, was accordingly dispatched to reinforce and supply Ellet. The Indianola and her charge succeeded in passing the batteries at Vicksburg and Warrenton during the night of the 13th of February, 1862. Though fired at eighteen times, neither boat was struck. The Indianola, however, in spite of this favorable beginning, was fated to fall into the hands of the enemy.

Admiral Porter, in his official dispatch, curtly said, that "the rams Webb and Queen of the West attacked her [the Indianola], and rammed her until she surrendered," and added, "all of which can be traced to a non-compliance with my instructions."

A subsequent attempt, toward the close of March, to run two rams, the Lancaster and Switzerland, past the Vicksburg batteries, proved unsuccessful. The former, after receiving thirty shots, sunk, and the latter was disabled, though she succeeded in drifting away from the enemy.

The boldest and most important naval exploit was the passage, on the night of April 16th, of the batteries at Vicksburg, by six armed vessels and some dozen transports and barges, whose exposed parts were protected by hay and cotton. They were sent to aid in carrying out General Grant's plan of landing his troops below the city, on the eastern side of the river. This hazardous feat was performed with comparatively little loss. One vessel only, the transport Henry Clay, was destroyed, being burned and sunk by the enemy's fire, though no lives were lost. Not a man was killed, but a few were badly wounded. A dozen was the sum of those injured on the whole fleet. "The commanders," declared Admiral Porter, "carried out my orders to the best of their ability, having great difficulties to contend with, strong currents and dangerous eddies; glaring fires in every direction, that bothered the pilots; smoke almost enveloping the squadron, and a very heavy fire on the vessels, that were fair targets for the enemy. I have no cause to be dissatisfied with the result. * * The enemy's shot were of the heaviest calibre, and some were of excellent pattern. No material damage was done by those coming on board beyond smashing the bulwarks."

General Grant termed the movement "a magnificent success."

The subsequent attempts, though not equally successful, served to supply the army with such transports and barges as were absolutely necessary for moving the troops, and thus essentially promoted General Grant's object.

It having been determined to effect a landing at or below Grand Gulf, it became necessary to make an effort to remove the enemy's defences at that point. Accordingly, on the 29th of April, Admiral Porter moved to their attack, with the six gun-boats which had so gallantly and successfully passed Vicksburg.

"After a fight of five hours and thirty

minutes," says the Admiral in his report, "we silenced the lower batteries, but failed to silence the upper one, which was high, strongly built, had guns of very heavy calibre, and the vessels were unmanageable in the heavy current. It fired but feebly toward the last, and the vessels all laid by and enfiladed it, while I went up a short distance to communicate with General Grant, who concluded to land the troops and march over to a point two miles below Grand Gulf. I sent the Lafayette back to engage the upper batteries, which she did, and drove the persons out of it, as it did not respond after a few fires. At six P.M. we attacked the batteries again, and under cover of the fire all the transports passed by in good condition. The Benton, Tuscumbia, and Pittsburg were much cut up, having twenty-four killed and fifty-six wounded, but they are all ready for service."

The enemy reported their loss on this occasion to be "three killed, including Colonel Wade, General Bowen's chief of artillery. Twelve or fifteen were wounded."

Admiral Porter on the 3d of May got under way with the four gun-boats Lafayette, Carondelet, Mound City, and Pittsburg, and prepared to renew the attack, but found that the works were abandoned.

"The enemy," wrote the Admiral, "had left before we got up, blowing up their ammunition, spiking their large guns, and burying or taking away the lighter ones. The armament consisted of thirteen guns in all. The works are of the most extensive kind, and would seem to defy the efforts of a much heavier fleet than the one which silenced them. The forts were literally torn to pieces by the accuracy of our fire. Colonel Wade, the commandant of the batteries, was killed; also his chief of staff. Eleven men were killed that we know of, and our informant says that many were wounded, and that no one was permitted to go inside the forts after the action except those belonging there.

"We had a hard fight for these forts, and it is with great pleasure that I report that the navy holds the door to Vicksburg. Grand Gulf is the strongest place on the Mississippi. Had the enemy succeeded in finishing the fortifications, no fleet could have taken them.

"I have been all over the works, and found them as follows: One fort on a point of rocks, seventy-five feet high, calculated for six or seven guns, mounting two seven-inch rifles, and one eight-inch, and one Parrot gun on wheels, which was carried off. On the left of this work is a triangular work, calculated to mount one heavy gun. These works are connected with another fort by a covered way and double rifle-pits extending one quarter of a mile, constructed with much labor and showing great skill on the part of the constructor. The third fort commands the river in all directions. It mounted one splendid Blakely one-hundred pounder, one eight-inch and two thirty pounders. The latter were lying burst or broken on the ground.

"The gun-boats had so covered up

everything with earth, that it was impossible to see at first what was there, with the exception of the guns that were dismounted or broken.

"Every gun that fell into our hands was in good condition, and we found a large quantity of ammunition.

"These are by far the most extensively built works, with the exception of those at Vicksburg, I have seen yet, and I am happy to say that we hold them."

Having secured a landing for the troops of General Grant, Admiral Porter, never at rest when work is to be done, showed his characteristic enterprise in quickly repeated and most successful blows against the enemy's defences on the water. Sailing up the Red River, he took possession of Fort De Russey (May 5th), Alexandria (May 6th), and about the same time a reconnoitring force destroyed a large quantity of the enemy's property on the Black River. The enemy's formidable position at Warrenton soon after yielded to a single gun-boat.

When, finally, General Grant had made such progress by land as thoroughly to invest Vicksburg, he called upon Admiral Porter to co-operate with him in an attack upon Haines' Bluff, and thus make an effort to open the communications of the army through the Yazoo River with the Mississippi. Porter energetically and successfully responded. He moved at once against these formidable batteries of the enemy, which had so long bid defiance to the attack of soldier and sailor.

"On the morning of the 15th of May," says the Admiral in his report, dated Yazoo River, May 20, 1863, "I came over to the Yazoo to be ready to co-operate with General Grant. Leaving two of the iron-clads at Red River, one at Grand Gulf, one at Carthage, three at Warrenton, and two in the Yazoo, left me a small force. Still I disposed of them to the best advantage.

"On the 18th, at meridian, firing was heard in the rear of Vicksburg, which assured me that General Grant was approaching the city. The cannonading was kept up furiously for some time, when, by the aid of glasses, I discerned a company of our artillery advancing, taking position and driving the rebels before them. I immediately saw that General Sherman's division had come on to the left of Snyder's Bluff, and that the rebels at that place had been cut off from joining the forces in the city. I dispatched the De Kalb, Lieutenant-Commander Walker; Choctaw, Lieutenant-Commander Ramsay; Romeo, Petrel, and Forest Rose, all under command of Lieutenant-Commander Breese, up the Yazoo to open communication in that way with Generals Grant and Sherman.

"This I succeeded in doing, and in three hours received letters from Generals Grant, Sherman, and Steele, informing me of this vast success, and asking me to send up provisions, which was at once done.

"In the mean time Lieutenant-Commander Walker, in the De Kalb, pushed on to Haines' Bluff, which the enemy had commenced evacuating the day be-

fore, and a party remained behind in the hopes of destroying or taking away a large amount of ammunition on hand.

"When they saw the gun-boats, they ran out and left everything in good order—guns, forts, tents, and equipage of all kinds, which fell into our hands.

"As soon as the capture of Haines' Bluff and fourteen forts was reported to me, I shoved up the gun-boats from below Vicksburg to fire at the hill batteries, which fire was kept up for two or three hours. At midnight they moved up to the town and opened on it for about an hour, and continued at intervals during the night to annoy the garrison.

"On the 19th I placed six mortars in position, with orders to fire night and day as rapidly as they could.

"The works at Haines' Bluff are very formidable. There are fourteen of the heaviest kind of mounted eight and ten inch and seven and a half inch rifled guns, with ammunition enough to last a long siege. As the gun-carriages might again fall into the hands of the enemy, I had them burned, blew up the magazine, and destroyed the works generally. I also burned up the encampments, which were permanently and remarkably well constructed, looking as if the rebels intended to stay for some time.

"These works and encampments covered many acres of ground, and the fortifications and the rifle-pits proper of Haines' Bluff extend about a mile and a quarter. Such a net-work of defences I never saw.

"The rebels were a year constructing them, and all were rendered useless in an hour."

After Porter had accomplished his purpose at Haines' Bluff, he sent Lieutenant-Commander Walker up the Yazoo River with a force to destroy all the enemy's property in that direction. Commander Walker fulfilled his mission.

"I started," he says, "from Snyder's Bluff on the 20th instant, with the De Kalb, Choctaw, Forest Rose, Linden, and Petrel, on an expedition to Yazoo City. Arriving at Haines' Bluff, I landed a force and spiked an eight-inch gun in the works there, and burned the carriage. I also burned some forty tents left standing, and a steam saw-mill. Arriving at Yazoo City at one P.M., on the 23d. inst., I was met by a committee of citizens, who informed me that the place had been evacuated by the military authorities, and asking protection. The navy-yard and vessels had been fired by the enemy, and I sent a working party to insure the destruction of everything valuable to the rebels. The vessels burned were the Mobile, a screw vessel, ready for planking; the Republic, which was being fitted out for a ram, and a vessel on the stocks, a monster, three hundred and ten feet long and seventy feet beam. The navy-yard contained fine saw and planing mills, an extensive machine shop, carpenter and blacksmith's shops, and all the necessary fixtures for large building and repairing yards, which, with a very large quantity of lumber, were burned. I also burned a large saw-mill above the town. Most of the public

stores had been removed. Such as I found in town were taken on board the vessels or destroyed."

When General Grant made that spirited but unsuccessful assault upon the enemy's works, by land, Admiral Porter was again active in co-operating from the river.

"On the morning of the 21st," he wrote in his report of May 22, 1863, "I received a communication from General Grant, informing me that he intended to attack the whole of the rebel works at ten A.M. the next day, and asking me to shell the batteries from half-past nine until half-past ten, and to annoy the garrison. I kept six mortars playing rapidly on the works and town all night, and sent the Benton, Mound City, and Carondelet up to shell the water batteries and other places where troops might be resting during the night. At seven o'clock in the morning the Mound City proceeded across the river and made an attack on the hill batteries opposite the canal. At eight o'clock I found her in company with the Benton, Tuscumbia, and Carondelet. All these vessels opened on the hill batteries and finally silenced them, though the main work on the battery containing the heavy rifled gun was done by the Mound City, Lieutenant-Commanding Byron Wilson. I then pushed the Benton, Mound City, and Carondelet up to the water batteries, leaving the Tuscumbia, which is still out of repair, to keep the hill batteries from firing on our vessels after they had passed by. The three gunboats passed up slowly, owing to the strong current, the Mound City leading, the Benton following, and the Carondelet astern. The water batteries opened furiously, supported by a hill battery on the starboard beam of the vessels. The vessels advanced to within four hundred and forty yards (by our marks), and returned the fire for two hours without cessation, the enemy's fire being very accurate and incessant.

"Finding that the hill batteries behind us were silenced, I ordered up the Tuscumbia to within eight hundred yards of the batteries; but the turret was soon made untenable, not standing the enemy's shot, and I made her drop down. I had been engaged with the forts an hour longer than General Grant asked. The vessels had all received severe shots under water, which we could not stop while in motion; and not knowing what might have delayed the movement of the army, I ordered the vessels to drop out of fire, which they did in a cool, handsome manner.

"This was the hottest fire the gunboats have ever been under; but owing to the water batteries being more on a level with them than usual, the gunboats threw in their shell so fast that the aim of the enemy was not very good. The enemy hit our vessels a number of times; but, fighting bow on, that did but little damage.

"Not a man was killed, and only a few wounded. I had only enough ammunition for a few moments longer, and set all hands to work to fill up from our dépôt below.

"After dropping back, I found that

the enemy had taken possession again of one of the lower hill batteries and was endeavoring to mount his guns, and mounted a twelve-pounder field piece to fire at General McArthur's troops, which had landed a short time before at Warrenton. I sent the Mound City and Carondelet to drive him off, which they did in a few moments. * * *

"I have since learned, through General Grant, that the army did assault at the right time vigorously. In the noise and smoke we could not see or hear it. The gun-boats were, therefore, still fighting when the assault had proved unsuccessful.

"The army had terrible work before them, and are fighting as well as soldiers ever fought before. But the works are stronger than any of us dreamed of. General Grant and his soldiers are confident that the brave and energetic generals in the army will soon overcome all obstacles and carry the works."

The only serious loss during those repeated attacks by the Union fleet was that of the gun-boat Cincinnati, which, on being struck by a shot, "went down in shoal water with her flag flying."

To complete the destruction of the enemy's property, Lieutenant Walker was again sent up the Yazoo River on the 24th of May, and destroyed a number of vessels, a mill filled with corn, and other valuable structures and supplies.

Admiral Porter, having heard that the enemy had collected a force of 12,000 men at Richmond, in Louisiana, nine miles from Milliken's Bend, sent General Ellet to General Mowry at Young's Point, to act in conjunction, in order (to use the Admiral's naïve phrase) "to wake them up." Mowry, accordingly, taking about 1,200 men, proceeded in company with Ellet to Richmond, "where they completely routed the advance guard of the rebels, consisting of 4,000 men and six pieces of artillery, and captured a lot of stores. The town was completely destroyed in the *mêlée*."

When the great stronghold of the enemy finally yielded, Admiral Porter, in announcing the surrender of Vicksburg, justly declared that "history has seldom had an opportunity of recording so desperate a defence on one side, with so much courage, ability, perseverance, and endurance on the other." While giving the land forces their share of the credit in this magnanimous compliment: "If ever an army was entitled to the gratitude of the nation, it is the Army of the Tennessee and its gallant leaders," the Admiral limited himself to a modest statement of the services of his own command.

Yazoo City itself, notwithstanding the destruction of its navy-yard with most of the vessels, still holding out, Admiral Porter, in conjunction with General Grant, determined to give the place the *coup-de-grâce*.

"Hearing," wrote the Admiral in his official dispatch, July 14, 1863, "that General Johnston was fortifying Yazoo City with heavy guns, and gathering troops there for the purpose of obtaining supplies for his army from the Yazoo country; also, that the remainder of the

enemy's best transports were then showing a possibility of his attempt to escape, Major-General Grant and myself determined to send a naval and military expedition up there to capture them.

"The Baron De Kalb, New National, Kenwood, and Signal were dispatched under command of Lieutenant John G. Walker, with a force of troops numbering 5,000 under Major-General Frank J. Herron. Pushing up to the city, the Baron De Kalb engaged the batteries, which were all prepared to receive her, and after finding out their strength, dropped back to notify General Herron, who immediately landed his men, and the army and navy made a combined attack on the enemy's works. The rebels soon fled, leaving everything in our possession, and set fire to four of their finest steamers that ran on the Mississippi River in times past.

"The army pursued the enemy and captured their rear-guard of 260 men, and at last accounts were taking more prisoners. Six heavy guns and one vessel, formerly a gun-boat, fell into our hands, and all the munitions of war.

"Unfortunately, while the Baron De Kalb was moving slowly along, she ran foul of a torpedo, which exploded and sunk her. There was no sign of anything of the kind to be seen. While she was going down, another exploded under her stern.

"The water is rising fast in the Yazoo, and we can do nothing more than get the guns out of her, and then get her into deep water, where she will be undisturbed until we are able to raise her. The officers and men lost everything."

Admiral Porter gave the finishing stroke to the enemy by various expeditions up the tributaries of the Mississippi, the Red River, and the Little Red and White rivers in Arkansas, where several vessels and much property were destroyed.

The appropriate close of Admiral Porter's services on the Mississippi was the effective provision he made for securing the hold of the great thoroughfare which he had so greatly contributed in restoring to Federal command. Gun-boats were stationed at all points on the river, from its northern banks to the Gulf of Mexico, where there was danger of molestation from guerrillas. The Admiral thus could proudly declare that "vessels need not wait for convoy."

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